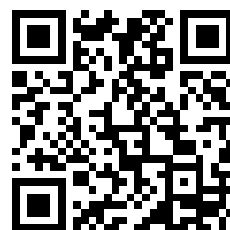


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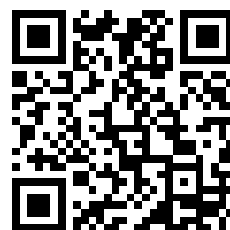


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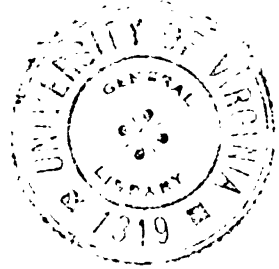




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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS STUDIES  
IN  
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

VOL. VII

FEBRUARY, 1921

No. 1

SIR ROBERT HOWARD'S COMEDY  
"THE COMMITTEE"

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

CARRYL NELSON THURBER, A.M.



PRICE, \$1.50

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# Sir Robert Howard's Comedy "THE COMMITTEE"

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY  
CARRYL NELSON THURBER, A.M.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
1921

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## PREFACE

The editing of Sir Robert Howard's comedy, "*The Committee*," complete as it now stands with Introduction and Notes, was undertaken and the results submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Arts in English in the Graduate School of the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1917.

Selection of this particular play and author was prompted by several factors. Sir Robert Howard himself seems to me admirably representative of that very considerable number of minor Restoration dramatists who, while in no sense writers "of all time," yet were in a way more representative of their own times than many of their more famous contemporaries. Here we have, personified, the politician to whom dabbling in literature was as much a part of the day's work as was the crafty manipulation of weighty affairs of state for his King. True, as poets and dramatists they seldom shine—nor does Howard, as one of them; men of their literary caliber could hardly claim more than a passing mention in an age which gave us Dryden and his fellow immortals. But they are highly significant of the wide and active interest in the drama which marked their time—a period when practically everyone of prominence tried his hand at playwriting. And Sir Robert Howard, both more prominent and more gifted than many another of this group, not only wrote very fair plays but also, through his relations with Dryden, gained a prominence in the world of letters which, from the point of view of the student, at least, has lasted down to the present day. As a type of literary dilettante, then, and as one of the principals in the famous Dryden-Howard controversy, Sir Robert stands out as a writer well worth the detailed consideration here accorded him.

As to "*The Committee*," there is a liveness, a rollicking good humor about the play itself which makes it eminently readable even today—a distinction which sets it apart from most of the other "minor" plays of Howard's time. And a second, even more important reason for the selection of this play for treatment lies in the character of "*Teague*"—not only one of the most popular and famous comedy acting characters on the English stage for many years, but in all probability the prototype and in a way the fore-runner of the comic Irishman of the stage today. "*The Committee*" was not the best of Howard's plays nor the most important in a strictly literary sense; but it was the only one which gained even a measure of lasting popularity and it appealed to me as far more representative of the literary-political school of writers of Howard's time than any of his other works.

It should be noted that this study of Howard and "*The Committee*" does not pretend to be exhaustive nor even in a strictly academic sense com-

plete. Some important references and authorities were not readily accessible (notably the Anecdotes of the Howard Family) and circumstances were such that such sources could be referred to only indirectly.

Likewise and for the same reasons the collation of texts was limited to the editions available.

I should like to express my sincere appreciation of the careful guidance and valuable counsel of Dr. Harold N. Hillebrand of the University of Illinois, under whose direction this work was undertaken and completed. To Dr. Hillebrand belongs the credit both for my selection of the subject discussed and, in large part, for the method of treatment followed.

Los Angeles, California  
October 17, 1921.

CARRYL NELSON THURBER

# Sir Robert Howard's Comedy "THE COMMITTEE"

## INTRODUCTION

### CHAPTER I

#### HOWARD: MAN AND STATESMAN

Sir Robert Howard, born in 1626, was the sixth son of Thomas Howard, first earl of Berkshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, afterwards second earl of Exeter.<sup>1</sup> About Howard's early life there is available practically no information further than that he was educated at Magdalene College, whether Oxford or Cambridge seems somewhat uncertain.<sup>2</sup> It is an illuminating commentary upon Sir Robert's own activities, however, to note that he was one of those Berkshire Howards who succeeded admirably in producing distinguished statesmen, politicians, and soldiers who were almost equally well known as second-rate poets and dramatists.<sup>3</sup> It may be added here that Sir Robert himself ran remarkably true to form in both respects.

At the outbreak of the Civil Wars, Howard, always a staunch supporter of Charles I,<sup>4</sup> joined the Royalist forces, with whom his conduct as a soldier would seem to have merited the comment that he "distinguished himself by his loyalty and courage."<sup>5</sup> It was at this time—in 1644, to be exact—that he rescued Lord Wilmot from the hands of the Parliamentarians, in the battle of Cropredy Ridge; for this deed of valor he was knighted on the field near Newbury, on June 29 of that year. His royalist activities, however, led to his imprisonment in Windsor Castle during the Commonwealth, and it was not until the Restoration that his fortunes began to mend.

<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise noted, the facts concerning the life of Sir Robert Howard are taken from the article by A. H. Bullen in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (ed. 1909) vol. x, pp. 59-61.

<sup>2</sup> Wood [*Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. Philip Bliss, London, 1813) vol. IV, p. 594] notes that Howard was "for a time of Magdalene College," but that he "occurs not matriculated." The probable date of Howard's matriculation Wood gives as 1641. In Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1891) vol. II, p. 753, Howard is listed as of Magdalene College. But Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors* and Cole's *Athenae Cantabrigienses* mention Howard as a student at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, two of Sir Robert's own brothers, Edward and James Howard, were dramatists of a sort, although their productions were decidedly mediocre in quality.

<sup>4</sup> J. Nichols *A Select Collection of Poems &c.* (London, 1742) vol. I, p. 147, note. Sir Robert Howard is spoken of as "a zealous royalist."

<sup>5</sup> George Ellis *Specimens of the Early English Poets* (London, 1803) vol. III, p. 304.

In 1661 Howard was returned to Parliament from Stockbridge, Hampshire, and, further, was rewarded by Charles II, for his devotion to the latter's cause, by being made Knight of the Bath and by being appointed Secretary to the Commissioners of the Treasury. The real beginning of his career as a prominent statesman came when, in 1677, as an additional mark of the royal favor, he was appointed Auditor of the Exchequer, a position which he held up to the time of his death. This post, in addition to the lucrative positions already held by him,<sup>6</sup> enabled him to purchase, in 1680, the famous Ashstead estate, in Surrey, and in 1684 to build there the elaborate mansion which, with its staircase by Verrio and its portrait of Sir Robert by Sir Godfrey Kneller, was viewed appreciatively by Evelyn.<sup>7</sup> A hostile critic describes Howard as having been "one of King Charles's creatures, whom he advanced on account of his faithful services in cajoling the Parliament for money."<sup>8</sup> Since there seems to have been some ground for assigning Sir Robert's advancement to this cause,<sup>9</sup> despite the fact that he was a staunch Whig, it may be that his steady continuance in the good graces of the court was a sort of *quid pro quo*.

From 1677 on Sir Robert led a varied and active public life. On February 4, 1678, he was returned M. P. for Castle Rising, in Norfolk, and from then on until June, 1698, he was returned from the same constituency every year except 1685. It was in 1678, too, according to Evelyn,<sup>10</sup> that he impeached Sir William Penn, in the House of Lords, for breaking bulk and taking away rich goods out of the East India prizes formerly taken by the earl of Sandwich.

It was of course inevitable that one in Sir Robert's position should become the target for hostile criticism; but it is not until his appointment, on February 13, 1688, to the Privy Council that we begin to find such criticism directed against him in his public capacity. It is said that at that time he became "a violent persecutor of the Non-jurors, and disclaimed all manner of conversation and intercourse with any of that character";<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Pepys' *Diary* (ed. Wheatley, London, 1905) Dec. 8, 1666: Howard, "who is one of the King's servants, at least has a great office, and has got, they say, 20,000 since the King has come in."

<sup>7</sup> *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* (ed. Wm. Bray, London, 1859) May 10, 1684.

<sup>8</sup> Theophilus Cibber *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, (London, 1753) vol. III, p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> Note this from Pepys' *Diary*, Feb. 14, 1668: "The House is in a most broken condition; nobody adhering to anything, but reviling and finding fault: and now quite mad at the Undertakers, as they are commonly called, Littleton, Lord Vaughan, Sir R. Howard, and others that are brought over to the Court, and did undertake to get the King money; but they despise, and will not hear, them in the House."

<sup>10</sup> *Diary*, April 9, 1678.

<sup>11</sup> Theophilus Cibber *The Lives of the Poets &c.*, vol. III, pp. 57-58.



and he was, in this regard, "so strong an advocate for the Revolution" that he, "by his obstinacy and pride, made many enemies."<sup>12</sup> This last comment is of particular interest, since, as will later be shown, it was precisely these characteristics of obstinacy and pride which did most to establish for Howard a rather unenviable reputation in private life.

In June, 1689, Sir Robert succeeded, in spite of vigorous Tory antagonism, in reopening the famous case against Oates<sup>13</sup> and in having the sentence against the latter declared illegal; a bill annulling this sentence was brought in without any opposition. He was less successful, however, when, in January, 1690, he and Sacheverell added a clause to the Whig bill for restoring the charters surrendered during the late reign. After a stormy session Parliament repudiated the clause and had it torn from the parchment containing the bill.

On July 10, 1690, Howard was deputed as one of the "Commissioners of the Fleet";<sup>14</sup> on July 29 of the same year he was appointed "to command all and singular the regiments and troops of militia horse which are or shall be drawn together under the command of John, Earl of Marlborough," throughout England and Wales.<sup>15</sup> Under date of August 9 of this year Luttrell mentions "a great rendezvouse of the militia troupes of horse of the adjacent counties, . . . to the number of 22 troops of horse, commanded by Sir Robert Howard, well mounted and equipt," and adds that on this occasion the Queen, who reviewed the troops, thanked them and their noble leader for their "readiness and good affection to her service."<sup>16</sup> This evidence, together with the fact that, on September 24, 1692, the Queen dined at Sir Robert's home in Surrey,<sup>17</sup> would indicate that the latter remained throughout his life successful in cultivating the royal favor.

The last item of information available regarding Howard's active life is of a more private nature. On February 26, 1693, "Sir Robert Howard, auditor of the exchequer, (aged near 70), . . . married young Mrs. [Annabelle] Dives, maid of honour to the princesse, aged about 18."<sup>18</sup> Howard had already been married at least twice, very possibly three times. On Febru-

<sup>12</sup> J. Nichols *A Select Collection of Poems*, vol. I, p. 147, note.

<sup>13</sup> This Oates case concerns the trial etc. of Titus Oates, instigator of the Popish Plot of 1678, accusing Papists of conspiring to assassinate Charles II. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, vol. XIX, pp. 938-939.

<sup>14</sup> Narcissus Luttrell *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs, from September 1678 to April 1714* (Oxford, 1857) vol. II, p. 74.

<sup>15</sup> *Public Records, Home Office, Military Entry Book*, II, ff. 142-143. This and the citation from Luttrell immediately following it are taken from the latter's *Brief Historical Relation* vol. II, pp. 88-89.

<sup>16</sup> Luttrell *Brief Relation* vol. II, p. 574.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 577.

<sup>18</sup> Luttrell *Brief Relation* vol. III, p. 45.

ary 1, 1646, he married Ann, daughter of Sir Richard Kingsmill, of Malshanger, Church Oakley, Hants. His second wife, whom he married on August 10, 1665, at Wotton Bassett, was Lady Honora O'Brien, daughter of the Earl of Thomond and widow of Sir Francis Inglefield. As to the possibility of Sir Robert having married four times in all, instead of three, the records in this matter seem to be confused. If he did so, the marriage very probably took place between that with Lady O'Brien, in 1665, and that with Annabelle Dives, in 1693 (the latter being, in any event, his last marriage, as his bride in this instance survived him). It is also probable that those who refer to a third<sup>19</sup>—or to *another*<sup>20</sup> marriage have in mind Howard's well-known affair with the actress, Mrs. Uphill, of whom *as an actress* there is little trace.<sup>21</sup>

Sir Robert Howard died on September 3, 1698, "aged near 80,"<sup>22</sup> and, as Ward puts it, having "kept himself as prominent as he could in life, was buried in Westminster Abbey."<sup>23</sup>

While our interest in Sir Robert Howard centers around his activities as a poet and dramatist, it will be well to review briefly some of the general criticism, both contemporary and more recent, which throws light upon him as an individual.

As a statesman Howard was both prominent and successful, even if not really brilliant. Macaulay's estimate of him as one who "had in parlia-

<sup>19</sup> *The Dictionary of National Biography* vol. X, pp. 59-61, credits Sir Robert with having married four times, but has nothing to offer as to who his third wife was. The first, second, and fourth wives are given as I have listed them above. I can find no evidence to prove that Howard really married Mrs. Uphill. True, Evelyn, in his *Diary*, October 18, 1666, speaks of "foul and indecent women being permitted to appear and act" on the stage, with the result that "several took these women as their misses, or in some cases, their wives. Witness—[Sir Robert Howard is named, among others]—who fell into their snares, to the reproach of their noble families and ruin of both body and soul." Not only is this no evidence of a marriage, however, but there is also to be considered the contrary evidence in the statement appearing in a scurrilous pamphlet of the times (*A Seasonable Argument to persuade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a new Parliament*, 1677) that (referring to Howard) "Many other places and boons he has had, but his w—Uphill spends all, and now refuses to marry him." (The italics are mine.)

<sup>20</sup> Tellenbach (*Rob. Howard's Comedy "The Committee" and "Teague," an Irish Stage-Type*; Ph. D. Thesis, University of Berne; Zurich, 1913; p. 6) places Mrs. Uphill as Howard's *first* wife. Frankly, in view of the evidence in Note 19, above, I see no grounds for this claim.

<sup>21</sup> As further evidence regarding the period of Howard's relations with Mrs. Uphill, however, it may be noted that Downes [*Roscius Anglicanus* (London, 1879) p. 11] mentions Mrs. Uphill as having come to the Company [the King's Company] *after* they had begun in Drury Lane; this would mean no earlier than 1660, at best; as it is unlikely that Howard was attracted to her before she began her stage career, there is still less reason to think that she was his first wife.

<sup>22</sup> *Luttrell Brief Relation* (Sept. 6, 1698) vol. IV, p. 423.

<sup>23</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. VIII, chap. 1, p. 23, note.

ment the weight which a staunch party man, of ample fortune, of illustrious name, of ready utterance, and of resolute spirit, can scarcely fail to possess,"<sup>24</sup> is more judicious, if more restrained, than that of Langbaine, who writes, of Howard: "This ingenious person is equally conspicuous for the lustre of his birth, and the excellence of his parts."<sup>25</sup>

As an individual, however, Howard seems to have been possessed of rather unpleasant personal characteristics—notably pride, obstinacy, and a marked tendency toward pretentiousness—which kept him in hot water a good bit of the time; unfortunately, too, it is largely because of the attacks made upon him, instigated primarily because of the characteristics mentioned, that we know him today. I refer particularly to the Dryden-Howard controversy over dramatic poetry, which will be discussed in a later chapter; we may devote some time here, however, to two somewhat similar episodes in Sir Robert's life.

In the first place, one of the personages angered by the pretentiousness of Howard was George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In the latter's play, *The Rehearsal*, in the first edition (1663-4), The Poet was called Bilboa, "by which name Sir Robert Howard was the person pointed at," although the attack was soon shifted from Howard to Davenant, and later still, when Dryden succeeded Davenant as Poet Laureate, "this moved the Duke to change the name of the hero from Bilboa to Bays, directly levelling his bolt at Mr. Dryden."<sup>26</sup> This attack, then, was of little moment. Not so Shadwell's famous burlesque satire of Sir Robert, in *The Sullen Lovers*, or, as Pepys knew it, *The Curious Impertinents*.<sup>27</sup> Shadwell was "so angry with the knight for his supercilious and domineering manner of behaving, that he points him out under the name of Sir Positive At-all",<sup>28</sup> and while the play itself is of no great merit,<sup>29</sup> the fun poked at Howard seems to

<sup>24</sup> *History of England* (ed. Cheyney, 1898) vol. VI, p. 90.

<sup>25</sup> *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (Oxford, 1691) p. 305.

<sup>26</sup> Betterton *The History of the English Stage &c.* (London 1741) p. 8.

See also Theophilus Cibber's *Lives of the Poets* vol. III, p. 58.

The *Key to The Rehearsal* expresses doubt as to whether the Duke ever planned to satirize Howard, pointing out that many think his original plan was to mock Davenant.

<sup>27</sup> *The Sullen Lovers* (published 1668) has *The Curious Impertinents* as an alternative title.

<sup>28</sup> Theophilus Cibber *Lives of the Poets* vol. III, p. 58.

<sup>29</sup> Pepys (*Diary* May 4, 1668) speaks of "*The Impertinents*" as "but a very contemptible play, though there are many little witty expressions in it," adding, (May 5, 1668) "by Sir Positive At-all, I understand, is meant Sir Robert Howard." Saintsbury, in his introduction to *Shadwell's Works*, (Mermaid Series, introd., p. 3), praises "the lively Jonsonian humors of Sir Positive At-all and his fellows," adding that "although Sir Positive's eccentricities are, after Shadwell's fashion, too much multiplied and insisted upon, he is really a comic character."

have aroused a good deal of merriment. As there is other evidence to show that Shadwell's satirization was uncomfortably realistic, let us examine the play for a moment.

In the *dramatis personae* we find included the character of "Sir Positive At-all, a foolish knight, that pretends to understand everything in the world, and will suffer no man to understand anything in his company; so foolishly positive, that he will never be convinced of an error, though never so gross." This characterization is emphasized throughout the play; no matter what the subject under discussion—music, dancing, painting,—Sir Positive vaunts his prowess and asserts that he is a master in all fields, usually dismissing the matter with his pet expression, "I have considered it thoroughly." As an illustration of the extent to which Shadwell carried his treatment of Sir Robert, we may cite the amusing bit in Act III, Scene 1; the characters have been speaking of the game of trap-ball, whereupon Sir Positive breaks in with, "Why, I was so eminent at it when I was a school-boy, that I was called Trap Positive all over the school," a hit, by the way, which appears to have been founded on fact.<sup>30</sup>

There are two other points about *The Sullen Lovers* which are worthy of passing attention. First, among the characters is Lady Vain, a courtesan, "which the wits then understood to be the mistress of Sir Robert Howard, whom he afterwards thought proper to marry."<sup>31</sup> The other point is, for our purpose, of more moment; it is that, as Ward has it, "though universality seems to have been 'Sir Positive At-all's' foible, it was as a dramatic writer he above all sought to play a part in the world of letters."<sup>32</sup> Sir Positive himself (Act III, Scene 1) boasts thus: "Nay then, cousin, I am an ass, an idiot, a blockhead, and a rascal, if I don't understand dramatic poetry of all things in the world. Why, this is the only thing I am esteemed for in England"; and again, (Act V, Scene 1), when baited by Ninny and Woodcock, he breaks out with: "This single head of mine shall be the balance of Christendom; and by the strength of this I'll undermine all commonwealths, destroy all monarchies, and write heroic plays." While Howard's merits as a dramatist are to be discussed later on, these comments are included here to show that his reputation as a boaster and pretender was due, in large part, to his insistence upon his own merits as a poet and playwright.

<sup>30</sup> Pepys' *Diary* (May 8, 1668): "But Lord! to see how this play of Sir Positive At-all, in abuse of Sir Robert Howard, do take, all the Duke's and everybody's talk being of that, and telling more stories of him, of the like nature, that it is now the town and country talk, and, they say, is most exactly true. The Duke of York himself said that of his playing at trap-ball is true, and told several other stories of him."

<sup>31</sup> Theophilus Cibber *Lives of the Poets* vol. III, p. 58. The reference is to Mrs. Uphill, the actress. As to the question of Howard's marriage to her, see *ante*, p. 12.

<sup>32</sup> *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (London, 1899) vol. III, p. 393.

We may conclude, then, that Shadwell's attack, while no doubt somewhat overdone, had considerable justification, and that Sir Robert, whatever his merits in other respects, was, as a man, "a gentleman pretending to all manner of arts and sciences,—not ill-natured, but insufferably boasting."<sup>23</sup> As diplomat, jurist, and political henchman, zealous and loyal to the royal interests, successful if not brilliant, he was, as we have seen, *persona grata* at court throughout most of his life; furthermore, while perhaps arrogant and unduly vainglorious, he nevertheless was generous, kindly, and in the main unselfish. And by us it must be recognized that, whatever his personal merits or defects, in the political and social life of his times Sir Robert Howard was distinctly a personage.

<sup>23</sup> Evelyn *Diary* (February 16, 1685). The same writer again refers to Howard (June 16, 1683) as "Sir Robert Howard, (that universal pretender)."

## CHAPTER II

### HOWARD: POET, DRAMATIST, AND HISTORIAN

That a man of Howard's prominence, living in England at the time of the Restoration, should dabble in literature was practically inevitable; it was equally inevitable, in the light of his personal characteristics as we know them, that he should greatly overestimate his own worth as an author, and that the very pretentiousness and prideful obstinacy which marred his political career should militate against him far more disastrously in a field in which, to begin with, he was hopelessly outclassed, and for the activities of which he possessed only the most ordinary qualifications.

It is a matter of regret, then, that Howard was not content to rest upon his well-earned laurels as a statesman and diplomat; for a careful examination of his literary productions both for themselves and in relation to the available criticism thereon, can but lead one, I think, to this conclusion: that despite the very considerable popularity, during his own time, of at least two of his plays, there is in his work so little intrinsic merit as to bar him from serious consideration. On the other hand, notwithstanding the somewhat overharsh criticism of certain later writers—notably Theophilus Cibber and Sir Walter Scott—Sir Robert was by no means a negligible factor in the literary history of his own day. For himself, truly was he one of “the noble family of Howard” who “were distinguished for dramatic productions, in which were to be found plots romantic and absurd, and characters, not drawn from nature, but wild and ungoverned fancy,”<sup>1</sup> and who likewise, adds Macaulay, “enjoyed, in that age, the unenviable distinction of being wonderfully fertile of bad rhymers. The poetry of the Berkshire Howards was the jest of three generations of satirists. The mirth began with the first representation of *The Rehearsal* [see *ante*, p.13] and continued down to the last edition of the *Dunciad*.”<sup>2</sup> As it developed, however, the real basis of Howard's literary reputation, and the justification of his being granted a position of any importance in the world of letters, lay not in his own merits but in the fact that he was brother-in-law to Dryden, and, even more, in his famous controversy with the latter over the respective merits of blank and rhymed verse for serious plays, a controversy which aroused a storm of discussion at the time, and to which

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Davies *Dramatic Miscellanies* (London, 1785) vol. III, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> *History of England*, vol. VI, pp. 89-90. The attack in the *Dunciad* was levelled, not at Sir Robert, but at his brother, Edward Howard, in the couplet (First Book):

“And highborn Howard; more majestic aire,  
With Fool of Quality completes the quire.”



we of the present day owe a debt of gratitude, in that it was largely responsible for the production of Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*.

Our present purpose being, then, to arrive at a reasonably correct estimate of Howard's merits as an author, it will be best to examine with some care his poetry and his plays, and to discuss the Dryden-Howard controversy in detail. As to the remaining portion of his works, the histories, it will not, I think, be necessary to give them any further attention; while they are of some interest as reflecting his reaction to past events in the light of his own times, they seem not to have attracted, either then or later, anything more than the barest notice. As literature they are practically negligible. We may dismiss them, then, and pass on to Howard's more important literary contributions.

The poetry of Sir Robert Howard is neither extensive in quantity nor in any way unusual in quality. His principal contribution of this sort is the volume of collected verse published by Herringman in 1660, containing (1) *A Panegyrick to the King*; (2) *Songs and Sonnets*; (3) *The Blind Lady, a Comedy*; (4) *The Fourth Book of Virgil*; (5) *Statius his Achilleis, with Annotations*; and (6) *A Panegyrick to Generall Monck*. Howard has prefixed to this collection the conventional apology *To the Reader*, in which he urges that he himself "had not stock of confidence enough to show these things privately to many friends, much less to be furnished with enough, to make them public to all indifferent persons, had not the desire of the Book-seller [Herringman] prevailed" upon him to sanction their publication. We also learn that most of the verses had been written some time before. "For the severall subjects which I here make one bundle, there is not any of them that have not layn by me these many years (two or three copies of verses only excepted)," the *Panegyrick to the King*, in particular, having been "written when the King deserved the Praise as much as now, but separated farther from the Power, which was about three years since, when I was a Prisoner in Windsor Castle."

This preface, then, is of some historical interest, although its tone savors a little of that mock humility, of that self-depreciation, not quite convincing as to its sincerity, which was characteristic of Howard.

There is another sort of preface to the 1660 collection which merits even closer attention. This is a set of verses "*To my honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard, on his Excellent Poems*," by "John Driden." Dryden pays sincere tribute to the man who had been and still was his patron and friend, and who was soon to be his brother-in-law.<sup>3</sup> A few excerpts from the verses in question will suffice to show their nature.

<sup>3</sup> Dryden married Lady Elizabeth Howard December 1, 1663. For a full discussion of the relations of Howard and Dryden see the latter part of this chapter, where the Dryden-Howard controversy is discussed.

So in your verse a native sweetness dwells,  
Which shames composure, and its art excells.<sup>4</sup>

And again,

— as when mighty rivers gently creep,  
Their even calmness does suppose them deep.  
Such is your Muse; no metaphor swelled high  
With dangerous boldness lifts her to the sky.  
\* \* \* \* \*

'Tis strange each line so great a weight should bear,  
And yet no sign of toil, no sweat appear.  
\* \* \* \* \*

But to write worthy things of worthy men  
Is the peculiar talent of your pen.

And finally,

This work, by merit first of fame secure,  
Is likewise happy in its geniture;  
For since 'tis born when Charles ascends the throne,  
It shares at once his fortune and its own.

This last bears particular reference to the *Panegyrick to the King*, which, though written some time before, proved to be a very timely tribute to Charles II, since it was first published during the very first year of the Restoration. Indeed, it would seem, as Dryden has it, that Howard's

..... Verse no lesse  
The Prophet than the Poet doth confesse.

Dryden's tribute to Howard seems to have aroused the contempt of Scott to a considerable degree. "Those who may be induced" writes Scott, "to peruse the works of Sir Robert Howard by the high commendation here bestowed upon them, will have more reason to praise the gratitude of our author [Dryden] than the justice of his panegyric. They are productions of a most freezing mediocrity."<sup>5</sup> The then existing relations between Dryden and Howard would account for a possibly unmerited warmth of praise on the part of the former; in truth, though, while the verses in this collection are admittedly mediocre, they seem to me to deserve nothing worse than neglect—surely not open contempt.

It will hardly be necessary to present any full discussion of the individual poems in this collection. The two translations are good of their kind, the *Achilleis* of Statius being of special value because of the completeness and detail of the annotations. The songs and sonnets are conventional and rather poor. It is interesting to note, though, that Howard apologizes for this by urging, in the prefatory address, that "they were never directed

<sup>4</sup> Composure—careful composition. It may be noted that Dryden throughout praises rather the dignity and general worth of the verses than their artistic beauty.

<sup>5</sup> *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 1882) vol. XI, p. 6.

to any particular Beauty, which may (to the Amorous Reader at least) be a just excuse, if they want Perfection, to remember I wanted Passion, and had only my own warmth, unassisted by the influence of a Mistress."<sup>8</sup> The two panegyrics are possibly a little more carefully composed, as to rhyme and meter, than are other of Howard's works. They are, however, over-fulsome in their flattery, and are marred by such platitudes as:

To fair days, storms succeed; to storms, the fair:  
We know but what we are by what we were.  
And Man's condition's valued more or less  
By what he had, not what he does possess.  
For no extremes could ever gain a height  
From their own natures, but each other's weight.<sup>7</sup>

The remaining contribution included in this collection, *The Blind Lady*, may best be considered with other of Howard's plays, later on.

Finally, we may note briefly two other poetic offerings of Sir Robert's: the *Duel of the Stags*, written in 1668, and "an excellent poem 'against the Fear of Death'; which gained him a considerable degree of reputation."<sup>8</sup> Each of these possesses some merit of versification and of subject matter, the *Duel of the Stags*, in particular, a political poem, being marked by commendable vigor of expression.<sup>9</sup> This last poem was later satirized by Lord Buckhurst, in *The Duel of the Crabs*.<sup>10</sup>

As a poet, then, Sir Robert Howard was but ordinarily successful. His rhymes are far too often mechanical; his themes are treated conventionally, with little in their treatment to suggest originality or personality. He has, in short, produced no poems which entitle him to serious consideration, although there is in his work, as I have said, sufficient merit to render undeserved such caustic comment as that of Scott, or that of Theophilus Cibber, who writes: "The merit of this author seems to have been of a low rate, for very little is preserved concerning him, and none of his works are now read; nor is he ever mentioned, but when that circumstance of the Duke of Buckingham's intending to ridicule him, is talked of." And again, "had Sir Robert been a man of any parts, he had sufficient advan-

<sup>8</sup> If we may grant the sincerity, or rather, the truth of this statement, we have further evidence regarding the period of Howard's relations with Mrs. Uphill; these verses he claims to have written, at least in considerable part, "severall years" before, but as they were published in 1660, it seems reasonable to assume that even up to that time he was "unassisted by the influence of a mistress." If such were the case, his relations with Mrs. Uphill would date from no earlier than 1660; and this is in accord with the other evidence already presented.

<sup>7</sup> From the *Panegyrick to the King*. Note the rhyme used in lines 5 and 6. Sight rhymes were Howard's particular weakness.

<sup>8</sup> Nichols *A Select Collection of Poems*, vol. I, p. 154, note.

<sup>9</sup> In the 1709 edition of *The Duel of the Stags* reappear the verses of Dryden which were originally prefixed to the 1660 collection of Howard's poems.

<sup>10</sup> *State Poems* (1699) Part I, p. 201.

tages from his birth and fortune to have made a figure, but the highest notice which he can claim in the republic of letters, is, that he was brother-in-law to Dryden."<sup>11</sup>

As a playwright, Howard was both more successful and more popular than as a poet; yet most of his plays, too, bear the stigma of mediocrity, partly because of faulty, somewhat amateurish workmanship, partly because of his innate inability to do justice to really big, tensely dramatic scenes. Before criticising farther, however, let us review Howard's various dramatic productions in some detail.

Howard produced six plays, in all. Of these the first, *The Blind Lady*, appeared together with his poems, in the collection of 1660, as noted. The play is a crudely constructed, rather loosely organized comedy, in which the author evidently made some attempt to follow classical models, in the matter of observing the Unity of Time, and in having all real action take place off the stage, to be reported by various characters. The working out of the plot, however, leaves very much to be desired. The scenes succeed one another with bewildering rapidity—in the five acts there are twenty nine scenes, in all—and one is kept on the jump, from place to place, to such an extent that to keep adequate track of what is going on is to say the least difficult.

Mironault and Phylanter, two courtiers, are in love with the Princess Mirramente, who at first favors neither. Mironault is traduced to his King by Phylanter and, while visiting the Princess, is attacked by his jealous rival. Escaping with two firm friends, Hyppasus and Pysander, Mironault takes refuge in the house of Caeca, a blind lady—representing, of course, Fortune, the Blind Lady. Here Pysander, a bluff, rough-and-ready, quick witted soldier, takes the lead and, by making love simultaneously to Caeca and to her maid, Quinever, persuades them to order Caeca's tenants to fortify the house against Phylanter and his troops, who are pursuing Mironault. Meanwhile the Princess, who has fallen in love with Mironault in turn, hastens to Court to invoke the aid of the King to rescue her lover and to punish Phylanter. On the way she meets Amione, Mironault's sister, who is seeking to aid him, and the two girls join forces. The King, persuaded of Mironault's innocence of the charges against him, sends an army to rescue him, and, at her request, puts the Princess at the head of this army. Mironault and his followers, having temporarily repulsed Phylanter's forces, are rescued in time, and everything is brought to a speedy and happy conclusion. Phylanter, defeated, is repentant—indeed, he began to be repentant almost before he did anything to repent

<sup>11</sup> *Lives of the Poets* vol. III, p. 58.

of—and as he has, during the course of the action, fallen suddenly and deeply in love with Amione, her influence and the sympathetic kindliness of the Princess win for him a hardly deserved forgiveness. Finally the Princess admits her love for Mironault, and all is well.

In addition to the too rapid shift of scene—as in Act III, where we jump from Caeca's house to Phylanter's camp, then back to the house, then to Phylanter's attacking position before the house—there are other serious defects in both plot and characterization. There are really two stories involved—the main plot, as above, and the comedy love affairs of Pysander, Caeca, and Quinever. The latter furnish some good rough fun,<sup>12</sup> but they are given altogether too much prominence. The result is that Mironault, the ostensible hero, is almost lost sight of during the latter part of the play. As a whole the plot is involved, the action irregular and too long drawn out, and the play unsatisfying. One feels that Mironault, who is well drawn at first, peters out; that Phylanter, while rather appealing in his recoil from his own villainy, is yet not guilty of anything very serious after all, and is certainly no villain; and lastly, that Phylanter's amazingly quick shift of affections from Miramente to Amione and the "made-to-order" fashion in which everything is satisfactorily adjusted are decidedly anti-climactic.

A word may be said here about the versification of *The Blind Lady*. Most of the play is written in rather poor blank verse, but at times—as in Act III, Scene 1, or in Act V, Scene 1—some use of rhyme is made. The quotation of a few lines from Act III, Scene 1, will show, I think, that here, as elsewhere, Howard's work is unsatisfactory.

To be still subject to calamities  
We all must bear, yet not esteem it hard.  
Our frailty sets this odds from higher powers,  
And their disorders are appeased by ours.  
It is a hard injunction of the gods  
To set our natures and ourselves at odds;  
When they afflict, though due unto our crimes,  
Yet they give to the nature that repines.  
Though if we use it well, none but they give  
That blessing, that we are displeased to live.  
'Twas life first cozened man, and did entice  
By knowledge its fair gift to cheat him twice;  
Man was a happy stranger to himself  
When he believed his ignorance his wealth.

*The Blind Lady*, then, can hardly be said to have been a success. Its workmanship is poor, its plot weak, and its characterization, with the possible exception of that of Pysander and of one or two of the minor figures, conventional and unconvincing.

<sup>12</sup> See Act III, Scene 1, Act IV, Scene 1, etc.

While it may be said, in extenuation of the faults found in *The Blind Lady*, that this was Howard's first play (so far as is known), he seems to have been only partially successful in overcoming these weaknesses later on, in the *Four New Plays*, published 1665, and in *The Great Favorite, or The Duke of Lerma*, published 1668, and combined with the 1665 edition into *Five New Plays*, 1692. In the edition of 1665 were contained: (1) *The Surprisal*, and (2) *The Committee*, both comedies; and (3) *The Indian Queen*, and (4) *The Vestal Virgin, or The Roman Ladies*, both tragedies. These four, with *The Blind Lady* and with Howard's later tragedy, *The Duke of Lerma*, make up the sum total of his contributions to dramatic literature. *The Committee* will be reserved for later treatment. *The Blind Lady* has already been sufficiently discussed. Let us examine with some care the other plays.

In the address *To the Reader* prefaced to the *Four New Plays* Howard excuses their publication on the same grounds as those he advanced in connection with his poems; to wit, "these follies were made public as much against my inclination as judgment. But being pursued with so many solicitations of Mr. Herringman's, and having received civilities from him if possible exceeding his importunities, I at last yielded to prefer that which he believed his interest, before that which I apprehended my own disadvantage." It may well be, however, that the real reason for Howard's putting the plays into print lay in his being accused by certain of his contemporaries of plagiarism. This charge was made, we shall see, with reference to *The Duke of Lerma*, and may have been made regarding *The Vestal Virgin*.<sup>13</sup> Whatever the cause, the publication of Howard's plays was justified by the undoubted merit of *The Indian Queen* and *The Committee*, whatever the defects of the other two plays.

*The Surprisal*, a conventional comedy of intrigue, is better constructed than is *The Blind Lady*, but is yet hardly worthy of much attention. Pepys saw it several times, and had little good to say of it. On April 8, 1667 he saw "the end of the Surprisall, wherein was no great matter," according to his opinion. Again on August 6 of the same year, he comments: ". . . saw The Surprisall, a very mean play, I thought; or else it was because I was out of humor, and but very little company in the

<sup>13</sup> Langbaine (*English Dramatic Poets*, p. 276), after praising Sir Robert as "one whose plays will remain eternal testimonies to posterity of his skill in dramatic performances," adds: "Some readers, who are strangers to the excellent talents of Sir Robert, might expect from me some discoveries of what he has borrowed; but I am to inform them that this admirable poet has too great a stock of wit of his own, to be necessitated to borrow from others." This particular statement is made prefatory to a comment upon the originality of *The Vestal Virgin*.

That there was some talk of plagiarism with reference to Sir Robert's works would appear from a part of the Clerk's affidavit in *The Sullen Lovers*, Act III, Scene 1: "I do likewise attest that he is no purloiner of other men's works, the general fame and opinion notwithstanding."

house." This last comment would indicate, too, that the play was not very popular among the theatre-goers of the time. Pepys saw the play again on December 26, 1667, remarking that it "did not please me today, the actors not pleasing me."<sup>14</sup> There is one other reference given, under date of May 1, 1668, when Pepys "saw the Surprisall," but no comment is made. Geneste characterizes the play as "on the whole a moderate piece."<sup>15</sup> While our judgment can but coincide with his, I think, yet we may well examine the play itself more carefully.

As to plot, we are at the outset plunged into a maze of complications. Miranzo, returning from travel, finds that his rich uncle, Castruccio, is about to marry a young girl, one Emilia, the alliance having been arranged through Emilia's father. Miranzo's sister, Samira, is also in trouble, her lover, Cialto, having lost his fortune through the trickery of the recently deceased father of one Brancadoro, a foppish but rich youth. Cialto refuses to see Samira, now that he is poor, and she is in despair, especially since Castruccio plans to marry her off to Brancadoro, despite her contempt for the little fool and her steadfast love for Cialto. Finally, lest there be too few complications, enters one Villeroto, a renegade soldier who has been cashiered through the influence of Cialto, and who very naturally hates the latter. Villeroto works on the fears of Brancadoro, who is a craven as well as a fop, and makes him fear Cialto, whom he knows to be in love with Samira; as a result Brancadoro is persuaded to hire Villeroto and some fellow ruffians to kill Cialto.

In endeavoring to straighten matters out and to prevent the marriage of his uncle, lest that mean the loss of his own and his sister's source of income, Miranzo meets and falls in love with Emilia. By threatening to kill himself unless she will return his love, he frightens her into delaying the wedding, and Samira, who was at the same time to have wed Brancadoro, flees to a nunnery, whither Emilia later follows her. On the way both girls are captured by Villeroto, who is lying in wait to kill Cialto; they are threatened with ruin, have all sorts of trouble, and are finally rescued by Miranzo, who gets in touch with them by disguising himself as a friar. Then Brancadoro, Castruccio, and the others, who have sought the girls, in vain, at the nunnery, come up, and matters are quickly straightened out. Brancadoro is frightened into restoring Cialto's estate and, Castruccio proving reasonable, Miranzo and Emilia, and Cialto and his Samira, are left happy.

In the main, the weaknesses in this play are those which were noted in connection with *The Blind Lady*. The plot is less tenuous, although even

<sup>14</sup> All of the quotations are from Pepys' *Diary*.

<sup>15</sup> *Some Account of the English Stage* (Bath, 1832) vol. I, p. 56.

more complicated and even less easy to follow. The characterization is rather better handled, Miranzo and Villeroto, as hero and villain, being fairly well drawn. The women, though, are unconvincing; Cialto, with his jealousy and his too quickly aroused suspicions, is a very unappealing lover; and Brancadoro is overdrawn. The general impression one gets of the play is that the workmanship is still amateurish, and the plot too slight.

In conclusion, it may be noted that barring an occasional couplet—and these in addition to the couplets with which, in practically all of his plays, Howard ends his scenes—*The Surprisal* is written throughout in blank verse. There is some improvement noticeable over the work done in *The Blind Lady*, although, as the following quotation will show, there is much still to be hoped for.

Cialto. Why do I still pursue, what still must fly,  
                   And what I dare not wish to overtake?  
 It seems like the pursuit of night, which follows day  
 In the same track, and yet can never reach it.  
 That distance nature did for them decree,  
 And honor has designed the same for me.  
 Yet still there is a mutiny within,  
 Against those laws which honor strictly makes;  
 And passion like a cunning traitor sets  
 The name of liberty on its own rebellion.<sup>14</sup>

Leaving *The Surprisal*, then, we may pass on to a consideration of *The Vestal Virgin*, or *The Roman Ladies*, a play which would hardly deserve mention were it not for one or two unusual features in its construction. It will be best, I think, to confine our attention to these features, since the story itself is even more complicated and of even less real value than those already discussed. Suffice it to say that there are three distinct love affairs involved—that of Tiridates, an Armenian captive of Rome, for Hersilia, daughter of a Roman Senator; that of Sertorius, late a general, for Hersilia, and later for Marcellina, her cousin; and that of Artabaces, an Armenian prince and brother to Tiridates, for Verginia, a Vestal Virgin, sister to Hersilia and cousin to Marcellina. The action centers around these couples and the efforts of Sulpitius, brother to Sertorius, to get Hersilia for himself. His efforts call in the aid of Mutius, a braggart and pseudo fire-eater, and involve all sorts of deep and dark devices, including even setting fire to the house of Emilius, the girls' father, in an effort to spirit Hersilia away in the confusion.

It is in the matter of extricating his characters from their difficulties that Howard has adopted a device which is unusual, and is worth attention.

<sup>14</sup> Act V, Scene 1. Note the couplet, lines 5 and 6. Howard has a habit of inserting these couplets without much reason. In *The Duke of Lerma*, especially, blank verse and rhyme are often combined apparently at random. See page 30.



He planned the play as a tragedy, showing an amazing bloodthirstiness in the way in which he killed off all of his characters except Sulpitius, who is being led to trial and probable death as the play ends. Later, however, perhaps feeling that the play was too unpleasant in that guise, Howard wrote an alternative comedy ending. This device is commented upon by both Ward<sup>17</sup> and Langbaine,<sup>18</sup> both of whom compare the play in this respect to Suckling's *Aglaura*. In all honesty it must be admitted that the comedy version is but little more pleasing than the tragedy. In the comedy *no* one dies—not even Sulpitius, who certainly deserves it. Moreover, the comedy ending accords ill with the rest of the play, and is as flat and anticlimactic as the tragedy is melodramatic and over-gory.

*The Vestal Virgin* differs from Howard's other plays, also, in that it is written almost entirely in rhyme. The abundance of sight rhymes, however, and Sir Robert's fondness for inserting platitudinous bits of moralizing tend to detract materially from any interest one is likely to feel in the story itself or in the versification. I quote a few lines from Act II, Scene 1, as examples of the sort of work Howard has done here.

Love cannot, like the winds it helps, convey  
To fill two sails, though both are spread one way.

And

Designs that hit should be as swift as aim;  
They should go quicker off. Powder not dry  
Does seldom hit, but makes the soul more shy.

And this, from Act III, Scene 1:

But our unsteady actions cannot be  
Managed by rules of strict philosophy.  
There is but part belongs unto our care;  
Fortune has right, and title to a share.

There is, to my mind, but one really outstanding character in *The Vestal Virgin*; and that one is, strangely enough, the "second villain," as we might call him—Mutius, Sulpitius's tool. Mutius is a blustering, yet cowardly braggart who, in the face of really serious crime, discovers some elements of manhood yet stirring in his breast. He is an unlovely specimen, it is true; yet I think he is better drawn than are even Sertorius, Sulpitius, and Atarbaces, all of whom fail to register very strong or definite impressions upon the reader. Of the women, Samira is fairly convincing, but Verginia is little more than a lay figure.

Finally, except for the inclusion of a few Roman names, such as that of the Tiber, Numa's grove, the Flavian Bridge, etc., there is little to suggest

<sup>17</sup> *English Dramatic Literature* (London, 1899) vol. III, p. 394.

<sup>18</sup> *English Dramatic Poets* vol. I, p. 58.

that *The Vestal Virgin* is what it purports to be, a play dealing with the Romans. It may be that, as Geneste points out, Howard was "superlatively ignorant of Roman manners."<sup>19</sup> At any rate realistic Roman atmosphere is conspicuous for its entire absence.

If, then, we were to judge Howard, the dramatist, solely by the plays already considered, we would be very likely to agree with Scott, that his plays "were tolerated—on account of the rank, gallantry, and loyalty of the author."<sup>20</sup> Even Scott, however, makes an exception in the case of *The Committee*, and most other critics are willing to grant almost equal merit to *The Indian Queen*, which we shall next consider.

It is not my intention here to accord *The Indian Queen* as full treatment as that given the preceding plays. This action is taken, not because *The Indian Queen* is not, in itself, worthy of even closer study than are they—for it is in many respects superior to them—but because it is only in part the work of Howard, and even more because, as will be noted later, no way has yet been found by which to distinguish just what parts Howard himself wrote. While the play, then, is classed as Howard's—as one of his best, indeed—we may confine our present attention to a consideration of those features of its construction and production which seem to have a direct bearing on the present discussion.

There are, we find, about this tragedy, a number of very interesting points. In the first place, written as it was in heroic verse, it may be said to have been practically the first English heroic play. It is thus spoken of by Ward,<sup>21</sup> and Nettleton agrees, that with this play and especially with Dryden's sequel, *The Indian Emperor*, "rhymed heroic tragedy came into full being."<sup>22</sup> In the second place, *The Indian Queen* is distinguished in that in its composition Howard had at least the advice and counsel, very probably the actual collaboration, of Dryden. There has been considerable controversy as to what part each had in writing the play. Scott champions Dryden, as always, pointing out that the character Montezuma is a prototype of Dryden's Almanzor, of *The Conquest of Granada*; that there are resemblances between Zempoalla in *The Indian Queen* and Nourmahal in *Aureng-zebe*; and finally that the language in *The Indian Queen* has "greater ease and a readier flow of verse" than are Sir Robert's. "The versification of this piece, which is far more harmonious than that generally used by Howard, shows evidently, that our author [Dryden] had assiduously corrected the whole play, though it may be difficult to say how much of it was

<sup>19</sup> *English Stage* vol. I, p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> *Dryden's Works* vol. II, p. 225; preface to *The Indian Queen*.

<sup>21</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature* vol. VIII, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> *English Drama of the Restoration and the 18th Century* (New York, 1914) p. 55.

written by him."<sup>23</sup> Another critic agrees with Scott that "the shortcomings in versification of part of this play . . . suggest that it was submitted by him [Howard] for revision to Dryden, whose superior skill in the handling of the couplet he freely confessed."<sup>24</sup> However, as the same critic points out elsewhere, the extent to which the two men collaborated must remain undecided, "at all events till a verse test shall have been perfected for application to our Restoration dramatists."<sup>25</sup> Dr. Johnson, also, notes that "the parts which either of them wrote are not distinguished,"<sup>26</sup> and with that we may dismiss the matter. Perhaps, though, it may well be pointed out here that for some reason Dryden's share in the writing of *The Indian Queen* was not generally known until, in 1665, he published what he intended as a sequel to this play, namely, *The Indian Emperor*. The preface to this latter play offers evidence on this point and at the same time presents an interesting comment upon the earlier work. "The conclusion of *The Indian Queen* (part of which poem was writ by me)," writes Dryden, "left little matter for another story to be built on, there remaining but two of the considerable characters alive; viz., Montezuma and Orazia."<sup>27</sup> Saintsbury adds: "The good Sir Robert had indeed heaped the stage with dead in his last act in a manner which must have confirmed any French critic who saw or read the play in his belief of the blood-thirstiness of the English drama."<sup>28</sup> Nor was this the first time that Howard had done this; for, as we have already pointed out, this very same device of wholesale slaughter is utilized in the original or tragic version of *The Vestal Virgin*.

That *The Indian Queen* was decidedly successful has been generally attributed to the magnificent scenic accessories and to the appeal which lay "in the remoteness and consequent strangeness of scene"<sup>29</sup> (among the Incas, in Peru) than to the heroic verse or to the exclusion of comic scenes from the tragedy. Both Pepys and Evelyn saw the play. The former writes: ". . . in the way observing the street full of coaches at the new play, 'The Indian Queen'; which for show, they say, exceeds 'Henry the Eighth.'"<sup>30</sup> Apparently he did not see the play until a few days later, for on February 1, he mentions seeing ". . . the King, coming the other day to his theatre to see 'The Indian Queen' (which he commends for a very fine thing) . . ." Possibly as a result of this evidence of royal favor, Pepys, on the same day, took his wife to the King's Theatre "and there saw 'The

<sup>23</sup> *Dryden's Works* vol. I, p. 69.

<sup>24</sup> Ward is the critic here; the reference is the same as (21), p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> *English Dramatic Literature* vol. III, p. 348.

<sup>26</sup> *Lives of the English Poets* (ed. Hill, Oxford, 1905) vol. I, p. 336.

<sup>27</sup> *Scott Dryden's Works* vol. II, p. 321.

<sup>28</sup> *English Men of Letters* (ed. Morley, London, 1907) vol. I, p. 42.

<sup>29</sup> Ward, in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. III, p. 23.

<sup>30</sup> *Diary* Jan. 27, 1664.

Indian Queen' acted; which indeed," he says, "is a most pleasant show and beyond my expectation; the play good; but spoiled with the rhyme, which breaks the sense." Evelyn is likewise favorably impressed. The play is, he says, "a tragedy so well written, so beautiful with rich scenes as the like had never been seen here, or haply (except rarely) elsewhere on a mercenary theatre."<sup>21</sup> Both Langbaine<sup>22</sup> and Jacob<sup>23</sup> comment upon the "great applause" with which the play was greeted, the latter adding that it has since "been converted to an opera and been represented with the like success." Finally, Geneste writes: "—this is completely a heroic tragedy, unnatural, but never dull—Zempoalla, the Indian Queen, is a good acting character."<sup>24</sup>

So much, then, for the contemporary and, to some extent, the later opinions on this play of Howard's. It must be admitted that present day readers will find in it little to interest them; furthermore the unevenness of the verse, the extravagance which marks much of the diction, and the wholesale butchering of the characters would tend to make our reaction a negative rather than a positive one. Nevertheless, *The Indian Queen* must be ranked as a successful play of its day, and as one of the most important of Howard's works.

There now remains for our consideration in this chapter Howard's last play,<sup>25</sup> *The Great Favorite, or The Duke of Lerma*, printed in 1668. Attention has already been called to the fact that Howard was accused of plagiarism in connection with this play.<sup>26</sup> It is evident that these charges were directly responsible for the publication of the play and for Howard's explanation, in the prefatory address, of how he "came accidentally to write it." A play called the Duke of Lerma was brought to the King's company, says Howard, and "I was desired to peruse it, and return my opinion, whether I thought it fit for the stage. After I had read it I acquainted them, that in my judgment it would not be of much use for such a design, since the contrivance scarce would merit the name of a plot; and some of that assisted by a disguise; and it ended abruptly." For these and other reasons Howard considered the play "unfit to be presented by any that had a respect, not only to Princes, but indeed to either man or woman;" but

<sup>21</sup> *Diary* Jan. 5, 1664.

<sup>22</sup> *English Dramatic Poets*, p. 276.

<sup>23</sup> *The Political Register* vol. I, p. 142.

<sup>24</sup> *Some Account of the English Stage* vol. I, p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> According to W. Carew Hazlitt [*A Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays* (London, 1892) p. 47] a tragedy with the title "The Conquest of China" appears to have been written by Sir Robert Howard, and was intended to be revised by Dryden. It was never either acted or printed, however, and is now probably lost. This is the play, also, which Dryden planned to revise "at the expense of six weeks' work."

See also Dryden's letter of September, 1697, "to his Sons at Rome."

<sup>26</sup> See page 22.

since Howard himself was "about that time, being to go into the country," he was "persuaded by Mr. Hart" [probably the actor] to make it his diversion there "that so great a hint might not be lost, as the Duke of Lerma saving himself, in his last extremity, by his unexpected disguise."<sup>27</sup> This device, continues Howard, "is as well in the true story as in the old play; and besides that and the names, my altering the most part of his characters, and the whole design, made me uncapable to use much more; though perhaps written with higher style and thoughts than I could attain to." Dryden comments upon this apology of Howard's in a rather sarcastic vein: ". . . having so much altered and beautified it [the play in question], as he has done it can justly belong to none but him. Indeed, they must be extremely ignorant as well as envious, who would rob him of that honor; for you see him putting in his claim to it even in the first two lines."<sup>28</sup> The fact that the *Defence*, in which this statement of Dryden's appeared, was in itself an answer to this very preface of Howard's to *The Duke of Lerma*,<sup>29</sup> accounts for the tone Dryden adopts, and for the slighting reference to "the first two lines."

Dismissing, however, this question of authorship, we find that in *The Duke of Lerma* Howard has at last succeeded in working out a well-knit, direct, yet tensely dramatic plot; one that is at once gratifyingly free from the annoying side issues and complications so common in his earlier plays, and is at the same time well worth more than a passing glance, because of its positive merits.

The Duke of Lerma, out of favor at court, is in sore straits financially, and is, moreover, in imminent danger of banishment from court. The King (of Spain), however, who is ill when the play opens, dies soon after, and the Queen, even more Lerma's enemy than was the King, also dies, under suspicious circumstances. This brings to the throne Philip II, an easy-going, rather weak-willed youth, malleable, open to influence, and in most ways lacking in anything resembling kingly firmness and wisdom. Lerma sees his chance. He persuades his daughter, Maria, to win the favor of Philip, live with him as his mistress, and thus bring about her father's restoration to favor. Despite virtuous scruples, Maria consents, and the plan succeeds. Lerma, once more in power, seeks vengeance against his foes, especially against his Uncle, the Duke of Medina. Lerma also amasses considerable

<sup>27</sup> See Act V, Scene 2.

<sup>28</sup> *A Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. See *An English Garner* (ed. Arber) vol. VII, p. 116.

<sup>29</sup> The *Defence* and the preface to *The Duke of Lerma* are two of the documents involved in the Dryden-Howard controversy. Howard's first two lines in *The Duke of Lerma* are in blank verse; hence Dryden's comment. This whole matter will be discussed in the latter part of the present chapter.

wealth, as do his tools, and through one of the latter, a friar whom Lerma makes Archbishop of Toledo, he [Lerma] is appointed a cardinal. Soon, however, Maria, repenting of her action, endeavors to stand between her father's plots and her uncle and the other conspirators; and later even runs away from court. Philip, deprived of her influence, is soon brought over to the side of Lerma's enemies, and the downfall of the Duke is imminent. He is summoned to trial for the murder of the late Queen, Medina having found out that he was instrumental in bringing about her death. He finally saves himself, in this last extremity, by appearing at the trial in his cardinal's habit—on the supposition, of course, that as a cardinal he cannot be tried. He states that he has made arrangements to retire to a monastery of his own, laughs at his enemies, and goes out; and thus the play ends. Maria, about to go into a convent, is persuaded that the good of the State demands that she marry Philip, as he vows never to marry anyone else.

That this plot is comparatively simple is evident. There is included practically nothing that is irrelevant. The scenes are well handled, some of them being grippingly dramatic. The action does not lag, nor is the plot spun out too long. All in all, from the standpoint of plot, then, *The Duke of Lerma* is a very fair production, and far superior to any of Howard's earlier work.

In characterization, also, Howard has here achieved happier results. Lerma, with his coolly calculated schemes, his deliberate villainy, and his consistent freedom from any too annoying conscientious scruples, is almost refreshing. He is convincing, and, I think, rather appealing despite his wickedness. Maria, torn between father love and her sense of honor, is convincing, if not very strong. And at least one other character, the Duke of Medina, is very well drawn. Straightforward, direct, scorning intrigues and plots, yet working always for his country's good, he makes an admirable foil for Lerma, and is about as good a bit of characterization as I have been able to find in Howard's work so far mentioned.

In the matter of versification, however, *The Duke of Lerma* is something of a puzzle. Howard has here combined blank verse with rhyme, apparently without any definite reason therefor.<sup>40</sup> In several places, for instance,<sup>41</sup> he switches to verse where there has been no evident increase in the tension of the scene, nor any other cause which would seem to account for his action. Again, while most of the verse is in heroic couplets, and the blank verse in iambic pentameters, there is included a Masque<sup>42</sup> in which Howard

<sup>40</sup> See the preface to *The Duke of Lerma*, and see also the discussion of this use of rhyme and blank verse together which is included in the matter relating to the Dryden-Howard controversy.

<sup>41</sup> See Act II, Scene 2; Act III. Scene 2; Act IV, Scene 2; and Act V, Scene 2.

<sup>42</sup> Act IV, Scene 1.

uses partly iambic tetrameter and partly an alternation of these with iambic pentameter. The point is, not that any of these arrangements are unusual, but that there seems to be no system in their use, no plan behind it all. Lastly, in single speeches we sometimes find what would today, no doubt, be called free verse, For example. this, from Act IV, Scene 1:

*Medina.* This is the likest thing  
To virtue I ever saw.  
Besides, had she been vicious,  
She would not have neglected her revenge,  
One of the pleasantest lust ill women have.  
All may be counterfeit—and yet—  
There may be such a thing as a good woman.

Whether Howard's controversy with Dryden had left him rather in doubt as to what his own practices in versification should be, or whether he was simply experimenting, I do not know. But in all events, meritorious though the play be in other respects, in this it leaves one both perplexed and somewhat annoyed, even irritated, at Howard's lack of consistency.

*The Duke of Lerma*, then, because of its vigorous, stirring action, its very fair characterization, and its direct, strong, well-knit plot, is deserving of considerable praise. It is, I think, only slightly inferior to *The Indian Queen*, and is in some ways superior to *The Committee*, although the two plays are of such different sorts that comparisons are difficult. Certainly, at any rate, Howard has, in *The Duke of Lerma*, made great strides in dramatic technique since his production of *The Blind Lady*, *The Vestal Virgin*, and *The Surprisal*, and the later play is a far more finished production than any of these three. Also it is readable, even now—something which the others are not.

Before leaving this subject, we may note one or two comments upon the play. Ward declares that it is "not devoid of merit, but it is chiefly interesting as a protest (only a partial protest, however) on Howard's part against the theories of dramatic versification advocated by Dryden." And again, "its action, though undoubtedly crude in treatment, is interesting and stirring."<sup>43</sup> And Pepys—for of course Pepys saw the play—offers his contribution thus; "The play designed to reproach our king with his mistresses, that I was troubled for it, and expected it should be interrupted; but it all ended well, which solved all. The play a well-writ and good play, only its design I did not like of reproaching the King; but altogether a very good and most serious play."<sup>44</sup> And with that we may leave it.

We have now finished our scrutiny of the individual plays of Sir Robert Howard, (with the exception of *The Committee*), and are ready to consider

<sup>43</sup> *English Dramatic Literature* vol. III, p. 394.

<sup>44</sup> *Diary* February 20, 1668.

the various facts of the Dryden-Howard controversy. It may seem that this discussion should have preceded, instead of following, what has gone before; it may be pointed out, however, that the controversy is of more interest intrinsically than in connection with Howard's plays, and, further, that only in *The Duke of Lerma* did there appear to be any noticeable effect of the discussion upon Sir Robert's own methods of composition. He combined rhymed and blank verse in most of his plays, even in those which were undeniably "serious"; and in *The Duke of Lerma* itself, as will be noted again later, he did not confine himself to the practice of what he was so assiduously preaching. Indeed, the parts of this play which are in rhyme are declared by Ward to be "among some of the most important passages in it."<sup>45</sup> We may, then, review the controversy independently, first sketching the argument itself, as developed by various stages, and then commenting upon certain extraneous features involved.

Stripped of all personalities, the history of the Dryden-Howard controversy is as follows. In 1664 Dryden included in the *Dedicatory Epistle* to his *The Rival Ladies* certain arguments advanced to show that rhyme was more suitable than blank verse, for dramatic purposes.<sup>46</sup> Having defended "writing scenes in verse" as "not so much a new way amongst us, as an old way new revived," Dryden proceeds to refute the charges made against rhyme. He admits that at times, where the writer has an insufficient command of English, rhyme is inconvenient, in that it leads to unnatural word order, etc. But, he urges, "this is the only inconvenience with which rhyme can be charged. This is that, which makes them say, 'Rhyme is not natural.' It being only so, when the poet either makes a vicious choice of words; or places them, for rhyme's sake, so unnaturally, as no man would, in ordinary speaking. But when 'tis so judiciously ordered, that the first word in the verse seems to beget the second; and that, the next; till that becomes the last word in the line, which, in the negligence of prose, would be so; it must, then, be granted rhyme has all advantages of prose, besides its own." Finally, Dryden urges on behalf of rhyme certain specific advantages gained from its use; namely, "the help it brings to memory"; its use in repartee, in that "the sudden smartness of the answer, and the sweetness of the rhyme set off the beauty of each other"; and, last and most important, "that benefit, which I consider most in it, . . . that it bounds and circumscribes the fancy."

To these arguments of Dryden's Sir Robert Howard took exception, in his *Preface to Four New Plays*, 1665. Howard, first voicing his disapproval of the English tragi-comedies of his time, on the ground that they did not

<sup>45</sup> *English Dramatic Literature* vol. III, p. 395.

<sup>46</sup> The complete set of documents in this matter (i. e., regarding the whole controversy) will be found in Arber's *English Garner*, vol. VII, pp. 23-134 inclusive.



follow the ancient models (i. e., Seneca, Terence, and Plautus) but were guilty of "mingling and interweaving mirth and sadness, through the whole course of their plays," takes up for specific discussion the question, "Whether verse in rhyme, or verse without the sound, which may be called Blank Verse, (though a hard expression) is to be preferred?" In general, he says, "they are both proper; that is, one for a play, the other for a poem or copy of verses; as blank verse being as much too low for one as rhyme is unnatural for the other." A play is presented as the present effect of accidents not thought of, and hence rhyme, which should be premeditated, is unnatural to a play. This is particularly true when "a piece of verse is made up by one who knew not what the other meant to say; and the former verse answered as perfectly in sound as the last is supplied in measure." The point that rhyme circumscribes the fancy Howard dismisses as irrelevant, for "the dispute is not which way a man may write best in, but which is most proper for the subject he writes upon." Finally, he urges, "Nor are great thoughts more adorned by verse, than verse unbeautified by mean ones. So that verse seems not only unfit in the best use of it, but much more in the worst, when 'a servant is called,' or 'a door is bid to be shut' in rhyme."<sup>47</sup>

It was this attack of Howard's which called forth the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, 1668, in which Dryden presents, through Crites, all of the arguments advanced by Howard, and refutes them through Neander. It will hardly be necessary here to review in much detail this essay of Dryden's; it is too well known, for one thing, and the general position of the two men has already been sufficiently outlined. Suffice it to say that Crites defends the classical Unities, and again urges that rhyme is not fit for tragedy, in that it cannot express great thoughts naturally, or low ones, well. In fact, the points made are precisely those advanced by Howard in his *Preface*. Neander then replies, though, as he says, "with all imaginable respect and deference both to that person [i. e., Howard] from whom you [i. e., Crites] have borrowed your strongest arguments; and to whose judgment, when I have said all, I finally submit." Dryden's refutation here may well be summed up in his opening paragraph: "But before I proceed to answer your objections, I must first remember you, that I exclude all comedy from my defence; and next, that I deny not but that blank verse, may be also used; and content myself only to assert that in serious plays, where the subject

<sup>47</sup> It may be well to add here Howard's apology for his own rather inconsistent practises. "But while I give these arguments against verse, I may seem faulty, that I have not only writ ill ones, but writ any. But since it was the fashion, I was resolved, as in all indifferent things, not to appear singular; the danger of the vanity being greater than the error. And therefore, I followed it as a fashion, though very far off." Crites and Neander are Howard and Dryden, respectively.

and characters are great, and the plot unmixed with mirth . . . , *rhyme is there, as natural, and more effectual than blank verse.*" Ward quotes Ker as pointing out that the *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* might be summed up in Dryden's triplet in the *Prologue to Secret Love* (1667):<sup>48</sup>

The Unities of Action, Place, and Time,  
The Scenes unbroken, and a mingled chime  
Of Jonson's manner and Corneille's rhyme.

It is not too much to say that here the real argument, as such, ceases, for the later stages of the discussion are but little more than reiterations of the previous assertions, added to but by no means graced by considerable personal recrimination. In order better to understand these later developments it will be well first to retrace out steps briefly.

At the time of the publication of *The Rival Ladies*, 1664, Dryden was already under some obligations to Howard<sup>49</sup> and further, he had but the year before married Lady Elizabeth Howard, Sir Robert's sister. It would appear that this marriage, however, was not a happy one, perhaps because "his wife was, it is said, ill-tempered and not overburdened with brains, and he himself was no more a model of conjugal propriety than most of his associates."<sup>50</sup> Whatever the truth of this matter, the point to be noted is that there developed between the two men a coolness which was due in the main to Howard's attitude of patronizing superciliousness, but which may have been caused in part by Dryden's marital infelicity and consequent irritation. We may here resume our survey of the controversy from a new angle, looking upon it as largely an interchange of personalities.

Scott<sup>51</sup> and Christie,<sup>52</sup> as well as some critics of Dryden's own time, have insisted upon considering the whole Dryden-Howard affair as a personal quarrel. Such would seem hardly to have been the case at first, for there

<sup>48</sup> *Cambridge History of English Literature* vol. VIII, p. 27, note.

<sup>49</sup> There is ample evidence that Howard befriended Dryden during the latter's early years—later, too, for that matter. We may note Dryden's letter to Howard, prefixed to *Annus Mirabilis* (1667): "I am so many ways obliged to you, and so little able to return your favors that, like those who owe too much, I can only live by getting farther into your debt. You have not only been careful of my fortune, which was the effect of your nobleness, but you have been solicitous of my reputation, which was that of your kindness."

Note also these lines, from Shadwell's *The Medal of John Bayes*, with reference to Dryden:

"Then by th' assistance of a noble knight,  
Th' hadst plenty, ease, and liberty to write.  
First like a gentleman he made thee live;  
And on his bounty thou didst amply thrive."

<sup>50</sup> Saintsbury, in *English Men of Letters*, vol. I, p. 23.

<sup>51</sup> *Dryden's Works* vol. I, p. 84.

<sup>52</sup> *The Poetical Works of John Dryden* (Globe edition, London, 1907) introduction, p. xxvii.

is nothing of an unpleasantly personal nature in Howard's first *Preface*, and in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* itself Dryden characterized his opponent (as Crites) as "a person of sharp judgment, and somewhat too delicate a taste in wit, which the world have mistaken in him for ill-nature"—surely no very harsh criticism. Dryden, then, seems not to have looked upon the discussion as a personal matter. As for Howard, the only point at which he, personally, could cavil was a statement in Dryden's letter to Lord Buckhurst (preceding the *Essay*), to the effect that "none are very violent against it [rhymed verse] but those who either have not attempted it, or who have succeeded ill in their attempt." And this censure, Howard writes in the *Preface to The Duke of Lerma*, "as to myself and him, I easily acknowledge; for I confess none has written, in that way, better than himself; nor few worse than I."

If, then, the quarrel may be said to have been personal, it was so during only its later stages, and the real fault lay in Howard's adopting, in his reply to the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (Howard's preface to *The Duke of Lerma*), "the air of a person to whom, as a statesman and public man, the points in dispute are mere trifles," and in his pretending to stoop, with patronizing condescension, "to a discussion with one to whom, as a mere *litterateur*, such matters are of importance."<sup>83</sup> Scott is even stronger in his condemnation of Howard's attitude here, characterizing it as "supercilious censure," and urging that "the whole tone of the preface is that of one who wished to have it supposed that he was writing concerning a subject rather beneath his notice, and only felt himself called forth to do so by the dogmatism of those who laid down confident rules or laws in matters so trifling."<sup>84</sup> This tone, by the way, seems to have been one which Howard was rather too prone to adopt on various occasions. In this instance it brought down upon his head a crushing reply, in the *Defence of An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, prefaced to the second edition of *The Indian Emperor*, 1668. This was the final document of the controversy.

In the *Defence* the seriously critical part deals with Howard's attacks on the employment of rhyme in tragedy, on the observance of strict rules in dramatic composition, and on the observance of the Unities. It is of more interest to us, however, that in this *Defence* Dryden also "ridicules what Shadwell had ridiculed before in *The Sullen Lovers*, Howard's cox-combical affectation of universal knowledge," and that he "mercilessly exposes his ignorance of Latin, and the uncouthness of his English."<sup>84</sup> "It would be difficult" writes Scott, "to point out deeper contempt and irony, couched under language so temperate, cold, and outwardly respectful."<sup>85</sup> This esti-

<sup>83</sup> J. C. Collins, in Arber's *An English Garner* vol. VII, Introduction, p. xix.

<sup>84</sup> *Dryden's Works* vol. II, p. 290.

<sup>85</sup> The same.

mate seems somewhat too harsh, especially in view of the last two paragraphs of the *Defence* itself, in which Dryden goes far toward making amends for anything which he may have said to offend Howard. "But I lay my observation at his feet, as I do my pen, which I have often employed, willingly, in his deserved commendations; and, now, most unwillingly, against his judgment. For his person and parts, I honor them, as much as any man living; and have had so many particular obligations to him, that I should be very ungrateful, if I did not acknowledge them to the world." Then follows Dryden's own account of the whole controversy, as follows:

"But I gave the first occasion of this Difference in Opinions. In my *Epistle Dedicatory*, before my *Rival Ladies*, I said somewhat in behalf of verse; which he was pleased to answer in his *Prologue* to his *Plays*. That occasioned my reply in my *Essay*; and that reply begot his rejoinder in his *Prologue* to *The Duke of Lerma*. But, as I was the last to take up arms, I will be the first to lay them down. For what I have here written, I submit it wholly to him; and, if I do not hereafter answer what may be objected to this paper, I hope the World will not impute it to any other reason, than only the due respect which I have for so noble an opponent."

So far as Dryden and Howard were concerned, this closed the matter. Before noting a later development of the controversy, however, we may point out that not only was Howard inconsistent in his observance of his own precepts,<sup>66</sup> but even Dryden himself abandoned, but a few years later, "the way of writing plays in verse, which I have seemed to favor; I have," he continues,<sup>67</sup> "since that time, laid the practice of it aside till I have more leisure, because I find it troublesome and slow. But I am no way altered from my opinion of it, at least, with any reasons which have opposed it."

I have mentioned a later development of the Dryden-Howard controversy. Pepys, writing on September 20, 1668, speaks of having "since church heard the boy read over Dryden's Reply to Sir Robert Howard's answer, about his essay of Poesy, and a letter in answer to that; the last whereof is mighty silly, in behalf of Howard."<sup>68</sup> This letter purports to be a defense of Howard and an attack on Dryden, and is signed "R. F.," which

<sup>66</sup> The point has already been made (p. 30) that even in *The Duke of Lerma* Howard not only used rhyme, but used it for some of the most important scenes. "I will not . . . pretend to say," he writes in the address preceding this play, "why I write this play, some scenes in blank verse, others in rhyme, since I have no better reason to give than chance, which waited upon my present fancy."

<sup>67</sup> Dedicatory Letter to Lord Buckhurst, preceding the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. The *Essay* was written in 1665, and was printed in 1668. Apparently the change took place between these dates.

<sup>68</sup> *Diary*.

some have taken to indicate that it was written by Richard Flecknoe.<sup>59</sup> The letter is not only "mighty silly," as Pepys had it, but is also both dull and puerile. It may be dismissed without further consideration.

There was at least one other echo of the Dryden-Howard affair which may be mentioned. In 1663 Dryden's *The Wild Gallant* was offered to the theatre-going public, but it was not successful, despite the patronage of Lady Castlemaine, even of Charles II himself. In a *Session of the Poets* (c. 1670) there appears the following, with reference to the play and to Dryden and Howard and their controversy.

Sir Robert Howard, called for over and over,  
At length sent in Teague with a packet of news,  
Wherein the sad knight, to his grief did discover  
How Dryden had lately robbed him of his Muse.

Each man in the court was pleased with the theft,  
Which made the whole family swear and rant;  
Desiring, their Robin in the lurch being left,  
The thief might be punished for his 'Wild Gallant.'<sup>60</sup>

And again, we have Captain Radcliffe's *News from Hell*, in which are listed the poets who are

.....damn'd above;  
They're damn'd on earth by th' present age,  
Damn'd in cabals, and damn'd o' th' stage.

Among these he lists Sir Robert Howard, as "A seventh," calling him damned because

.....he'd rather choose  
To spoil his verse than tire his Muse.  
Nor will he let heroics chime;  
Fancy (quoth he) is lost by rhyme;  
And he that's us'd to clashing swords  
Should not delight in sound of words.  
Mars with Mercury should not mingle;  
Great warriors should speak big, not jingle.<sup>61</sup>

So much, then, for the Dryden-Howard controversy—a controversy which waxed unduly warm at times, perhaps, and in which, perhaps, the opponents forsook to some slight extent that dignity which should have been theirs; yet a controversy which set for a time the style of rhymed

<sup>59</sup> For a full discussion of this "Letter from a gentleman to the Honorable Ed. Howard, Esq., occasioned by a Civilised Epistle of Mr. Dryden's before his Second Edition of his *Indian Emperor*," see the article by one Peter Cunningham, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1850, p. 597, under title of "Dryden's Quarrel with Flecknoe."

<sup>60</sup> Scott *Dryden's Works* vol. I, p. 68.

<sup>61</sup> Nichols, J. A. *Select Collection of Poems* vol. I, p. 145, note.

heroic tragedies in England, which gave to us the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, and which was the prime factor in rendering Sir Robert Howard of any real importance in the history of English literature.

We have now completed our survey of the life of Sir Robert Howard; we have considered what information was available concerning his political and social activities and his importance, in the light of these activities, in the life of his times; and have examined with some care all of his known contributions to literature except the one play, *The Committee*, which has been reserved for individual treatment in detail. We have seen that, socially and politically, Howard was by no means a negligible factor in his own day; that he was an able and successful diplomat and statesman, of high birth, a worthy member of an illustrious family; that he was a zealous, courageous, and uniformly loyal supporter of his King—and that his devotion seems to have been suitably rewarded. We have noted that what faults he may have had of arrogance, opinionated obstinacy perhaps, and conceit, were counterbalanced by his generosity, his genuine kindness and sympathy. And finally we have accorded to him that place in literature—an unimportant one, perhaps, yet still a place—to which, largely by virtue of his relations with Dryden, but partly at least because of definite merits in his own productions, he is entitled.

### CHAPTER III

#### "THE COMMITTEE" AND "TEAGUE": HISTORY AND CRITICISM

*The Committee* was by all odds the most successful of Sir Robert Howard's six plays; it was, moreover, the only one to achieve anything like lasting popularity. It appeared in print first in 1665, in Howard's *Four New Plays*, although it was undoubtedly acted some years before that.<sup>1</sup> After 1665 it was reprinted, either alone or with other of Howard's plays, in 1692, 1710, 1722, and 1733; and it was included in Bell's *British Theatre* and in similar collections under dates of 1775, 1776, 1790, 1791, 1797, and 1811. As evidence of another sort we have notices<sup>2</sup> of *The Committee* having been acted in the Haymarket in 1706; in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1732; in Covent Garden in 1749; and in Drury Lane in 1720, 1742, 1760, 1778, and 1788. Among the lists of actors and actresses are such as Mrs. Bracegirdle, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Leigh, Mrs. Woffington, and Miss Pope; and Lacy, Wilks, Cibber, Miller, Barrington, and Moody—an array of talent which, in itself, would bespeak considerable merit in the vehicle in which they appeared.

Sufficient proof has been advanced to show that *The Committee* not only struck the popular fancy in Howard's own day but also succeeded in remaining more or less of a stock favorite for over a century.<sup>3</sup> The secret of this long continued popularity may, I think, be said to lie in the fact that it made a very specific appeal to Restoration audiences in that it is a sort of double-barrelled satire against the Puritans; it satirizes their piety, their mannerisms, and their customs quite in the manner so popular at the time, and it further pillories with biting irony the activities of the Roundhead Covenanters and Committees of Sequestration, any attack upon whom was sure to please the Restoration theatre-goers. This point will need further exposition; we may first, however, repeat: that to this contemporaneous

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn saw *The Committee* on November 27, 1662 (see *Diary*) and Pepys saw it on June 12, 1663, as well as later (see *Diary*). Their comments will be given later on.

<sup>2</sup> See Geneste *Some account of the English Stage* vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6.

<sup>3</sup> As an additional point here, we note that an adaptation of *The Committee*, under the title of *The Honest Thieves*, was written by Thomas Knight, and "was acted at Covent Garden on May 9, 1797" with such success that it "became a stock play." (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. X, p. 61.) Baker's *Biographica Dramatica* (ed. Stephen Jones, London, 1812) vol. II, p. 308, mentions this adaptation. "The abridgment has been judiciously made, and the farce is still frequently performed."

*The Honest Thieves* is contained in the collection, *The London Stage*, vol. I. It is readable, though not highly entertaining.

appeal, and to the fact that one of the characters (Teague) in *The Committee* proved to be a favorite acting vehicle for some of the best comedians of the period and a favorite likewise with their audiences, rather than to any superiority of dramatic technique, may be attributed the placing of this play, by Howard's contemporaries and by later critics, on a level above that attained to by his other plays.

The better to understand the appeal *The Committee* made at the time of its appearance, we may review briefly some of the historical events pertaining thereto.

✓ In 1643, writes Macaulay,<sup>4</sup> "while the event of the war [the Civil Wars] was still doubtful, the Houses . . . had required all men to subscribe that renowned instrument known by the name of the Solemn League and Covenant [not to be confused with the Scottish National Covenant of 1638]." The real aim of this Covenant was to get the people of England and Scotland "to uphold the true Protestant religion in the Church of Scotland, to reform religion in the Church of England according to the example of the best reformed churches, . . . ,"<sup>5</sup> but in effect it naturally soon became a powerful weapon whereby the Roundheads might wreak vengeance upon their Royalist enemies. Macaulay continues: "Covenanting work, as it was called, went on fast. Hundreds of thousands affixed their names to the rolls, and, with hands lifted up toward heaven, swore to endeavor, without respect of persons, the extirpation of Popery and Prelacy, heresy and schism, and to bring to public trial and condign punishment all who should hinder the reformation of religion. When the struggle was over [i. e., the war] the work of innovation and revenge was pushed on with increased ardor. . . . Fines, often of ruinous amount, were laid on the Royalists, already impoverished by large aids furnished to the King. Many estates were confiscated. Large domains, belonging to the crown, to the bishops, and to the chapters, were seized, and either granted away or put up at auction. In consequence of these spoliations a great part of the soil of England was at once offered for sale. As money was scarce, as the market was glutted, as the title was insecure, and as the awe inspired by powerful bidders prevented free competition, the prices were often merely nominal. Thus many old and honorable families disappeared and were heard of no more; and many new men rose rapidly to affluence."<sup>6</sup> Further, with specific practice of sequestration, we find that: "Besides certain royalists altogether exempted from pardon [i. e., for Papacy], others were forced to compound for their 'delinquency,' either by complete forfeiture of their

<sup>4</sup> *History of England* vol. I, pp. 137-138.

<sup>5</sup> Montague, F. C. in *The Political History of England, 1603-1660* (ed. Hunt & Poole, London, 1911) vol. VII, p. 290.

<sup>6</sup> *History of England* vol. VII, p. 290 (see note 4).



estates, or, more generally, by 'sequestration.' In the latter case the estates were seized by the State, whence they could be recovered by their original owners only by yielding from a sixth to a half of their value."<sup>7</sup> Nor was this all. On June 26, 1657, Parliament passed against the "popish recusants" a bill requiring that all suspected Papists appear and take oath of abjuration against the Pope, transubstantiation, purgatory, etc., or forfeit two-thirds of their estates to the Protector. The estates could not be transferred to their wives or children; further, if a Protestant married a recusant he became one also. This was, it will be noted, a severer sort of sequestration than that provided for by the Covenant of 1643; and it further stipulated that any one who had once been sequestered could not take the oath of abjuration until he had been for six months a constant attendant at Church or at a Christian meeting allowed by public authority.<sup>8</sup>

No further evidence will be necessary to show that any play which, during the Restoration, attacked such practices as these was bound to be successful. As for *The Committee's* being a general satire against the Puritans, in that respect it was much more conventional, and in accord with the work of other writers. It will hardly be necessary here to review the relations of the Puritans to the stage, nor the frequency with which, from the days of Elizabeth on, they were humorously or cruelly burlesqued by English writers. In this regard *The Committee* merely follows a well established precedent; its distinction lies in its political rather than in its social satire.

From the standpoint of dramatic technique, *The Committee* has been characterized as "unadorned with any brilliancy of either thought or language,"<sup>10</sup> as having "no great merit as to the writing,"<sup>11</sup> and as "a curious

<sup>7</sup> Cross, A. L. *A History of England and Greater Britain* (New York, 1914) p. 500.

<sup>8</sup> Firth, C. H. *The Last Years of the Protectorate* (London, 1909) vol. I, pp. 74 ff. The same writer gives (p. 79, note 4) some interesting figures. "On the revenue derived from the recusants, see the Calender of the Committee for Compounding, 1, p. xxi; 5, p. xxxii. A list of recusants under sequestration in 1655 shows that they numbered 1582 persons (*ibid.*, 1, 741). In the revenue for 1658-9 there is an entry, 'By Receivers General arising chiefly by Papists' and Delinquents' estates, £54,087, 5s., 9d.'"

<sup>9</sup> It may be well to append here, however, a partial list of plays in which Puritans figured as objects of mirth and ridicule. Chapman's *An Humorous Day's Mirth*, 1599; Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (at least one reference; II, 3), 1601; the anonymous satire, *The Puritan*, 1607; Middleton's *The Family of Love*, and *A Mad World*, both in 1608; Jonson's *The Alchemist*, and, especially, *Bartholomew Fair* (acted 1610 and 1614 respectively).

About Howard's own time we have Samuel Butler's famous burlesque, *Hudibras*, 1663; Lacy's *The Old Troop*, 1668; and such plays as Crowne's *City Politics*, 1673, and Mrs. Behn's *The Roundheads*, 1682. There were, of course, a host of other plays of this sort, both before and after *The Committee*.

<sup>10</sup> Bell's *British Theatre* (London, 1791) introduction to *The Committee*, in vol. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* vol. II, p. 308.

picture, or rather, caricature, of the manners of the later Commonwealth period, drawn by a hostile hand, . . . in which . . . the attack is made after so coarse a fashion that the edge of the satire is blunted."<sup>12</sup> The story concerns the efforts made by a Mr. Day, Chairman of a puritanical Committee of Sequestration, and his socially ambitious wife, to acquire riches and power by any means available. Mr. Day, spurred on by his wife (who is the better man of the two), uses his position to accomplish the sequestration of the estates of two Irish Cavaliers, Blunt and Careless; he and his wife further scheme to secure, by underhand methods, the estates of two Irish orphans—Ruth, who has been adopted by them and supposes herself to be their daughter, and Arbella, said to be a rich Irish heiress, who has been brought over to England by Mrs. Day to be put under the wardship of Day. Mrs. Day plans to force Arbella, later, to marry Abel, the Days' foolish, sheepish, rather simple son. As the text itself is here appended, it will not be necessary to relate the developments of the plot in detail. Suffice it to point out that both the Committee and the Days are foiled; the girls discover the plot to marry Abel to Arbella, and have much amusement at the former's expense, while the two Cavaliers, having refused to "take the Covenant" in order to secure their estates, and having gotten into considerable trouble thereby, finally outwit their opponents. Incidentally a dual love affair is developed, and the play ends happily. Arbella keeps her estate and marries Blunt; Ruth gets back her estate and gives her hand to Careless, also furnishing the five hundred pounds demanded by the Committee as the price of returning the sequestered estates of the two Cavaliers. And finally, a general feast is planned to celebrate the double marriage of the Cavalier party, and the Days are prevailed upon to take part in the rejoicing.

✓ The principal intrinsic merit of *The Committee* lies, as has been pointed out, in the characterization, particularly in that of Teague, Careless's Irish footman. Teague is of sufficient importance to be considered separately, but attention may here be called to one or two of the other characters. Mr. Day, the rascally Chairman, is presented as "a vile kind of Tartuffe,"<sup>13</sup> sneaking, hypocritical, and a coward except when in power. The character is not, however, very skilfully drawn. His wife, Mrs. Day, is much better; she is, next to Teague, the most interesting type in the play. She is arrogant, ambitious, selfish, and unscrupulous, but she is also energetic and is possessed of a powerful will. In all, she is a vigorous, well drawn character, positive rather than negative, a good bit of work. Of the other characters,

<sup>12</sup> Ward *English Dramatic Literature* vol. III, p. 393.

<sup>13</sup> Ward *English Dramatic Literature*, vol. III, p. 393, note.

Abel, the conceited fool, and Obadiah,<sup>14</sup> the self-important, weighty functionary who is secretary to the Committee, are used largely as vehicles for the conveyance of the writer's ridicule. They are of minor importance to the action, and they are not original as characters. Ruth and Arbella and the two Cavalier lovers, Blunt and Careless, may be dismissed as conventional, though fairly well drawn. The two men are sufficiently typified in their names.<sup>15</sup> And that brings us to a consideration of the one outstandingly successful character in *The Committee*—Teague.

In reserving Teague for individual attention, it is not my purpose to discuss in any detail the influence he had, as a type, upon later plays. That has already been done elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> The purpose here is to sketch the development of the character by Howard and to present evidence supporting the contention that *The Committee* owed its popularity, in large measure, to the excellence of this one character.

On the first point, Howard's development of the character of Teague, we have first an authentic account of the circumstances which led Sir Robert to include such a type in his play at all.<sup>17</sup> "When Sir Robert was in Ireland, his son was imprisoned here [i. e., in England] by the Parliament for some

<sup>14</sup> Macaulay (*History of England*, vol. III, p. 328-329) gives us an interesting side-light on Obadiah. It seems that during the reign of James II, Obadiah Walker, head of Oxford, "had turned University College into a Roman Catholic Seminary. Christ Church was governed by a Roman Catholic dean. Mass was said daily in both colleges.—The undergraduates, with the connivance of those over them, hooted the members of Walker's congregation, and chanted under his window's such ditties as:

'Old Obadiah  
Sings Ave Maria'—

When the actors came down to Oxford, the public feeling was expressed still more strongly. *Howard's Committee* was performed. This play . . . exhibited the Puritans in an odious light and had therefore been, during a quarter of a century, a favorite with Oxonian audiences. It was now a greater favorite than ever; for, by a lucky coincidence, one of the most conspicuous characters was an old hypocrite named Obadiah. The audience shouted with delight when, in the last scene, Obadiah was dragged in with a halter round his neck; and the acclamations redoubled when one of the players, departing from the written text of the comedy, proclaimed that Obadiah should be hanged because he had changed his religion. The King was much provoked by this insult."

<sup>15</sup> For some further information concerning the characters in *The Committee*, and for a very clear account of the story of the play in detail, see *A Companion to the Theatre &c.* (printed for J. Nourse, London, 1747) vol. I, pp. 56-62.

<sup>16</sup> See Tellenbach *Rob. Howard's Comedy "The Committee" &c.*, Zurich, 1913. Tellenbach makes the point that Sir Robert was the first to present the poor Irish exile in a better light—i. e., with sympathy rather than with ridicule. Also, relations are traced between Howard's Teague and the following: Shadwell's Teague O'Divelly, in both *The Lancashire Witches* and *The Amorous Bigot*, Farquhar's Teague in both *The Twin Rivals* and *The Beaux' Stratagem*.

<sup>17</sup> The account itself is contained in *Some Anecdotes of the Howard Family*, by C. Howard; p. 111. As I was unable to secure this book, I took the given quotation from Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* vol. II, pp. 114-115.

offence committed against them. As soon as Sir Robert heard of it, he sent one of his domestics (an Irishman) to England, with dispatches to his friends, in order to secure the enlargement of his son. He waited with great impatience for the return of this messenger; and when he at length appeared, with the agreeable news that his son was at liberty, Sir Robert, finding that he had been several days in Dublin, asked him the reason of his not coming to him before. The honest Hibernian answered, with great exultation, that he had been all the time spreading the news, and getting drunk for joy among his friends. He, in fact, executed his business with uncommon fidelity and dispatch; but the extraordinary effect, which the happy event of his embassy had on poor Paddy, was too great to suffer him to think with any degree of prudence of anything else. The excess of his joy was such that he forgot the impatience and anxiety of a tender parent; and until he gave that sufficient vent among all his intimates, he never thought of imparting the news there where it was most wanted and desired. From this Sir Robert took the first hint of that odd composition of fidelity and blunders which he has so humorously worked up in the character of Teague."

It seems to me that "odd composition of fidelity and blunders" is in itself a fairly complete characterization of Teague. He is throughout loyal to Careless, his new master, as he had been to his old. But he is, withal, so wanting in tact of any sort, so prone to do the undiplomatic thing, that he is continually getting his master and himself into hot water. For instance, while he undertakes various missions for the benefit of the latter, and carries them out with some shrewdness, yet witness his very literal "taking of the Covenant" from the bookseller (Act II, Sc. 1); his insolent behavior toward the Committeemen, in the same Act, and toward Mrs. Day in Act III, Sc. 2. All in all, though, Teague is a rather likable fellow, and furnishes some very good fun, especially in his scenes with Obadiah, whom he makes drunk and then causes to sing and to take snuff in honor of the King. (See Act IV. Sc. 2, for this; see also Act V, Sc. 7.)

Another factor which was largely instrumental in the success of *The Committee* was that the part of Teague seems to have appealed strongly to such actors as Lacy, Moody, and others of the most famous comedians of Howard's time. Lacy, in particular, was highly successful in the rôle. Downes, speaking of Lacy's acting in *The Rehearsal*, writes:

For his just acting, all gave him due praise,  
His part in *The Cheats*, *Tony Thump*, *Teg*, and *Bayes*,  
In these four excelling; the Court gave him the Bays.<sup>18</sup>

This last may perhaps refer to the fact that Charles II so liked Lacy's work

<sup>18</sup> *Roscius Anglicanus* p. 23.

that he had his portrait painted showing him in three of his most famous rôles: as Teague, in *The Committee*; as Scruple, in *The Cheats*; and as Galliard, in *The Variety*. Evelyn writes (*Diary*, November 27, 1662): "... saw acted *The Committee*, a ridiculous play of Sir Robert Howard, where the mimic, Lacy, acted the Irish footman to perfection." And Pepys offers several similar comments: "... saw *The Committee*, a merry but indifferent play, only Lacy's part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination."<sup>19</sup> And again, "... saw '*The Committee*,' which I went to with some prejudice, not liking it before, but I now find it a very good play, and a great deal of good invention in it; but Lacy's part is so well performed that it would set off anything."<sup>20</sup> We have also one more reference from Pepys, under date of October 28, 1667, where he speaks of *The Committee* as "a play I like well."

In concluding our consideration of the character Teague, we may note that practically all of the available criticism is favorable, even Howard's harshest critics, Scott and Theophilus Cibber, falling into line. Scott writes: "The Committee, alone, of Howard's plays kept possession of the stage till our time; and that solely supported by the humors of Teague, an honest, blundering Irish footman, such as we usually see in a modern farce."<sup>21</sup> And Cibber, speaking also of *The Committee*, notes that "this comedy is often acted, and the success of it chiefly depends upon the part of Teague being well performed."<sup>22</sup> In view of all this eulogy, it is interesting to note that Teague is not included among the *dramatis personae* in either the 1665 or the 1710 editions of *The Committee*. Apparently Howard builded better than he knew. The edition of 1776, of *The English Theatre*, contains a picture of Moody as Teague and Mr. Parsons as Obadiah, in the scene in Act IV, Scene 2; in the Bell's *British Theatre* edition of 1792 there is a picture of Abel, Ruth, and Arbella, from Act IV, Scene 3, and a picture of a Mr. Rock as Teague.

Finally we may present Baker's estimate:<sup>23</sup> "... from the drollery of the character of Teague, and the strong picture of absurd fanaticism mingled with indecent pride, drawn in those of Mr. Day, Mrs. Day, and Abel, it had, long after every spark of party fire, as to that part of English history, was absolutely extinct, established itself as a standard acting comedy, and always gave pleasure in the representation."

In conclusion, then, we may say that *The Committee*, while inferior perhaps to *The Duke of Lerma*, is yet deservedly the best known of Howard's literary productions; and that, next to the Dryden-Howard controversy,

<sup>19</sup> *Diary* June 12, 1663.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary* August 13, 1667.

<sup>21</sup> *Dryden's Works* vol. II, p. 225.

<sup>22</sup> *Lives of the Poets* vol. III, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> *Biographia Dramatica* vol. II, p. 115.

it did most to perpetuate his name in literary history. It has a reasonably well-constructed plot, and while it might better have been cut short of the conventional five acts, it is successful in holding the interest of the reader. The humor is a bit coarse, at times, but is of a higher grade than that found in many plays of the period; and it is, withal, real humor. While *The Committee* lacks, for us today, much of the appeal which in its own time it derived from its playing up of contemporary history, we are bound, I think, to agree with our old friend Pepys, that, take it all in all, it is "a good play."

## TEXT OF "THE COMMITTEE"

### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

I have used for reproduction here the text of *The Committee* found in *The New English Theatre*, London, 1776, volume 5, since in this text are indicated (a) those passages which were omitted in the representation of the play at the theatres, and (b) the passages which were added at the theatres. The edition of 1792 (Bell, 1797; see 3 below) also distinguishes the lines omitted in the representation, but it is rather unsatisfactory for use in the present instance since many of these lines which were not acted have been entirely omitted by Bell; furthermore, the lines which were *added* by the theatres, while included by Bell, are not distinguished from the rest of the text.

In the text which follows I have modernized the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization throughout, making no note of the changes made except where such changes materially alter the original reading. I have also:

- (a) *Set off by quotation marks* those passages which "were omitted in the representation at the theatres" (see page 54, lines 11 to 16).
- (b) *Set off by parentheses* the "additions made at the theatres" (see page 57, lines 19 to 22).
- (c) *Set off by brackets and italics* all *interlinear* stage directions, and by *italics alone* all *other* stage directions.
- (d) *Explained by textual notes* (see pp. 119-126) all variations not covered by (a), (b), and (c), above.

With the text of 1776 I have collated the following:

- (1) The text of 1665, contained in *Four New Plays*; the title-page of the edition bears the notation that the four plays are printed "As they were Acted by His MAJESTIES/Servants at the Theatre-Royal."
- (2) The separate edition of 1710, printed "As it is Acted at the THEATRE-ROYAL,/by her/MAJESTY'S SERVANTS."
- (3) The edition of 1792, in Bell's *British Theatre*, London, 1797, volume 20. This edition is marked "Adapted for/Theatrical Representation,/ as performed at the Theatres Royal,/Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden./regulated from the Prompt-books,/By Permission of the Managers."

# THE COMMITTEE:

or, the  
Faithful Irishman.

A  
COMEDY.

Written by the Honorable  
SIR ROBERT HOWARD.

Marked with the Variations in the  
MANAGER'S BOOK,

at the  
THEATRE-ROYAL in DRURY-LANE.



LONDON:  
Printed for T. Lowndes; T. Caslon;  
W. Nicoll; and S. Bladon.  
M.DCC.LXXVI



Dramatis Personae, 1776.

DRURY-LANE.<sup>1</sup>

M E N

Colonel Careless.....	Mr. Brereton <sup>2</sup>
Colonel Blunt.....	Mr. Aickin
Lieutenant Story.....	Mr. Fawcet
Nehemiah Catch <sup>3</sup> .....	Mr. Waldron
Joseph Blemish	} Committee Men
Johathan Headstrong	
Ezekiel Scrape	
Mr. Day, the Chairman to the Committee.....	Mr. Baddely
Abel, Son to Mr. Day.....	Mr. Burton
Obadiah, Clerk to the Committee.....	Mr. Parsons
Teague, with Songs <sup>4</sup> .....	Mr. Moody
Tavern-Boy.....	Mr. Evarard
Bailiff <sup>5</sup> .....	Mr. Griffith
Soldier <sup>6</sup> .....	Mr. Blanchard
Two Chair-Men.....	Mr. Heath, &c.
Gaol-Keeper.....	Mr. Kear
Servant to Mr. Day	
A Stage Coachman	
Bookseller.....	Mr. Carpenter
Porter <sup>7</sup> .....	Mr. Wrighten

W O M E N

Mrs. Arbella. <sup>8</sup> .....	Miss Jarratt
Mrs. Day.....	Mrs. Bradshaw
Mrs. Ruth.....	Mrs. King
Mrs. Chat.....	Mrs. Cartwright

<sup>1</sup> 1792 edition (*hereafter called Bell*) is also marked "Drury Lane;" the same cast is given as above, except for the substitution of Miss Pope for Mrs. King, as "Mrs. Ruth."

<sup>2</sup> No players' names given, 1665, 1710.

<sup>3</sup> All other editions include Nehemiah Catch as one of the Committee Men (i.e., in the curved bracket).

<sup>4</sup> Omitted entirely, 1665, 1710; "with Songs" omitted, Bell.

<sup>5</sup> Bayliffs, 1665.

<sup>6</sup> Souldiers, 1665; Soldiers, 1710.

<sup>7</sup> Omitted, 1665, 1710.

## PROLOGUE

- To cheat the most judicious eyes, there be  
Ways in all trades, but this of poetry.  
Your tradesman shows his wares by some false light,  
To hide the faults and slightness from your sight;  
5 Nay, though 'tis full of bracks, he'll boldly swear  
'Tis excellent, and so help off his ware.  
He'll rule your judgment by his confidence,  
Which in a poet you'd call impudence;  
Nay, if the world afford the like again,  
10 He swears he'll give it to you for nothing then.  
Those are words too a poet dares not say;  
Let it be good or bad, you're sure to pay.  
. . . Would 'twere a pen'worth; . . . but in this you are  
Ablar to judge, than he that made the ware.  
15 However, his design was well enough,  
He tried to show some newer-fashioned stuff.  
Not that the name COMMITTEE can be new;  
That has been too well-known to most of you.  
But you may smile, for you have passed your doom;  
20 The poet dares not, his is still to come.

# THE COMMITTEE

## A C T I

### SCENE I

*Enter* MRS. DAY, *brushing her hoods and scarfs*; MRS. ARBELLA, MRS. RUTH, COLONEL BLUNT, *and a* STAGECOACHMAN.

MRS. D: Now out upon't, how dusty 'tis! All things considered, 'tis better travelling in the winter; especially for us of the better sort, that ride in coaches. And yet, to say truth, warm weather is both pleasant and comfortable; 'tis a thousand pities that fair weather  
5 should do any hurt.—Well said, honest coachman, thou hast done thy part. My son ABEL paid for my place at *Reading*, did he not?  
COACH: Yes, an't please you.

MRS. D: Well, there's something extraordinary, to make thee drink.  
COACH: [*Aside*] By my whip, 'tis a groat of more than ordinary  
10 thinness.—Plague on this new gentry, how liberal they are.—Farewell, young mistress; farewell, gentlemen. Pray, when you come by *Reading*, let TOBY carry you. [*Exit* COACHMAN.]

MRS. D: Why how now, Mrs. ARBELLA? What, sad? Why, what's the matter?

15 ARB: I am not very sad.

MRS. D: Nay, by my honor, you need not; if you knew as much as I. Well—I'll tell you one thing; you are well enough; you need not fear, whoever does; say I told you so,—if you do not hurt yourself; for as cunning as he is, and let him be as cunning as he will, I can see  
20 with half an eye, that my son ABEL means to take care of you in your composition, and will needs have you his guest. RUTH and you shall be bed-fellows. I warrant that same ABEL many and many a time will wish his sister's place; or else his father ne'er got him. Though I say it, that should not say it, yet I do say it—'tis a notable fellow—

25 ARB: [*Aside*] I am fallen into strange hands, if they prove as busy as her tongue—

MRS. D: And now you talk of this same ABEL, I tell you but one thing; I wonder that neither he nor my husband's honor's chief clerk, OBADIAH, is not here ready to attend me. I dare warrant my  
30 son ABEL has been here two hours before us. 'Tis the veriest princox;

- he will ever be a-gallopping; and yet he is not full one and twenty, for all his appearances. He never stole this trick of gallopping; his father was just such another before him, and would gallop with the best of 'em. He and Mrs. BUSY's husband were counted the best horsemen
- 5 in *Reading*—ay, and *Berkshire* to boot. I have rode formerly behind Mrs. BUSY, but in truth I cannot now endure to travel but in a coach. My own was at present in disorder, and so I was fain to shift in this; but I warrant you, if his honor, Mr. DAY, chairman of the honorable committee of sequestrations, should know that his wife rode in a
- 10 stage-coach, he would make the house too hot for some.—[*To the Colonel*] Why, how is't with you, sir? What, weary of your journey? COL. B: [*Aside*] Her tongue will never tire.—So many, mistress, riding in the coach, has a little distempered me with heat.
- MRS. D: So many, sir? Why, there were but six.—What would
- 15 you say if I should tell you that I was one of the eleven that travelled at one time in one coach?
- COL. B: [*Aside*] Oh the devil! I have given her a new theme.
- MRS. D: Why, I'll tell you—Can you guess how 'twas?
- COL. B: Not I, truly. But 'tis no matter, I do believe it.
- 20 MRS. D: Look you, thus it was. There was, in the first place, myself,—and my husband, I should have said first; but his honor would have pardoned me, if he had heard me—Mr. BUSY, that I told you of, and his wife; the MAYOR of *Reading* and his wife; and this RUTH that you see there, in one of our laps.—But now, where do you think
- 25 the rest were?
- COL. B: A top o' th' coach, sure.
- MRS. D: Nay, I durst swear you would never guess.—Why,—would you think it; I had two growing in my belly, Mrs. BUSY one in hers, and Mrs. MAYORESS of *Reading* a chopping boy, as it proved
- 30 afterwards, in hers; as like the father as if it had been spit out of his mouth. And if he had come out of his mouth, he had come out of as honest a man's mouth as any in forty miles of the head of him; for would you think it, at the very same time, when this same RUTH was sick, it being the first time the girl was ever coached, the good man—
- 35 Mr. MAYOR, I mean, that I spoke of—held his hat for the girl to ease her stomach in.

*Enter ABEL and OBADIAH.*

- Oh, are you come! Long looked for comes at last. "What,—you have a slow set pace, as well as your hasty scribble, sometimes."
- 40 Did you not think it fit that I should have found attendance ready for me when I alighted?
- OB: I ask your honor's pardon, for I do profess unto your ladyship

I had attended sooner, but that his young honor, Mr. ABEL, demurred me by his delays.

- MRS. D: Well, son ABEL, you must be obeyed, and I partly, if not quite, guess your business; providing for the entertainment  
5 of one I have in my eye. Read her and take her. Ah, is't not so?

ABEL: I have not been deficient in my care, forsooth.

MRS. D: Will you never leave your forsooths? Art thou not ashamed to let the clerk carry himself better, and show more breeding, than his master's son?

- 10 ABEL: If it please your honor, I have some business for your more private ear.

MRS. D: Very well.

RUTH: What a lamentable condition has this gentleman been in! Faith, I pity him.

- 15 ARB: Are you so apt to pity men?

RUTH: Yes, men that are humoursome, as I would children that are froward. I would not make them cry a-purpose.

ARB: Well, I like his humour. I dare swear he's plain and honest.

RUTH: Plain enough, of all conscience. Faith, I'll speak to him.

- 20 ARB: Nay, prithee don't. He'll think thee rude.

RUTH: Why, then I'll think him an ass.—How is't after your journey, sir?

COL. B: Why, I am worse after it.

RUTH: Do you love riding in a coach, sir?

- 25 COL. B: No, forsooth, nor talking after riding in a coach.

RUTH: I should be loath to interrupt your meditations, sir; we may have the fruits hereafter.

COL. B: If you have, they shall break loose spite of my teeth. —[*Aside*] This spawn is as bad as the great pike.

- 30 ARB: Prithee, peace! Sir, we wish you all happiness.

COL. B: And quiet, good sweet ladies.—I like her well enough. —Now would not I have her say anything more, for fear she should jeer, too, and spoil my good opinion. If 'twere possible I would think well of one woman.

- 35 MRS. D: Come, Mrs. ARBELLA, 'tis as I told you, ABEL has done it; say no more. Take her by the hand, ABEL. I profess, she may venture to take thee, for better, for worse. Come, Mistress, the honorable committee will sit suddenly. Come, let's along. Farewell, sir.

[*Exeunt all but COL. BLUNT*]

- 40 COL. B: How! The committee ready to sit! Plague on their honors—for so my honored lady, that was one of the eleven, was pleased to call 'em. I had like to have come a day after the fair.

'Tis pretty, that such as I have been, must compound for their having been rascals. Well, I must go look for a lodging, and a solicitor. I'll find the arrantest rogue I can, too; for, according to the old saying, set a thief to catch a thief.

5       *Enter COLONEL CARELESS and LIEUTENANT STORY*

COL. C: Dear BLUNT, well met. When came you man?

COL. B: Dear CARELESS, I did not think to have met thee so suddenly. Lieutenant, your servant. I am landed just now, man.

COL. C: Thou speakest as if thou hadst been at sea.

10   COL. B: It's pretty well guessed. I have been in a storm.

“COL. C: What business brought thee?”

“COL. B: May be the same with yours: I am come to compound with their honors.”

15   “COL. C: That's my business, too. Why, the committee sits suddenly.”

“COL. B: Yes, I know it; I heard so in the storm I told thee of.”

COL. C: What storm, man?

COL. B: Why, a tempest, as high as ever blew from woman's breath. I have rode in a stage-coach, wedged in with half a dozen;  
20   one of them was a committee-man's wife; his name is DAY, and she accordingly will be called Your Honor, and Your Ladyship, “with a tongue that wags as much faster than all other women's as, in the several motions of a watch, the hand of the minute moves faster than that of the hour.” There was her daughter, too; but a bastard,  
25   without question, for she had no resemblance to the rest of the notched rascals; and very pretty, and had wit enough to jeer a man in prosperity to death.—There was another gentlewoman, and she was handsome; nay, very handsome; but I kept her from being as bad as the rest.

30   COL. C: Prithee how, man?

COL. B: Why, she began with two or three good words, and I desired her she would be quiet while she was well.

COL. C: Thou wert not so mad!

COL. B: I had been mad, if I had not.—But when we came to  
35   our journey's end, there met us two such formal and stately rascals that yet pretended religion and open rebellion ever painted. They were the hopes and guide of the honorable family; viz., the eldest son and the chiefest clerk, rogues—and hereby hangs a tale.—This gentlewoman I told thee I kept civil, by desiring her to say nothing,  
40   is a rich heiress of one that died in the king's service, and left his estate under sequestration. This young chicken has this kite snatched up, and designs her for this, her eldest rascal.

COL. C: What a dull fellow wert thou, not to make love, and rescue her.

COL. B: I'll woo no woman.

COL. C: Wouldst thou have them court thee? A soldier, and not  
5 love a siege!—

*Enter TEAGUE.*

—How now, who art thou?

TEAG: A poor *Irishman*, and Heaven save me, and save you all your three faces. I prithee give me a thirteen, "gad mastero."

10 COL. C: A thirteen? I see thou wouldst not lose anything for want of asking.

(TEAG: I can't afford it.)

COL. C: Here, I am pretty near; there's sixpence for thy confidence.

TEAG: By my troth, it is too little. (Give me another sixpence-half-  
15 penny, and I'll drink your healths.)

COL. C: "Troth, like enough." How long hast thou been in *England*?

TEAG: Ever since I came here, (and longer, too,) faith.

COL. C: That's true. What hast thou done since thou camest into  
*England*?

20 TEAG: Served Heaven and Saint *Patrick*, and my good sweet king, and my good sweet master; yes, indeed.

COL. C: And what dost thou do now?

TEAG: Cry for them every day, upon my soul.

COL. C: Why, where's thy master?

25 TEAG: He's dead, mastero, and left poor TEAGUE. Upon my soul, he never served poor TEAGUE so before, (in all his life).

COL. C: Who was thy master?

TEAG: E'en the good Colonel DANGER.

COL. C: He was my dear and noble friend.

30 TEAG: Yes, that he was; and poor TEAGUE's, too, "faith now."

COL. C: What dost thou mean to do?

TEAG: I will get a good master, if any good master would get me. I cannot tell what to do else, by my soul, "that I cannot;" for I have went "and gone" to one LILLY'S; he lives at that house; at the end of  
35 another house, by the May-pole-house, and tells everybody, by one star and t'other star, what good luck they shall have; but he could not tell nothing for poor TEAGUE.

COL. C: Why, man?

TEAG: Why, 'tis done by the stars (and the planets); and he told me  
40 there were no stars for *Irishmen*. I told him "he told two or three lies, upon my soul:" there were as many stars in *Ireland* as in *England*, and more too, "that there are," and if a good master cannot get me, I will

run into *Ireland*, and see if the stars be not there still; and if they be, I will come back, "i'faith," and beat his pate, if he will not then tell me some good luck and some stars.

COL. C: Poor fellow, I pity him. I fancy he's simply honest.—Hast thou any trade?

TEAG: Bo, bub bub bo, a trade, a trade! An *Irishman* a trade! An *Irishman* scorns a trade, "that he does;" (his blood is too thick for a trade;) I will run for thee forty miles, but I scorn to have a trade.

COL. B: Alas, poor simple fellow.

10 COL. C: I pity him; nor can I endure to see any man miserable that can weep for my prince, and friend.—Well, TEAGUE, what sayest thou if I will take thee?

TEAG: Why, "I will say thou wilt do very well, then." (I say you could not do a better thing.)

15 COL. C: Thy master was my dear friend. Wert thou with him when he was killed?

TEAG: Yes, upon my soul, that I was; and I did howl over him, "and I asked him why he would leave poor TEAGUE." (and I asked him why he died, but the devil burn the word he said to me.) And i' faith, I staid kissing his sweet face, till the rogues came upon me and took away all from me; and I was naked till I got this mantle, that I was. I have never any victuals, neither, but a little snuff.

COL. C.: Come, thou shalt live with me; love me as thou didst thy master.

25 TEAG: That I will, "i' faith," if you will be good to poor TEAGUE.

COL. C: Now to our business; for I came but last night myself, and the lieutenant and I were just going to seek a solicitor.

COL. B: One may serve us all. What say you, lieutenant, can you furnish us?

30 LIEU: Yes, I think I can help you to plough with a heifer of their own.

COL. C: Now I think on't, BLUNT, why didst not thou begin with the committee-man's cow?

COL. B: Plague on her, she low-belled me so that I thought of nothing, but stood shrinking like a dead lark.

LIEU: But hark you, gentlemen, there's an ill-tasting dose to be swallowed first; there's a covenant to be taken.

TEAG: Well, what is that covenant? By my soul, I will take it for my new master, "if I could, that I would."

40 COL. C: Thank thee, TEAGUE.—A covenant, sayest thou?

TEAG: Well, where is that covenant?—

COL. C: We'll not swear, Lieutenant.



LIEU: You must have no land, then.

COL. B: Then farewell, acres, and may the dirt choke them.

COL. C: 'Tis but being reduced to TEAGUE's equipage; 'twas a lucky thing to have a fellow that can teach one this cheap diet of snuff.

5 TEAG: (Oh, you shall have your belly full of it.)

LIEU: Come, gentlemen, we must lose no more time. I'll carry you to my poor house, where you shall lodge; for know, I am married to a most illustrious person, that had a kindness for me.

COL. C: Prithee, how didst thou light upon this good fortune?

10 LIEU: Why, you see there are some stars in *England*, though none in *Ireland*. Come, gentlemen, time calls us; you shall have my story hereafter.

COL. B: Plague on this covenant.

LIEU: Curse it not; 'twill prosper then. [Exit BLUNT and LIEU.]

15 COL. C: Come, TEAGUE; however, I have a suit of clothes for thee; thou shalt lay by thy blanket for some time. It may be, thee and I may be reduced together to thy country fashion.

TEAG: Upon my soul, joy, for I will carry thee "then into my country too," (to my little estate in *Ireland*).

20 (COL. C: Hast thou got an estate?)

(TEAG: By my soul, and I have; but the land is of such a nature that if you had it for nothing, you would scarce make your money of it.)

COL. C: Why, there's the worst on't; the best will help itself.

[Exeunt]

25

[SCENE 2]

Enter MR. DAY and MRS. DAY.

MR. D: Welcome, sweet duck, I profess thou hast brought home good company, indeed; money and money's worth. If we can but now make sure of this heiress, Mrs. ARBELLA, for our son ABEL.

30 MRS. D: If we can? You are ever at your *ifs*. You're afraid of your own shadow. I can tell you one *if* more; that is, *if* I did not bear you up, your heart would be down in your breeches at every turn. Well—if I were gone,—there's another *if* for you.

MR. D: I profess thou sayest true; I should not know what to do, indeed; I am beholden to thy good counsel for many a good thing. I had ne'er got RUTH nor her estate into my fingers else.

MRS. D: Nay, in that business, too, you were at your *ifs*. Now you see she goes currently for our own daughter; and this ARBELLA shall be our daughter too, or she shall have no estate.

40 MR. D: If we could but do that, wife!

MRS. D: Yet again at your *ifs*?

MR. D: I have done, I have done. To your counsel, good duck; you know I depend upon that.

MRS. D: You may, well enough; you find the sweets on't. And to say truth, 'tis known too well, that you rely upon it. In truth they are ready to call me the committee-man; they well perceive the weight that lies upon me, husband.

5 MR. D: Nay, good duck, no chiding now, but to your counsel.

MRS. D: In the first place—observe how I lay a design in politics—d'ye mark, counterfeit me a letter from the king, where he shall offer you great matters, to serve him and his interest under hand. Very good; and in it let him remember his kind love and service to me. This  
10 will make them look about 'em and think you somebody. Then promise them, if they'll be true friends to you, to live and die with them, and refuse all great offers. Then, whilst 'tis warm, get the composition of ARBELLA's estate into your own power, upon your design of marrying her to ABEL.

15 MR. D: Excellent!

MRS. D: Mark the luck on't, too, their names sound alike; ABEL and ARBELLA—they are the same to a trifle. It seemeth a providence.

MR. D: Thou observest right, duck; thou canst see as far into a mill-stone as another.

20 MRS. D: Pish! Do not interrupt me.

MR. D: I do not, good duck, I do not.

MRS. D: You do not, and yet you do; you put me off from the concatenation of my discourse. Then, as I was saying, you may intimate to your honorable fellows that one good turn deserves another. That

25 language is understood amongst you, I take it, ha?

MR. D: Yes, yes, we use those items often.

MRS. D: Well, interrupt me not.

MR. D: I do not, good wife.

MRS. D: You do not, and yet you do. By this means get her composition put wholly into your hands; and then, no ABEL, no land.—But—  
30 in the mean time I would have ABEL do his part too.

MR. D: Ay, ay, there's a want; I found it.

MRS. D: Yes, when I told you so before.

MR. D: Why, that's true, duck. He is too backward. If I were in his  
35 place, and as young as I have been—

MRS. D: Oh, you'd do wonders! But now I think on't, there may be some use made of RUTH; 'tis a notable witty harlotry.

(MR. D: Ay, and so she is, duck, I always thought so.)

MRS. D: You thought so, when I told you I had thought on't first.—  
40 Let me see—it shall be so. We'll set her to instruct ABEL, in the first place; and then to incline ARBELLA. The two are hand and glove, and

women can do much with one another.

MR. D: Thou hast hit upon my own thoughts.

MRS. D: Pray call her in; you thought of that too, did you not?

MR. D: I will, duck. RUTH! Why, RUTH!

5

*Enter RUTH.*

RUTH: Your pleasure, sir?

MR. D: Nay, 'tis my wife's desire, that—

MRS. D: Well, if it be your wife's, she can best tell it herself, I suppose. D'ye hear, RUTH, you may do a business that may not be the  
10 worse for you. You know I use but few words.

RUTH: [*Aside*] What does she call a few?

MRS. D: Look you now. To be short and to the matter, my husband and I do design this Mrs. ARBELLA for our son ABEL, and the young fellow is not forward enough. You conceive? Prithee give him a little  
15 instructions how to demean himself and in what manner to speak, which we call address, to her, "for women best know what will please women." Then work on ARBELLA on the other side. Work, I say, my good girl; no more, but so. You know my custom is to use but few words. Much may be said in a little. You shant repent it.

20 MR. D: And I say something too, RUTH.

MRS. D: What need you? Do you not see it all said, already to your hand? What sayest thou, girl?

RUTH: I shall do my best.—[*Aside*] I would not lose the sport for more than I'll speak of.

25 MRS. D: Go call ABEL, good girl. [*Exit RUTH*] By bringing this to pass, husband, we shall secure ourselves if the king should come; you'll be hanged, else.

MR. D: Oh, good wife, let's secure ourselves, by all means. There's a wise saying: 'Tis good to have a shelter against every storm. I re-

30 member that.

MRS. D: You may well, when you have heard me say it so often.

*Enter RUTH with ABEL.*

MR. D: Oh, son ABEL, d'ye hear—

MRS. D: Pray hold your peace, and give everybody leave to tell their  
35 own tale.—D'ye hear, son ABEL, I have formerly told you that ARBELLA would be a good wife for you. Some endeavors must be used, and you must not be deficient. I have spoken to your sister RUTH to instruct you what to say, and how to carry yourself; observe her directions, as you'll answer to the contrary. Be confident, and put home.  
40 Ha, boy, hadst thou but thy mother's pate! Well, 'tis folly to talk of that that cannot be! Be sure you follow your sister's directions.

MR. D: Be sure, boy.—Well said, duck, I say.

[*Exeunt MR. & MRS. DAY*]

RUTH: Now, brother ABEL.

ABEL: Now, sister RUTH.

RUTH: [*Aside*] Hitherto he observes me punctually.—Have you a month's mind to this gentlewoman, Mistress ARBELLA?

5 ABEL: I have not known her a week yet.

RUTH: Oh, cry you mercy, good brother ABEL. Well, to begin then, you must alter your posture, "and by your grave and high demeanor make yourself appear a hole above OBADIAH; lest your mistress should take you for such another scribble-scrabble as he is;" and always hold  
10 your head up as if it were bolstered up with high matters, your hands joined flat together, projecting a little beyond the rest of your body, as ready to separate when you begin to open.

ABEL: Must I go apace, or softly?

RUTH: Oh, gravely, by all means, as if you were loaded with weighty  
15 considerations. So!—Very well. Now to apply our prescription. Suppose now, that I were your Mistress ARBELLA, and met you by accident: keep your posture—so,—and when you come just to me, start like a horse that has spied something on one side of him, and give a little gird out of the way, on a sudden; declaring that you did not  
20 see her before, by reason of your deep contemplations. Then you speak to her. Let's hear.

ABEL: 'Save you, mistress.

RUTH: Oh, fie man! You should begin thus! Pardon, mistress, my profound contemplations, in which I was so buried that I did not see  
25 you:—and then, as she answers, proceed. I know what she'll say, I am so used to her.

ABEL: This will do well, if I forget it not.

RUTH: Well, try once.

ABEL: Pardon, mistress, my profound contemplations, in which I was  
30 so hid that you could not see me.

RUTH: [*Aside*] Better sport than I expected.—Very well done. You're perfect. Then she will answer: Sir, I suppose you are so busied with state affairs that it may well hinder you from taking notice of anything below them.

35 ABEL: No, forsooth; I have some profound contemplations, but no state affairs.

RUTH: Oh, fie man, you must confess that the weighty affairs of state lie heavy upon you; but 'tis a burden you must bear; and then shrug your shoulders.

40 ABEL: Must I say so? I am afraid my mother will be angry, for she takes all the state matters upon herself.

RUTH: Pish! Did she not charge you to be ruled by me? Why, man,

ARBELLA will never have you, if she be not made believe you can do great matters with parliament-men and committee-men; how should she hope for any good by you else, in her composition?

ABEL: I apprehend you now. I shall observe.

- 5 RUTH: 'Tis well; at this time I'll say no more. Put yourself in your posture—so.—Now go look for your mistress. I'll warrant you the town's our own.

ABEL: I go.

[Exit ABEL]

- RUTH: Now I have fixed him, not to go off till he discharges on his  
10 mistress. I could burst with laughing.

*Enter ARBELLA.*

ARB: What dost thou laugh at, RUTH?

RUTH: Didst thou meet my brother ABEL?

ARB: No.

- 15 RUTH: If thou hadst met him right, he had played at hard head with thee.

ARB: What dost thou mean?

RUTH: Why, I have been teaching him to woo, by command of my superiors; and have instructed him to hold up his head so high that of  
20 necessity he must run against everything that comes in his way.

ARB: Who is he to woo?

RUTH: Even thy own sweet self.

ARB: Out upon him!

- RUTH: Nay, thou wilt be rarely courted; I'll not spoil the sport by  
25 telling anything beforehand. They have sent to LILLY, and his learning being built upon knowing what most people would have him say, he has told them for a certain that ABEL shall have a rich heiress; and that must be you.

ARB: Must be?

- 30 RUTH: Yes, committee-men can compel more than stars.

ARB: I fear this too late. You are their daughter, RUTH.

RUTH: I deny that.

ARB: How?

- RUTH: Wonder not that I begin thus freely with you; 'tis to invite your  
35 confidence in me.

ARB: You amaze me.

- RUTH: Pray do not wonder, nor suspect.—When my father, Sir BASIL  
THOROUGHGOOD, died, I was very young, "not above two years old;"  
'tis too long to tell, how this rascal, being a trustee, caught me and my  
40 estate, "being the sole heiress unto my father, into his gripes;" and now for some years has confirmed his unjust power by the unlawful power of the times. I fear they have designs as bad as this on you.

You see I have no reserve, and endeavor to be thought worthy of your friendship.

ARB: I embrace it with as much clearness. Let us love and assist one another.—Would they marry me to this, their first-born puppy?

5 RUTH: No doubt, or keep your composition from you.

ARB: 'Twas my ill fortune to fall into such hands, foolishly enticed by fair words and large promises of assistance.

RUTH: Peace!

*Enter OBADIAH.*

10 OB: Mrs. RUTH, my master is demanding your company, together, and not singly, with Mrs. ARBELLA; you will find them in the parlor. The committee, being ready to sit, calls upon my care and circumspection to set in order the weighty matters of state for their wise and honorable inspection. *[Exit]*

15 RUTH: We come.—Come, dear ARBELLA, never be perplexed. Cheerful spirits are the best bladders to swim with; if thou art sad, the weight will sink thee. Be secret, and still know me for no other than what I seem to be, their daughter. Another time thou shalt know all particulars of my strange story.

20 ARB: Come, wench, they cannot bring us to compound for our humours; they shall be free still. *[Exeunt]*

## ACT II

### SCENE 1

25

*Enter TEAGUE.*

TEAG: I'faith, my sweet master has sent me to a rascal, "now that he has;" I (have a great mind to go back and) tell him so. He asked me why he could not send one that could speak *English*. Upon my soul, I was going to give him an *Irish* knock. The devil's in them all, they  
30 will not talk with me. I will go near to knock this man's pate, and that man LILLY's pate, too—that I will. I will teach them to prate to me, "that I will."—*[One cries books within]* How now, what noises are that?—

*Enter BOOKSELLER crying his wares.*

35 BOOK: New books! New books! A desperate plot and engagement of the bloody cavaliers. \*\*\* Mr. SALTMARSH's alarum to the nation, after having been three days dead. MERCURIUS BRITANNICUS, etc.

TEAG: How's that? Now they cannot live in *Ireland* after they are dead three days.

40 BOOK: MERCURIUS BRITANNICUS, or the weekly post; or the solemn league and covenant.

TEAG: What is that you say? Is it the covenant; have you that?

- BOOK: Yes. What then, sir?  
 TEAG: Which is that covenant?  
 BOOK: Why, this is the covenant.  
 TEAG: Well, I must take that covenant.  
 5 BOOK: You take my commodities?  
 TEAG: I must take that covenant, upon my soul, now, "that I must."  
 BOOK: Stand off, sir, or I'll set you further.  
 TEAG: Well, upon my soul now, I will take that covenant for my master.  
 10 BOOK: Your master must pay me for't, then.  
 TEAG: (I must take it first, and my master will pay you afterwards.)  
 "I'faith now, they will make him pay for't, after I have taken it for him."  
 "BOOK: What a devil does the fellow mean?"  
 15 "TEAG: You will make me stay too long, that you will. Look you now, I will knock you down upon the ground, if you will not let me take it."  
 BOOK: "Stand off, sirrah!" (You must pay me now.)  
 TEAG: "I'faith, I will take it now." (Oh, that I will. [*Knocks him down*]  
 Now you're paid, you thief o' the world. Here's covenants  
 20 enough to poison the whole nation.) [*Exit*]  
 BOOK: What a devil ails this fellow? [*Crying*] He did not come to rob me, certainly, for he has not taken above two pennyworth of lamentable ware away; but I feel the rascal's fingers. I may light upon my wild *Irishman* again, and if I do I will fix him with some catchpoles  
 25 that shall be worse than his own country bogs. [*Exit*]

## [SCENE 2]

*Enter* COLONEL CARELESS, COLONEL BLUNT, and LIEUTENANT STORY.

- LIEU: And what say you, noble colonels? How, and how d'ye like my lady? I gave her the title of illustrious, from those illustrious com-  
 30 modities she deals in, hot water and tobacco.  
 COL. c: Prithee, how camest thou to think of marrying?  
 LIEU: Why, that which hinders other men "from those venereal conditions," prompted me to matrimony; hunger and cold, Colonel.  
 COL. c: "Which you destroyed with a fat woman, strong water, and  
 35 stinking tobacco."  
 LIEU: No, faith, the woman conducted but little; but the rest could not be purchased without."  
 COL. c: "She's beholden to you."  
 LIEU: "For all your mocking, she had been ruined if it had not been  
 40 for me."  
 COL. c: "Prithee, make but that good."  
 LIEU: "With ease, sir.—Why, look you, you must know she was al-

ways a most violent cavalier, and of a most ready and large faith. Abundance of rascals had found her soft place, and perpetually would bring her news, news of all prices; they would tell her news from half a crown to a gill of hot water, or a pipe of the worst mundungus. I have observed their usual rates. They would borrow half a crown upon a story of five thousand men up in the north; a shilling upon a town's revolting; six-pence upon a small castle; and consume hot water and tobacco whilst they were telling news of arms conveyed into several parts, and ammunition hid in cellars; that, at the last, if I had not married and blown off these flies, she had been absolutely consumed."

COL. C: "Well, Lieutenant, we are beholden to you for these hints; we may be reduced to as bad." See where TEAGUE comes. Goodness, how he smiles!—

*Enter TEAGUE, smiling.*

15 —Why so merry, TEAGUE?

TEAG: I have done a thing for you, "now, that I have," indeed.

COL. C: What hast thou done, man?

(TEAG: Guess.)

(COL. C: I can't.)

20 TEAG: (Why then, guess again.) I have taken the covenant "for thee, that I have, upon my soul."

COL. C: (How came you by it?) "Where hadst it thou?"

TEAG: "Hadst it thou!" (Very honestly!) I threw a fellow down, that I did, and took it away for thy sweet sake. Here it is now.

25 COL. C: Was there ever such a fancy! Why, didst thou think this was the way to take the covenant?

TEAG: "Ay, upon my soul, that it is. Look you there, now; have I not taken it? Is not this the covenant? Tell me then, I prithee." (I am sure it is the shortest, and the cheapest way to take it.)

30 COL. B: I am pleased, yet, with this poor fellow's mistaken kindness. I dare warrant him honest, to the best of his understanding.

COL. C: This fellow I prophesy will bring me into many troubles by his mistakes. I must send him on no errand but How d'ye; and to such as I would have no answer from again.—Yet his simple honesty prevails with me; I cannot part with him.

35 LIEU: Come, gentlemen, time calls.—How now, who's this?

*Enter OBADIAH, with four persons more, with papers.*

COL. C: I am a rogue if I have not seen a picture in hangings walk as fast.

40 COL. B: 'Slife, man, this is that good man of the committee family that I told thee of, the very clerk. How the rogue's loaded with papers!—Those are the winding-sheets to many a poor gentleman's estate;



'twere a good deed to burn them all.

COL. C: What, thou art not mad, art?—Well met, sir. Pray, do you not belong to the Committee of Sequestrations?

OB: I do belong to that honorable committee, who are now ready to sit for the bringing on the work.

COL. B: Oh plague! What work, ras—

COL. C: Prithee be quiet, man.—Are they to sit presently?

OB: As soon as I can get ready, my presence being material. *[Exit]*

COL. C: What, wert thou mad? Wouldst thou have beaten the clerk, when thou wert going to compound with the rascals, his masters?

COL. B: The sight of any of the villains stirs me.

LIEU: Come, Colonels, there's no trifling; let's make haste, and prepare your business. Let's not lose this sitting. Come along, TEAGUE.

*[Exeunt]*

15

## [SCENE 3]

*Enter ARBELLA at one door, ABEL at another, as if he saw her not, and starts when he comes to her, as RUTH had taught him.*

ARB: What's the meaning of this? I'll try to steal by him.

20 ABEL: Pardon, mistress, my profound contemplations, in which I was so hid that you could not see me.

ARB: *[Aside.]* This is a set form,—they allow it in everything but their prayers.

ABEL: Now you should speak, forsooth.

25 ARB: *[Aside]* "RUTH, I have found you; but I'll spoil the dialogue." —What should I say, sir?

ABEL: What you please, forsooth.

ARB: Why, truly, sir, 'tis as you say; I did not see you.

*Enter RUTH, as overhearing them, and peeps.*

30 RUTH: This is lucky.

ABEL: No, forsooth; 'twas I that was not to see you.

ARB: Why, sir, would your mother be angry if you should?

ABEL: No, no, quite contrary,—I'll tell you that presently; but first I must say, that the weighty affairs lie heavy upon my neck and shoulders. *[Shrugs]*

ARB: *[Aside]* Would he were tied neck and heels.—This is a notable wench; look where the rascal peeps, too; if I should beckon to her she'd take no notice; she is resolved not to relieve me.

ABEL: Something I can do, and that with somebody; that is, with those that are somebodies.

40 ARB: Whist! Whist! *[Beckons to Ruth, who shakes her head]* Prithee, have some pity. Oh, unmerciful girl!

ABEL: I know parliament-men, and sequestrators; I know committee-men, and committee-men know me.

ARB: You have great acquaintance, sir?

ABEL: Yes, they ask my opinion sometimes.

5 ARB: What weather 'twill be? Have you any skill, sir?

ABEL: When the weather is not good, we hold a fast.

ARB: And then it alters?

ABEL: Assuredly.

ARB: In good time—[*Aside*] No mercy, wench?

10 ABEL: Our profound contemplations are caused by the consternation of our spirits for the nation's good; we are in labor.

ARB: And I want a deliverance.—Hark ye, RUTH, take off your dog, or I'll turn bear indeed.

RUTH: I dare not; my mother will be angry.

15 ARB: Oh, hang you.

ABEL: You shall perceive that I have some power, if you please to—

ARB: Oh, I am pleased, sir, that you should have power! I must look out my hoods and scarfs, sir; 'tis almost time to go.

ABEL: If it were not for the weighty matters of state which lie upon

20 my shoulders, myself would look for them.

ARB: Oh, by no means, sir; 'tis below your greatness.—

*Enters MRS. DAY.*

—[*Aside*] Some luck yet. She never came seasonably before.

MRS. DAY: Why, how now! ABEL got so close to Mrs. ARBELLA, so close

25 indeed! Nay, then I smell something.—Well, Mr. ABEL, you have been so used to secrecy in council and weighty matters that you have it at your fingers' ends. Nay, look ye, mistress, look ye, look ye. Mark ABEL's eyes. Ah, there he looks. RUTH, thou art a good girl. I find ABEL has got ground.

30 RUTH: I forbore to come in, till I saw your honor first enter; but I have o'erheard all.

MRS. D: And how has ABEL behaved himself, wench, ha?

RUTH: Oh, beyond expectation. "If it were lawful, I'd undertake he'd make nothing to get as many women's good-wills as he speaks to."

35 He'll not need much teaching; you may turn him loose.

ARB: Oh, this plaguey wench.

MRS. D: Sayest thou so, girl? It shall be something in thy way; a new gown or so; it may be, a better penny. Well said, ABEL, I say. I did think thou wouldst come out with a piece of thy mother's at last.—

40 But I had forgot. The Committee are near upon sitting. Ha, mistress, you are crafty; you have made your composition beforehand. Ah, this ABEL's as bad as a whole committee; take that *item* from me.

Come, make haste. Call the coach, ABEL. Well said, ABEL, I say.

"ARB: We'll fetch our things and follow you. [*Exeunt* MRS. DAY and ABEL] Now, wench, canst thou ever hope to be forgiven?"

"RUTH: Why, what's the matter?"

5 "ARB: The matter! Couldst thou be so unmerciful to see me practised on, and pelted at, by a blunderbuss charged with nothing but proofs, weighty affairs, spirit, profound contemplation, and such like?"

"RUTH: Why I was afraid to interrupt you. I thought it convenient to give you what time I could, to make his young honor your friend."

10 "ARB: I am beholden to you. I may cry quittance."

"RUTH: But did you mark ABEL's eyes? Ah, there were looks!"

"ARB: Nay, prithee give off. My hour's approaching, and I can't be heartily merry till it be past. Come, let's fetch our things. Her ladyship's honor will stay for us."

15 "RUTH: I'll warrant ye, my brother ABEL is not in order yet; he's brushing a hat almost a quarter of an hour, and as long a-driving the lint from his black clothes, with his wet thumb."

"ARB: Come, prithee hold thy peace. I shall laugh in his face, else, when I see him come along. Now for an old shoe." [*Exeunt*]

20 [SCENE 4]

*A table set out.*

*The Committee, sitting; OBADIAH ordering books and papers.*

OB: Shall I read your honors' last order, and give you the account of what you last debated?

25 MR. D: I first crave your favors, to communicate an important matter to this honorable board, in which I shall discover unto you my own sincerity, and zeal to the good cause.

1 COM: Proceed, sir.

30 MR. D: The business is contained in this letter. 'Tis from no less a man than the king; and 'tis to me, as simple as I sit here. Is it your pleasures that our clerk should read it?

2 COM: Yes, pray give it to him.

35 OB: [*Reads*] MR. DAY: *We have received good intelligence of your great worth and ability, especially in state matters; and therefore thought fit to offer you any preferment, or honor, that you shall desire, if you will become my entire friend. Pray remember my love and services to your discreet wife, and acquaint her with this; whose wisdom, I hear, is great. So recommending this to her and your wise consideration, I remain,*

*Your friend, C. K.*

40 2 COM: C. K.!

MR. D: Ay, that's for the king.

2 COM: [*Aside*] I suspect—Who brought you this letter?

- MR. D: [*Aside*] Oh, fie upon't my wife forgot that particular.— Why, a fellow left it for me, and shrunk away when he had done. I warrant you, he was afraid I should have laid hold upon him. You see, brethren, what I reject; but I doubt not but to receive my reward; and I have
- 5 now a business to offer, which in some measure may afford you an occasion.
2. COM: [*Aside*] This letter was counterfeited, certainly.
- MR. D: But first be pleased to read your last order.
- 2 COM: [*Aside*] What does he mean? That concerns me.
- 10 OB: The order is, that the composition arising out of Mr. LASHLEY'S estate be, and hereby is, invested and allowed to the honorable Mr. NATHANIEL CATCH, for and in respect of his sufferings and good service.
- MR. D: It is meet, very meet; we are bound in duty to strengthen ourselves against the day of trouble, when the common enemy shall endeavor to raise commotions in the land, and disturb our new-built
- 15 Zion.
- "2 COM: [*Aside*] Then I'll say nothing, but close with him; we must wink at one another.—I receive your sense of my services with a zealous kindness. Now, Mr. DAY, I pray you propose your business."
- 20 "MR. D:" I desire this honorable board to understand that my wife being at *Reading*, and to come up in the stage-coach. It happened that one Mrs. ARBELLA, a rich heiress of one of the Cavalier party, came up also in the same coach. Her father being newly dead, and her estate being before under sequestration, my wife, who has a notable
- 25 pate of her own,—you all know her—presently cast about to get her for my son ABEL; and accordingly invited her to my house, where, though time was but short, yet my son ABEL made use of it. They are without, "as I suppose; but before we call them in, I pray let us handle such other matters as are before us."
- 30 "1 COM: Let us hear then, what estates besides lie before us, that we may see how large a field we have to walk in."
- "2 COM: Read."
- "OB: One of our last debates was upon the plea of an infant, whose estate is under sequestration."
- 35 "MR. D.: And fit to be kept so till he comes of age, and may answer for himself; that he may not be in possession of the land till he can promise he will not turn to the enemy."
- "OB: Here is another of almost the like nature; an estate before your honors under sequestration. The plea is, that the party died without
- 40 any offer of taking up arms; but in his opinion he was for the king. He has left his widow with child, which will be the heir; and the trustees complain of wrong, and claim the estate."

"2 COM: Well, the father, in his opinion, was a Cavalier?"

"OB: So it is given in."

"2 COM: Nay, 'twas so, I warrant you; and there's a young Cavalier in his widow's belly; I warrant you that, too, for the perverse generation increaseth. I move, therefore, that their two estates may remain  
5 in the hands of our brethren here, and fellow-laborers, Mr. JOSEPH BLEMISH, and Mr. JONATHAN HEADSTRONG, and Mr. EZEKIEL SCRAPE, and they to be accountable at our pleasure. Whereby they may have a godly opportunity of doing good for themselves."

10 "MR. D: Order it! Order it!"

"3 COM: Since it is your pleasures, we are content to take the burden upon us, and be stewards to the nation."

"2 COM: Now verily, it seemeth to me that the work goeth forward, when brethren hold together in unity."

15 MR. D: "Well, if we have now finished, give me leave to tell you, my wife is without," together with the gentlewoman that is to compound; she will needs have a finger in the pie.

"3 COM: I profess, we are to blame to let Mrs. DAY wait so long."

20 "MR. D:" We may not neglect the public for private respects. I hope, brethren, that you will please to cast the favor of your countenances upon ABEL.

2 & 3 COM: You wrong us to doubt it, Brother DAY. Call in the compounders.

(OB: Call in the compounders.)

25 (PORTER: Come in, the compounders.)

*Enter MRS. DAY, ABEL, ARBELLA, RUTH; and after them the COLONELS and TEAGUE. They give the doorkeeper something, and he seems to scrape.*

30 MR. D: Come, duck, I have told the honorable Committee that you are one that will needs endeavor to do good for this gentlewoman.

2 COM: We are glad, Mrs. DAY, that any occasion brings you hither.

MRS. D: I thank your honors. I am desirous of doing good, which I know is always acceptable in your eyes.

MR. D: Come on, son ABEL; what have you to say?

35 ABEL: I come unto your honors, full of profound contemplations for this gentlewoman.

ARB: [*Aside to Ruth*] 'Slife, he's at his lesson, wench.

RUTH: [*Aside*] Peace!—Which whelp opens next? Oh, the wolf is going to bark.

40 MRS. D: May it please your honors, I shall presume to inform you that my son has settled his affections on this gentlewoman, and desires your honors' favor to be shown unto him in her composition.

2 COM: Say you so, Mrs. DAY? Why, the Committee have taken it into their serious and pious consideration, together with Mr. DAY's good service, upon some knowledge that is not fit to communicate.

MRS. D: [*Aside*] That was the letter I invented.

5 2 COM: And the composition of this gentlewoman is consigned to Mr. DAY,—that is, I suppose, to Mr. ABEL, and so consequently to the gentlewoman. You may be thankful, mistress, for such good fortune. Your estate's discharged. Mr. DAY shall have the discharge.

COL. B: [*Aside*] Oh, damn the vultures!

10 COL. C: [*Aside*] Peace, man.

ARB: I am willing to be thankful when I understand the benefit. I have no reason to compound for what's my own; but if I must, if a woman can be a delinquent, I desire to know my public censure, not to be left in private hands.

15 2 COM: Be contented, gentlewoman. The Committee does this in favor of you. We understand how easily you can satisfy Mr. ABEL; you may, if you please, be Mrs. DAY.

RUTH: [*Aside*] And then, good night to all.

ARB: How, gentlemen! Are you private marriage-jobbers? D'ye  
20 make markets for one another?

2 COM: How's this, gentlewoman?

COL. B: [*Aside*] A brave, noble creature!

COL. C: [*Aside*] Thou art smitten, BLUNT. That other female, too, methinks shoots fire this way.

25 TEAG: (Take care she don't burn your wig.)

MRS. D: I desire your honors to pardon her incessant words. Perhaps she doth not imagine the good that is intended her.

2 COM: Gentlewoman, the Committee, for Mrs. DAY's sake, passes by your expressions; "you may spare your pains. You have the Com-  
30 mittee's resolution;" you may be your own enemy if you will.

ARB: My own enemy?

RUTH: [*Aside*] Prithee, peace. 'Tis to no purpose to wrangle here; we must use other ways.

2 COM: [*To the COLONELS*] Come on, gentlemen; what's your case?

35 RUTH: ARBELLA, there's the downright cavalier that came up in the coach with us.—On my life, there's a sprightly gentleman with him.

COL. C: Our business is to compound for our estates [*While they speak, the COLONELS pull the papers out and deliver them*] of which here are the particulars, which will agree with your own survey.

40 TEAG: (And here's the particulars of TEAGUE's estate: forty cows, and the devil a bull amongst them.)

OB: The particulars are right.

- MR. D: Well, gentlemen, the rule is two years' purchase, the first payment down, the other at six months' end, and the estate to secure it.  
COL. C: Can you afford it no cheaper?  
2 COM: 'Tis our rule.
- 5 COL. C: Very well. 'Tis but selling the rest to pay this, and our more lawful debts.  
2 COM: But, gentlemen, before you are admitted, you are to take the covenant; you have not taken it yet, have you?  
COL. C: No.
- 10 TEAG: Upon my soul, but he has, now; I took it for him, and he has taken it from me, that he has.  
RUTH: What sport are we now likely to have?  
2 COM: What fellow's that?  
COL. C: A poor, simple fellow that serves me. Peace, TEAGUE.
- 15 TEAG: Let them not prate so, then.  
2 COM: Well, gentlemen, it remains whether you'll take the covenant? (TEAG: Why, he has taken it.)  
COL. C: This is strange, and differs from your own principle, to impose on other men's consciences.
- 20 MR. D: Pish! We are not here to dispute. We act according to our instructions, and we cannot admit any to compound without taking it. Therefore, your answer.  
TEAG: "Why, was it for no matter, then, that I have taken the covenant? You, there, Mr. Committee, do you hear that now?" (Was it for nothing I took the—)  
25 COL. C: (Hold your tongue.) No, we will not take it. Much good may it do them that have swallows large enough; 'twill one day work in their stomachs.  
COL. B: The day may come, when those that suffer for their consciences and honor may be rewarded.
- 30 MR. D: Ay, ay, you make an idol of that honor.  
COL. B: Our worships, then, are different. You make that your idol which brings you interest; we can obey that which bids us lose it.  
ARB: [*Aside*] Brave gentlemen!
- 35 RUTH: [*Aside*] I stare at 'em till my eyes ache.  
2 COM: Gentlemen, you are men of dangerous spirits. Know, we must keep our rules and instruction; lest we lose that Providence hath put into our hands.  
COL. C: Providence! Such as thieves rob by.
- 40 2 COM: What's that, sir? Sir, you are too bold.  
COL. C: Why, in good sooth, you may give losers leave to speak. I hope your honors, out of your bowels of compassion, will permit us

to talk over our departing acres.

MR. D: It is well you are so merry.

COL. C: Oh, ever whilst you live, clear souls make light hearts. Faith, would I might ask one question?

5 2 COM: Swear not, then.

COL. C: Thou shalt not covet your neighbor's goods; there's a *Rowland* for your *Oliver*.

TEAG: (There is an *Oliver* for your *Rowland*. Take that till the pot boils.)

10 COL. C: My question is only, which of all of you is to have our estates? Or will you make traitors of them, draw 'em, and quarter 'em?

2 COM: You grow abusive.

COL. B: No, no, 'tis only to entreat the honorable persons that will be pleased to be our house-keepers, to keep them in good reparations; we

15 may take possession again, without the help of the covenant.

2 COM: You will think better on't, and take this covenant.

COL. C: We will be as rotten, first, as their hearts that invented it.

RUTH: [*Aside*] 'Slife, ARBELLA, we'll have these two men; there are not two such again to be had for love nor money.

20 MR. D: Well, gentlemen, your follies light upon your own heads. We have no more to say.

COL. C: Why, then, hoist sails for a new world.—

(TEAG: Ay, for old *Ireland*.)

COL. C: D'ye hear that, BLUNT? What gentlewoman is that?

25 COL. B: 'Tis their witty daughter I told thee of.

COL. C: I'll go speak to 'em. I'd fain convert that pretty covenant.

COL. B: Nay, prithee, let's go.

COL. C: Lady, I hope you'll have that good fortune, not to be troubled with the covenant.

30 ARB: If they do, I'll not take it.

COL. B: Brave lady! I must love her against my will.

COL. C: For you, pretty one, I hope your fortune will be enlarged by our misfortunes. Remember your benefactors.

RUTH: If I had all your estates, I could afford you as good a thing.

35 COL. C: Without taking the covenant?

RUTH: Yes, but I would invent another oath.

COL. C: Upon your lips?

RUTH: Nay, I am not bound to discover.

COL. B: Prithee, come. Is this a time to spend in fooling?

40 COL. C: Now have I forgot everything.

COL. B: Come, let's go.

2 COM: Gentlemen, void the room.



COL. C: Sure, 'tis impossible that kite should get that pretty merlin.

COL. B: Come, prithee let's go. These muck-worms will have earth enough to stop their mouths with, one day.

COL. C: Pray use our estates husband-like. And so, our most honorable bailiffs, farewell. *[(Exeunt COLONELS CARELESS and BLUNT)]*  
 5 (TEAG: Ay, bumbaily rascals.)

MR. D: You are rude. Door-keeper, put 'em forth, there.

PORTER: Come forth, ye there. This is not a place for such as you.

TEAG: (Devil burn me, but) ye are a rascal, that you are, now.

10 PORTER: And please your honors, this profane *Irishman* swore an oath at the door, even now, when I would have put him out.

2 COM: Let him pay for it.

PORTER: Here, you must pay, or lie by the heels.

TEAG: What, must I pay by the heels? I will not pay by the heels,

15 "that I will not, upon my soul." (Master, ubbub boo!)

*(Enter CARELESS.)*

(COL. C: What's the matter?)

(TEAG: This gander-faced gag says I must pay by the heels.)

(COL. C: What have you done?)

20 (TEAG: Only swore a bit of an oath.)

COL. C: Here, here's a shilling "for thee. Be quiet." (Pay for it and come along.) *[Exeunt the COLONELS]*

TEAG: Well, I have not cursed "you now, that I have not. What if I had cursed, then?" (But how much had that been?)

25 PORTER: That had been sixpence.

TEAG: Och, if I had but one sixpence-halfpenny in the world, but I would give it for a curse to ease my stomach on you. My money is like a wild colt; I am obliged to drive it up in a corner to catch it. I have hold of it, by the scruff of the neck. Here, mister, there's the shilling for the oath. And there's the sixpence-halfpenny for you, for the curse, beforehand. And now my curse, and the curse of CROMWELL, light upon you all, you thieves, you. *[Knocks down the PORTER and Exit]*  
 30 "RUTH: Hark ye, ARBELLA; 'twere a sin not to love these men."

"ARB: I am not guilty, RUTH."

35 MRS. D: Has this honorable board any other command?

2 COM: Nothing farther, good Mrs. DAY.—Gentlewoman, you have nothing to care for, but to be grateful and kind to Mr. ABEL.

ARB: I desire to know what I must directly trust to, or I will complain.

MRS. D: The gentlewoman needeth not doubt. She shall suddenly  
 40 perceive the good that is intended her, if she does not interpose in her own light.

MR. D: I pray, withdraw. The Committee has passed their order, and

they must now be private.

2 COM: Nay, pray, mistress, withdraw.— [*Exeunt all but the Committee*]

“So, brethren, we have finished this day’s work; and let us always keep the bonds of unity unbroken, walking hand in hand, and scattering the enemy.”

“MR. D: You may perceive that they have spirits never to be reconciled; they walk according to nature, and are full of inward darkness.”

“2 COM: It is well, truly, for the good people, that they are so obstinate; whereby their estates may of right fall into the hands of the chosen, which is truly a mercy.”

MR. D: I think there remaineth nothing farther, but to adjourn till Monday. “[*To OBADIAH*—Take up the papers there, and bring home to me their honors’ order for Mrs. ARBELLA’S estate.—So, brethren, we separate ourselves to our particular endeavors, till we join in public on Monday, two of the clock;” and so, peace remain with you.

[*Exeunt*]

### ACT III

#### SCENE 1

20 *Enter* COLONEL CARELESS, COLONEL BLUNT, and LIEUTENANT STORY.

LIEU: By my faith, a sad story. I did apprehend this covenant would be the trap.

COL. C: Never did any rebels fish with such cormorants; no stoppage about their throats; the rascals are all swallow.

“COL. B: Now am I ready for any plot. I’ll go find some of these agitants, and fill up a blank commission with my name. And if I can but find two or three gathered together, they are sure of me. I will please myself, however, with endeavoring to cut their throats.”

30 “COL. C: Or do something to make them hang us, that we may but part on any terms.”—

*Enter* TEAGUE.

—How now, TEAGUE, what says the learned?

TEAG: Well, then, upon my soul, the man in the great cloak, with the long sleeves, is mad, that he is.

COL. C: Mad, TEAGUE!

TEAG: Yes, i’faith, is he. He “bid me be gone, and” said I was sent to make game of him.

COL. C: Why, what didst thou say to him?

40 TEAG: “Well, now,” I asked him if he would take any counsel.

COL. C: ‘Slife, he might well enough think thou mockedst him. Why, thou shouldst have asked him when we might come for counsel.

TEAG: Well, that is all one, is it not? If he would take any counsel, or you would take any counsel, is not that all one, then?

COL. C: Was there ever such a mistake?

COL. B: Prithee, never be troubled at this; we are past counsel. If  
5 we had but a friend amongst them, that could slide us by this covenant.

COL. C: Nothing angered me so, as that my old kitchen-stuff acquaintance looked another way, and seemed not to know me.

COL. B: How, kitchen-stuff acquaintance!

10 COL. C: Yes, Mrs. DAY, that commanded the party in the hackney-coach, was my father's kitchen maid, and in time of yore called GILLIAN.

LIEU: Hark ye, Colonel; what if you did visit this translated kitchen-maid?

15 TEAG: Well, how is that? A kitchen-maid? Where is she now?

COL. B: The lieutenant advises well.

COL. C: Nay, stay, stay. In the first place I'll send TEAGUE to her, to tell her I have a little business with her, and desire to know when I may have leave to wait on her.

20 COL. B: We shall have TEAGUE mistake again.

TEAG: How is that, now? I will not mistake that kitchen-maid. Whither must I go now, to mistake that kitchen-maid?

COL. C: But d'ye hear, TEAGUE? You must take no notice of that, upon thy life; but on the contrary, at every word you must say Your  
25 Ladyship, and Your Honor; as for example, when you have made a leg, you must begin thus: My master presents his service to Your Ladyship, and having some business with Your Honor, desires to know when he may have leave to wait upon Your Ladyship. ([TEAGUE turns his back on the COLONEL] Blockhead, you must not turn your  
30 back.)

TEAG: (Oh, no, sir; I always turn my face to a lady.) "Well, that I will do." But was she your father's kitchen-maid?

COL. C: Why, what then?

TEAG: Upon my soul, I shall laugh upon her face, for all I would not  
35 have a mind to do it.

COL. C: Not for a hundred pounds, TEAGUE. You must be sure to set your countenance, and look very soberly, before you begin.

TEAG: If I should then think of any kettles, or spits, or anything that will put a mind into my head of a kitchen, I should laugh then, should  
40 I not?

COL. C: Not for a thousand pounds, TEAGUE; thou mayst undo us all.

TEAG: Well, I will hope I will not laugh, then. I will keep my mouth,

if I can, that I will, from running to one side, and t'other side. Well, now, where does this Mrs. TAY live?

LIEU: Come, TEAGUE, I'll walk along with thee, and show thee the house, that thou mayst not mistake that however.

5 (TEAG: Show me the door and I'll find the house myself.)

COL. C: Prithee do, Lieutenant.

(TEAG: Oh, sir, what is Mrs. TAY's name?)

COL. C: Have a care, TEAGUE. Thou shalt find us in the *Temple*.  
[*Exeunt* LIEUTENANT and TEAGUE] "Now, BLUNT, have I another de-

10 sign."

"COL. B: What further design canst thou have?"

"COL. C: Why, by this means I may chance to see these women again, and get into their acquaintance."

"COL. B: With both, man?"

15 "COL. C: Slife, thou art jealous. Dost love either of them?"

"COL. B: Nay, I can't tell. All is not as 'twas."

"COL. C: Like a man that is not well, and yet knows not what ails him."

"COL. B: Thou art something near the matter; but I'll cure myself

20 with considering, that no woman can ever care for me."

"COL. C: And why, prithee?"

"COL. B: Because I can say nothing to them."

"COL. C: The less thou canst say, they'll like thee the better. She'll think 'tis love that has ham-stringed thy tongue. Besides, man, a  
25 woman can't abide anything in the house should talk, but she and her parrot. Why, is it the cavalier girl thou likest?"

"COL. B: Canst thou love any of the other breed?"

"COL. C: Not honestly,—yet I confess that ill-begotten, pretty rascal never looked towards me but she scattered sparks as fast as kindling charcoal; thine's grown already to an honest flame. Come BLUNT,  
30 when TEAGUE comes we will resolve on something." [Exeunt]

[SCENE 2]

*Enter ARBELLA and RUTH.*

35 "ARB: Come now, a word of our own matters. How dost thou hope to get the estate again?"

"RUTH: You shall drink first. I was just going to ask you how you would get yours again; you are as fast as if you were under covert-baron.

40 "ARB: But I have more hopes than thou hast."

"RUTH: Not a scruple more, if there were but scales that could weigh hopes; for these rascals must be hanged before either of us shall get

our own. You may eat and drink out of yours, as I do, and be a so-journer with ABEL."

"ARB: I am hampered, but I'll not entangle myself with Mr. ABEL's conjugal cords. Nay—I am more hampered than thou thinkest; for  
5 if thou art in as bad case as I—you understand me—hold up thy finger."

"RUTH: Behold. [*Ruth holds up her finger*] Nay, I'll ne'er forsake thee. If I were not smitten, I would persuade myself to be in love, if 'twere but to bear thee company."

10 "ARB: Dear girl! Hark ye, Ruth, the composition-day made an end of all; all's gone."

"RUTH: Nay, that fatal day put me into the condition of a compounder too; there was my heart brought under sequestration."

"ARB: That day, wench?"

15 "RUTH: Yes, that very day, with two or three forcible looks, 'twas driven an inch at least out of its old place; sense or reason can't find the way to't now."

"ARB: That day, that very day! If you and I should like the same man?"

20 "RUTH: Fie upon't. As I live, thou makest me start; now dare not I ask which thou likest."

"ARB: Would they were now to come in, that we might watch one another's eyes, and discover by signs. I am not able to ask thee, neither."

25 "RUTH: Nor I to tell thee. Shall we go ask LILLY which it is?"

"ARB: Out upon him. Nay, there's no need of stars; we know ourselves, if we durst speak."

"RUTH: Pish, I'll speak. If it be the same, we'll draw cuts."

30 "ARB: No, hark ye, RUTH, do you act them both, for you saw their several humors; and then watch my eyes, where I appear most concerned. I can't dissemble, for my heart."

"RUTH: I dare swear that will hinder thee to dissemble indeed.—Come, have at you then; I'll speak as if I were before the honorable rascals. And first for my brave BLUNT COLONEL, who, hating to take the oath,  
35 cried out with a brave scorn—such as made thee in love, I hope—Hang yourselves, rascals; the time will come when those that dare be honest will be rewarded. Don't I act him bravely, don't I act him bravely?"

"ARB: Oh, admirably well! Dear wench! Do it once more."

40 "RUTH: Nay, nay, I must do the other now."

"ARB: No, no. This once more, dear girl, and I'll act the other for thee."

"RUTH: No, forsooth; I'll spare your pains. We are right; no need of cuts. Send thee good luck with him I acted, and wish me well with my merry Colonel, that shall act his own part."

- 5 "ARB: And a thousand good lucks attend thee. We have saved our blushes admirably well, and relieved our hearts from hard duty.— But mum! See where the mother comes, and with her son, a true exemplification or duplicate of the original DAY. Now for a charge."

*Enter MRS. DAY and ABEL.*

"RUTH: Stand fair. The enemy draws up."

- 10 MRS. D: Well, Mrs. ARBELLA, I hope you have considered enough by this time. You need not use so much consideration for your own good; you may have your estate, and you may have ABEL; and you may be worse offered.—ABEL, tell her your mind; ne'er stand, shilly-shally— RUTH, does she incline, or is she wilfull?

- 15 RUTH: I was just about the point when your honor interrupted us.— One word in your ladyship's ear.

ABEL: You see, forsooth, that I am somebody, though you make nobody of me. You see I can prevail. Therefore pray say what I shall trust to; for I must not stand shilly-shally.

- 20 ARB: You are hasty, sir.

ABEL: I am called upon by important affairs, and therefore I must be bold in a fair way to tell you that it lies upon my spirit exceedingly.

ARB: Saffron-posset-drink is very good against the heaviness of the spirit.

- 25 ABEL: Nay, forsooth, you do not understand my meaning.

ARB: You do, I hope sir; and 'tis no matter, sir, if one of us know it.

*Enter TEAGUE.*

TEAG: Well now, who are all you?

ARB: What's here? An *Irish* elder come to examine us all?

- 30 TEAG: Well, now, what is your names, every one?

RUTH: ARBELLA, this is a servant to one of the colonels; upon my life, 'tis the *Irishman* that took the covenant the right way.

ARB: Peace. What should it mean?

TEAG: Well, cannot some of you all say nothing without speaking?

- 35 MRS. D: Why, how now, sauce-box? What would you have? What, have you left your manners without? Go out, and fetch 'em in.

TEAG: What should I fetch, now?

MRS. D: D'you know who you speak to, sirrah?

- 40 TEAG: (Yes I do.) "Well, what are you then? Upon my soul, in my own country they can tell who I am," (and it is little my own mother thought I should speak to the like of you.)

ABEL: You must not be so saucy unto her honor.

TEAG: Well, I will knock you down, if you be saucy, with my hammer.

RUTH: This is miraculous.

TEAG: Is there none of you that I must speak to now?

ARB: [*Aside*] Now, wench, if he should be sent to us.

5 TEAG: Well, I would have one Mrs. TAY speak unto me.

MRS. D: Well, sirrah, I am she; what's your business?

TEAG: Oh, so then, are you Mrs. TAY?—Well—[*Aside*] I must look well first, and I will set my face "in some worship; yes indeed that I will," and tell her my message.

10 "RUTH: How the fellow begins to mould himself."

"ARB: And tempers his chops like a hound that has lapped before his meat was cold enough."

"RUTH: He looks as if he had some gifts to pour forth; those are Mr. DAY's own white eyes before he begins to say grace. Now for a speech rattling in his kecher, as if his words stumbled in their way."

15 TEAG: "Well now, I will tell thee, i'faith." My master, the good Colonel CARELESS, bid me ask thy good ladyship—upon my soul now, the laugh will come upon me. [*He laughs always, when he says ladyship or honor*]

20 MRS. D: Sirrah, sirrah! What, were you sent to abuse me?

RUTH: [*Aside*] As sure as can be.

TEAG: "I'faith now," I do not abuse thy good honor,—I cannot help my laugh now; I will try again now; I will not think of a kitchen, then, (nor a dripping-pan, nor a mustard-pot)—My master would know of your ladyship—

25 MRS. D: Did your master send you to abuse me, you rascal? By my honor, sirrah—

TEAG: Why dost thou mock thyself, now, joy?

MRS. D: How, sirrah, do I mock myself? This is some *Irish* traitor.

30 TEAG: I am no traitor, that I am not. I am an *Irish* rebel. You are cozened now.

MRS. D: Sirrah, sirrah! I will make you know who I am.—An impudent *Irish* rascal.

35 ABEL: He seemeth a dangerous fellow, and of a bold and seditious spirit.

MRS. D: You are a bloody rascal, I warrant ye.

TEAG: 'You are a foolish, brabble-bribble woman, that you are.

ABEL: Sirrah, we that are at the head of affairs must punish your sauciness.

40 TEAG: (And we that are at the tail of affairs will punish your sauciness.) "You shall take a knock upon your pate, if you are saucy with me, that you shall; you son of a round-head, you."

MRS. D: You rascally varlet, get you out of my doors.

TEAG: Will I not give you my message then?

MRS. D: Get you out, rascal.

TEAG: I prithee let me tell thee my message.

5 MRS. D: Get you out, I say.

TEAG: Well, then, I care not neither; the devil take your ladyship, and honorship, and kitchenship "too; there now." [Exit]

"ARB: Was there ever such a scene? 'Tis impossible to guess anything."

10 "RUTH: Our Colonels have done 't, as sure as thou livest, to make themselves sport; being all the revenge that is in their power. Look, look, how her honor trots about, like a beast stung with flies."

MRS. D: How the villain has distempered me! Out upon't, too, that I have let the rascal go unpunished; and you [to ABEL] can stand by  
15 like a sheep. Run after him then, and stop him. I'll have him laid by the heels, and make him confess who sent him to abuse me. Call help as you go. Make haste, I say. [Exit ABEL]

RUTH: 'Slid, ARBELLA, run after him, and save the poor fellow, for sake's sake; stop ABEL by any means, that he may 'scape.

20 ARB: Keep his dam off, and let me alone with the puppy. [Exit]

RUTH: Fear not.

MRS. D: 'Uds my life, the rascal has heated me—Now I think on't, I'll go myself, and see it done; a saucy villain.

RUTH: But I must needs acquaint your honor with one thing first,  
25 concerning Mrs. ARBELLA.

MRS. D: As soon as ever I have done. Is't good news, wench?

RUTH: Most excellent. If you go out you may spoil all. Such a discovery I have made, that you will bless the accident that angered you.

MRS. D: Quickly then, girl.

30 RUTH: When you sent ABEL after the *Irishman*, Mrs. ARBELLA's color came and went in her face; and at last, not able to stay, she slunk away after him, for fear the *Irishman* should hurt him. She stole away, and blushed the prettiest.

MRS. D: I protest he may be hurt indeed; I'll run myself, too.

35 RUTH: By no means, forsooth; "nor is there any need on't, for she resolved to stop him before he could get near the *Irishman*. She has done it, upon my life; and if you should go out you might spoil the kindest encounter that the loving ABEL is ever like to have."

"MRS. D: Art sure of this?"

40 "RUTH: If you do not find she has stopped him, let me ever have your hatred. Pray credit me."

"MRS. D: I do, I do believe thee. Come, we'll go in where I use to read.



There thou shalt tell me all the particulars, and the manner of it. I warrant 'twas pretty to observe."

"RUTH: Oh, 'twas a thousand pities you did not see't. When ABEL walked away so bravely, and foolishly, after this wild *Irishman*, she stole such kind looks from her own eyes; and having robbed herself, sent them after her own ABEL; and then—"

MRS. D: Come, good wench, I'll go in, and hear it all at large. It shall be the best tale thou hast told these two days. Come, come, I long to hear all. ABEL, for his part, needs no help by this time. Come, good wench. [Exit]

"RUTH: So far I am right; fortune take care for future things." [Exit]

[SCENE 3]

*Enter COLONEL BLUNT, as taken by BAILIFFS.*

COL. B: At whose suit, rascals?

1 BAIL: You shall know that time enough.

COL. B: Time enough, dogs! Must I wait your leisures?

1 BAIL: Oh, you are a dangerous man; 'tis such traitors as you that disturb the peace of the nation.

COL. B: Take that, rascal. *[Kicking him]* If I had anything at liberty besides my foot, I would bestow it on you.

1 BAIL: You shall pay dearly for this kick, before you are let loose, and give good special bail. Mark that, my surly companion. We have you fast.

COL. B: 'Tis well, rogues, you caught me conveniently; had I been aware, I would have made some of your scurvy souls my special bail.

"1 BAIL: Oh, 'tis a bloody-minded man! I'll warrant ye this vile cavalier has eat many a child."

"COL. B: I could gnaw a piece or two of you, rascals."

*Enter COLONEL CARELESS.*

COL. C: How is this! BLUNT in hold! You catchpole, let go your prey, or—*[Draws, and BLUNT in the scuffle throws up the heels of one of them, and gets a sword, and helps to drive them off]*

1 BAIL: Murder! Murder!

COL. B: Faith, CARELESS, this was worth thanks. I was fairly going.

COL. C: What was the matter, man?

COL. B: Why, an action or two for free quarter, now made *trover* and *conversion*. Nay, I believe we shall be sued with an action of trespass, for every field we have marched over; and be indicted for riots, for going at unseasonable hours, above two in a company.

*Enter TEAGUE, running.*

COL. C: Well, come, let's away.

TEAG: Now upon my soul, run as I do. The men in red coats are.

running too, "that they are," and they cry murder, murder. I never heard such a noise in *Ireland* (in all my life,) "that's true, too."

COL. C: 'Slife, we must shift several ways. Farewell. If we scape, we meet at night. I shall take heed now.

5 TEAG: Shall I tell of Mrs. TAY now?

COL. C: Oh, good TEAGUE, no time for messages. [*Exeunt several ways*]

*A noise within. Enter BAILIFFS and SOLDIERS.*

3 BAIL: This way, this way! Oh villains! My neighbor Swash is hurt dangerously. Come, good soldiers, follow, follow. [*Exeunt*]

10 *Reenter CARELESS and TEAGUE.*

COL. C: I am quite out of breath, and the bloodhounds are in full cry upon a burning scent. Plague on 'em, what a noise the kennels make! What door's this that graciously stands a little open? What an ass am I to ask! TEAGUE, scout abroad. If anything happens extraordinary, observe this door; there you shall find me. Be careful.

15 Now, by your favor, landlord, as unknown. [*Exeunt severally*]

[SCENE 4]

*Enter MRS. DAY and OBADIAH.*

20 MRS. D: It was well observed, OBADIAH, to bring the parties to me first. 'Tis your master's will that I should, as I may say, prepare matters for him. In truth, in truth, I have too great a burden upon me; yet for the public good I am content to undergo it.

OB: I shall with sincere care present unto your honor, from time to time, such negotiations as I may discreetly presume may be material for your honor's inspection.

MRS. D: It will become you so to do. You have the present that came last?

OB: Yes, and please your honor. The gentlewoman, concerning her brother's release, hath also sent in a piece of plate.

MRS. D: It's very well.

OB: But the man without, about a bargain of the king's land, is come empty.

MRS. D: Bid him be gone; I'll not speak with him. He does not understand himself.

OB: I shall intimate so much to him.

*As OBADIAH goes out, COLONEL CARELESS meets him and tumbles him back.*

MRS. D: Why, how now? What rude companion's this? What would you have? What's your business? What's the matter? Who sent you? Who d'you belong to? Who—

40 COL. C: Hold, hold, if you mean to be answered to all these interrogatories. You see I resolve to be your companion. I am a man; there's

no great matter; nobody sent me; nor I belong to nobody. I think I have answered to the chief heads.

MRS. D: Thou hast committed murder, for aught I know. How is't, OBADIAH?

5 COL. C: [*Aside*] Ha! What luck have I to fall into the territories of my old kitchen acquaintance. I'll proceed upon the strength of Teague's message, tho I had no answer.

MRS. D: How is't, man?

10 OB: Truly, he came forcibly upon me, and I fear has bruised some intellectuals within my stomach.

MRS. D: Go in, and take some *Irish* slat by way of prevention, and keep yourself warm. [*Exit* OBADIAH] Now sir, have you any business, that you came in so rudely, as if you did not know who you came to? How came you in, Sir Royster? Was not the porter at the gate?

15 COL. C: No, truly, the gate kept itself, and stood gaping as if it had a mind to speak, and say, I pray, come in.

MRS. D: Did it so, sir? And what have you to say?

COL. C: [*Aside*] Ay, there's the point; either she does not or will not know me. What should I say? How dull am I! Pox on't, this wit is  
20 like a common friend; when one has need on him he won't come near one.

MRS. D: Sir, are you studying for an invention? For aught I know you have done some mischief, and 'twere well to secure you.

COL. C: [*Aside*] So, that's well; 'twas pretty to fall into the head-  
25 quarters of the enemy.

MRS. D: Nay, 'tis e'en so. I'll fetch those that shall examine you.

COL. C: Stay, thou mighty states-woman. I did but give you time to see if your memory would be so honest as to tell you who I am.

30 MRS. D: What d'you mean, sauce-box?

COL. C: There's a word, yet, of thy former employments, that sauce. You and I have been acquainted.

MRS. D: I do not use to have acquaintance with cavaliers.

COL. C: Nor I with Committee-men's utensils; "but *in diebus illis*, you were not so honorable, nor I a malignant. Lord, lord, you are horrible forgetful; pride comes with godliness and good clothes." What, you think I should not know you, because you are  
35 disguised with curled hair, and white gloves? Alas! I know you as well as if you were in your Sabbath day's cinnamon waistcoat, "with  
40 a silver edging round the skirt."

MRS. D: How, sirrah?

COL. C: And with your fair hands bathed in lather; or, with

your fragrant breath, driving the fleeting amber grease off from the waving kitchen-stuff.

MRS. D: Oh, you are an impudent cavalier! I remember you now, indeed; but I'll—

5 COL. C: Nay, but hark you, the now honorable *non obstante* past conditions. Did I not send my footman, an *Irishman*, with a civil message to you? Why all this strangeness, then?

MRS. D: How, how, how's this! Was't you that sent the rascal to abuse me? Was't so?

10 COL. C: How now! What, matters grow worse and worse!

MRS. D: I'll teach you to abuse those that are in authority. Within there, who's within!

COL. C: 'Slife, I'll stop your mouth if you raise an alarm.

[*She cries out, and he stops her mouth*]

15 MRS. D: Stop my mouth, sirrah! Whoo, whoo, ho!

COL. C: Yes, stop your mouth. What, are you good at a whoa-bub, ha?

*Enter RUTH.*

RUTH: What's the matter, forsooth?

MRS. D: The matter! Why, here's a rude cavalier has broke into  
20 my house. 'Twas he too that sent the *Irish* rascal to abuse me within my own walls. Call your father, that he may grant his order to secure him. 'Tis a dangerous fellow.

COL. C: Nay, good pretty gentlewoman, spare your motion.—

[*Aside*] What must become of me? TEAGUE has made some strange  
25 mistake.

RUTH: [*Aside*] 'Tis he! What shall I do! Now invention be equal to my love.—Why, your ladyship will spoil all. I sent for this gentleman, and enjoined him secrecy, even to you yourself, till I had made his way. Oh, fie upon't, I am to blame. But in truth I did not think

30 he would have come these two hours.

COL. C: [*Aside*] I dare swear she did not. I might very probably not have come at all.

RUTH: How came you to come so soon, sir? 'Twas three hours before you appointed.

35 COL. C: [*Aside*] Hey day! I shall be made believe I came hither on purpose, presently.

RUTH: 'Twas upon a message of his to me, and please your honor, to make his desires known to your ladyship, that he had considered on't, and was resolved to take the covenant, and give you five hundred  
40 pounds to make his peace, and bring his business about again, that he may be admitted in his first condition.

COL. C: What's this?—D'ye hear, pretty gentlewoman?

RUTH: Well, well, I know your mind: I have done your business.

MRS. D: Oh, his stomach's come down!

RUTH: Sweeten him again, and leave him to me; I warrant you the five hundred pounds, and—*[She whispers]*

5 COL. C: *[Aside]* Now I have found it. This pretty wench has a mind to be left alone with me, at her peril.

MRS. D: I understand thee.—Well, sir, I can pass by rudeness, when I am informed there was no intention of it. I leave you and my daughter to beget a right understanding. *[Exit MRS. DAY]*

10 COL. C: *[Aside]* We should beget sons and daughters sooner. What does all this mean?

RUTH: I am sorry, sir, that your love for me should make you thus rash.

COL. C: That's more than you know; but you had a mind to be left along with me, that's certain.

15 RUTH: 'Tis too plain, sir; you'd never have run yourself into this danger, else.

COL. C: Nay, now you're out. The danger run after me.

RUTH: You may dissemble.

20 COL. C: Why, 'tis the proper business here. But we lose time. You and I are left to beget a right understanding. Come, which way?

RUTH: Whither?

COL. C: To your chamber, or closet.

RUTH: But I am engaged you shall take the covenant.

25 COL. C: No, I never swear when I am bid.

RUTH: But you would do as bad?

COL. C: That's not against my principles.

RUTH: Thank you for your fair opinion, good Signior Principle. There lies your way, sir. However, I will own so much kindness for you, that I repent not the civility I have done, to free you from the trouble you were like to fall into. Make a leg, if you please, and cry Thank you. And so, the gentlewoman that desired to be left alone with you, desires to be left alone with herself, she being taught a right understanding of you.

35 COL. C: No, I am riveted; nor shall you march off thus with flying colors. My pretty commander-in-chief, let us parley a little farther, and but lay down ingenuously the true state of our treaty. The business in short is this: we differ, seemingly, upon two evils, and mine the least, and therefore to be chosen; you had better take me, than I the covenant.

40 RUTH: We'll excuse one another.

COL. C: You would not have me take the covenant, then?

RUTH: No, I did but try you. I forgive your idle looseness, for that firm virtue. Be constant to your fair principles, in spite of fortune.

COL. C: What's this got into petticoats!—"but d'ye hear! I'll not excuse you from my proposition, notwithstanding my release. Come,

5 we are half way to a right understanding—nay, I do love thee."

"RUTH: Love virtue. You have but here and there a patch of it; y'are ragged still."

COL. C: Are you not the Committee DAY's daughter?

RUTH: Yes. What then?

10 COL. C: Then am I thankful. I had no defence against thee and matrimony, but thy own father and mother, which are a perfect Committee to my nature.

"RUTH: Why, are you sure I would have matched with a malignant, not a compounder neither?"

15 "COL. C: Nay, I would have made thee a jointure against my will. Methinks it were but as reasonable, that I should do something for my jointure; but by the way of matrimony honestly to increase your generation—this, to tell you truth, is against my conscience."

"RUTH: Yet you would beget right understandings."

20 "COL. C: Yes, I would have 'em all bastards."

"RUTH: And me a whore."

"COL. C: That's a coarse name; but 'tis not fit a Committee-man's daughter should be too honest, to the reproach of her father and mother."

25 RUTH: When the quarrel of this nation is reconciled, you and I shall agree. Till when, sir—

*Enter TEAGUE.*

TEAG: Are you here, then? Upon my soul the good Colonel BLUNT is overtaken again now, and carried to the devil, "that he is, i'faith

30 now."

COL. C: How, taken and carried to the devil!

TEAG: He desired to go to the devil, "that he did." I wonder of my soul he was not afraid of that.

COL. C: I understand it now. What mischief's this?

35 RUTH: You seem troubled, sir.

COL. C: I have but a life to lose, and that I am weary of. Come, TEAGUE.

RUTH: Hold! You shant go before I know the business. What d'ye talk of?

40 COL. C: My friend, my dearest friend, is caught up by rascally bailiffs, and carried to the Devil-Tavern. Pray let me go.

RUTH: Stay but a minute, if you have any kindness for me.

COL. C: Yes, I do love you.

RUTH: Perhaps I may serve your friend.—

*Enter ARBELLA.*

—Oh, ARBELLA, I was going to seek you.

5 ARB: What's the matter?

RUTH: The colonel which thou likest is taken by bailiffs; there's his friend, too, almost distracted. You know the mercy of these times.

ARB: What dost thou tell me? I am ready to sink down!

10 RUTH: Compose yourself, and help him nobly. You have no way, but to smile upon ABEL, and get him to bail him.

*Enter ABEL and OBADIAH.*

ARB: Look where he and OBADIAH come. Sent hither by Providence.

—Oh Mr. ABEL, where have you been this long time? Can you  
15 find of your heart to keep thus out of my sight?

ABEL: Assuredly some important affairs constrained my absence, as OBADIAH can testify, *bona fide*.

(TEAG: The devil break your bones a Friday.)

OB: I can do so verily, myself being a material party.

20 COL. C: Pox on 'em, how slow they speak!

(TEAG: Speak faster.)

ARB: Well, well, you shall go no more out of my sight. I'll not be satisfied with your *bona fide*'s. I have some occasions that call me to go a little way; you shall e'en go with me, and good OBADIAH  
25 too. You shall not deny me anything.

ABEL: It is not meet I should. I am exceedingly exalted. OBADIAH thou shalt have the best bargain of all my tenants.

"OB: I am thankful."

"COL. C: [*Aside*] What may this mean?"

30 ARB: RUTH, how shall we do to keep thy swift mother from pursuing us?

RUTH: Let me alone. As I go by the parlor, where she sits, big with expectation, I'll give her a whisper, that we are going to fetch the very five hundred pounds.

ARB: How can that be?

35 RUTH: No question, now.—Will you march, sir?

COL. C: Whither?

RUTH: Lord, how dull these men in love are!—Why, to your friend. no more words.

COL. C: I will stare upon thee, though.

[*Exeunt*]

## ACT IV

## SCENE I

*Enter COLONEL BLUNT, brought in by BAILIFFS.*

1 BAIL: Ay, ay, we thought how well you'd get bail.

5 COL. B: Why, you unconscionable rascal, are you angry that I am unlucky, or do you want some fees? I'll perish in a dungeon, "before I'll consume with throwing sops to such curs," (before I will give you a farthing.)

1 BAIL: Choose, choose. Come, along with him.

COL. B: I'll not go your pace, neither, rascals; I'll go softly, if it  
10 be but to hinder you from taking up some other honest gentleman.  
"1 BAIL: Very well, surly sir. We shall carry you where you shall not be troubled what pace to walk. You'll find a large bill. Blood is dear."

"COL. B: Nor yours, is it? A farthing a pint were very dear for the  
15 best blood you have."

*Enter ARBELLA, RUTH, ABEL, COLONEL CARELESS, and OBADIAH.*

1 BAIL: How now! Are these any of your friends?

COL. B: Never, if you see women. That's a rule.

ARB: [*To ABEL*] Nay, you need have no scruple; 'tis a near kins-  
20 man of mine. You do not think, I hope, that I would let you suffer—  
you—that must be nearer than a kinsman to me.

ABEL: But my mother doth not know it.

ARB: If that be all, leave it to me and RUTH. We'll fix you  
harmless. Besides, I cannot marry, if my kinsman be in prison; he  
25 must convey my estate, as you appoint, for 'tis all in him. We must  
please him.

ABEL: The consideration of that doth convince me. OBADIAH,  
'tis necessary for us to set at liberty this gentleman, being a trustee  
for Mrs. ARBELLA's estate. Tell 'em, therefore, that you and I will  
30 bail this gentleman—and—d'ye hear, tell 'em who I am.

OB: I shall.—Gentlemen, this is the honorable Mr. ABEL DAY,  
the first-born of the honorable Mr. DAY, Chairman of the Committee  
of Sequestration; and I myself by name OBADIAH, and clerk to the  
said honorable committee.

35 1 BAIL: Well, sir, we know Mr. DAY, and Mr. ABEL.

ABEL: Yes, that's I; and I will bail this gentleman. I believe  
you dare not except against my bail. Nay, you shall have OBADIAH's,  
too, one that the state trusts.

1 BAIL: With all our hearts, sir.—But there are charges to be paid.



ARB: Here, OBADIAH, take this purse and discharge them, and give the bailiffs twenty shillings to drink.

COL. C: This is miraculous!

1 BAIL: A brave lady!—I'faith, mistress, we'll drink your health.

5 ABEL: She's to be my wife, as sure as you are here. What say you to that, now?

1 BAIL: [*Aside*] That's impossible. Here's something more in this.—Honorable Mr. ABEL, the sheriff's deputy is hard by in another room, if you please to go thither and give your bail, sir.

10 ABEL: Well, show us the way, and let him know who I am.

[*Exeunt* ABEL, OBADIAH, and BAILIFFS]

COL. C: Hark ye, pretty Mrs. RUTH, if you were not a committee-man's daughter, and so consequently against monarchy, two princes should have you and that gentlewoman.

15 RUTH: No, no, you'll serve my turn; I am not ambitious.

COL. C: Do but swear then, that thou art not the issue of Mr. DAY; and tho' I know 'tis a lie, I'll be content to be cozened, and believe.

RUTH: Fie, fie! You can't abide taking of oaths. Look, look,

20 how your friend and mine take aim at one another. Is he smitten?

COL. C: *Cupid* hath not such another wounded subject; nay, and is vexed he is in love, too. Troth, 'tis partly my own case.

RUTH: Peace. She begins, as needs require.

ARB: You are free, sir.

25 COL. B: Not so free as you think.

ARB: What hinders it?

COL. B: Nothing, that I'll tell you.

ARB: Why, sir?

COL. B: You'll laugh at me.

30 ARB: Have you perceived me apt to commit such a rudeness? Pray let me know it.

COL. B: Upon two conditions you shall know it.

ARB: Well! Make your own laws.

COL. B: First, I thank ye; y'have freed me nobly. Pray believe  
35 it; you have this acknowledgment from an honest heart, one that would crack a string for you. That's one thing.

ARB: Well! The other.

COL. B: The other is only, that I may stand so ready, that I may be gone just as I have told it you; together with your promise  
40 not to call me back; and upon these terms I give you leave to laugh when I am gone. CARELESS, come stand ready, that, at the sign given, we may vanish together.

RUTH: If you please sir, when you are ready to start, I'll cry one, two, three, and away.

COL. B: Be pleased to forebear, good smart gentlewoman. You have leave to jeer, when I am gone, and I am just going. By your

5 spleen's leave, a little patience.

ARB: Prithee, peace.

RUTH: I shall contain, sir.

COL. B: That's much for a woman to do.

ARB: Now, sir, perform your promise.

10 COL. B: CARELESS, have you done with your woman?

COL. C: Madam—

COL. B: Nay, I have thanked her already. Prithee, no more of that dull way of gratitude. Stand ready, man; yet nearer the door—so. Now my misfortune that I promised to discover, is, that I love

15 you above my sense or reason. So farewell, and laugh. Come, CARELESS.

COL. C: Ladies, our lives are yours; "be but so kind as to believe it, till you have something to command." [Exeunt]

RUTH: Was there ever such humour?

20 ARB: As I live, his confession shows nobly.

RUTH: It shows madly, I am sure. An ill-bred fellow, not endure a woman to laugh at him.

ARB: He's honest, I dare swear.

RUTH: That's more than I dare swear for my colonel.

25 ARB: Out upon him.

RUTH: Nay, 'tis but for want of a good example; I'll make him so.

ARB: But d'ye hear, RUTH, we were horribly to blame, that we did not enquire where they lodged, under pretence of sending to them about their own benefits.

30 RUTH: "Why, thy whimsical colonel discharged himself off like a gun. There was no time between the flashing in the pan and the going off, to ask a question. But hark ye." I have an invention upon the old account of the five hundred pounds, which shall make ABEL send his pursuivant, OBADIAH, to look for 'em.

35 ARB: Excellent! The trout ABEL will bite immediately at that bait "The message shall be as from his Master DAY, Senior, to come and speak with him. They'll think presently 'tis about their composition, and come certainly. In the meantime we'll prepare them with counter expectations."

40

*Enter ABEL and OBADIAH.*

RUTH: You have it; peace. See where ABEL and the gentle 'squire

of low degree, OBADIAH, approach, having newly entered themselves into bonds.

ARB: Which I'll be sure to tell his mother, if he be ever more troublesome.

5 RUTH: And that he's turned an arrant cavalier, by bailing one of the brood.

ABEL: I have, according to your desires, given freedom to your kinsman and trustee; I suppose he doth perceive that you may have power, in right of me.

10 ARB: Good Mr. ABEL, I am sincerely beholden to you, and your authority.

RUTH: Oh, fie upon't, brother, I did forget to acquaint you with a business before the gentlemen went. Oh me, what a sieve-like memory have I! 'Twas an important affair, too.

15 ABEL: If you discover it to me, I shall render you my opinion upon the whole.

RUTH: The two gentlemen have repented of their obstinacy, and would now present five hundred pounds to your good honorable mother, to stand their friend, that they may be permitted to take the covenant; and we, negligent we, have let them go, before we knew where to send for them.

ABEL: That was the want of being used to important affairs. It is ill to neglect the accepting of their conversion, together with their money.

25 RUTH: Well, there is but one way. "Do you send OBADIAH, in your father's name, to desire them both to come to his house about some business that will be for their good; but no more, for then they'll take it ill, for they enjoined us secrecy. And when they come, let us alone." OBADIAH may inquire them out "at some tavern."

30 OB: The bailiffs did say they were gone to the Devil—"Tavern, to pay a reckoning."

ABEL: Hasten thither, good OBADIAH, as if you had met my honorable father, and desire them to come unto his house, about an important affair that is for their good.

35 OB: I shall use expedition. [Exit]

ARB: And we will hasten "home, lest the gentlemen should be before us, and not know how to address their offers; and then we will hasten" our being united in the bonds of matrimony.

40 ARB: Soft and fair goes far. [Exeunt]

## [SCENE 2]

*Enter the two COLONELS and TEAGUE, at the Tavern.*

COL. C: Did ever man get away so crafty from the thing he liked?  
Terrible business! Afraid to tell a woman what she desired to hear.

5 "I pray heartily that the boys do not come to the knowledge of thy  
famous retreat; we shall be followed by those small birds, as you  
have seen an owl pursued."

"COL. B: I shall break some of their wings then."

COL. C: To leave a handsome woman! A woman that came to be  
10 bound body for body for thee! One that does that which no woman  
will hardly do again."

COL. B: What's that?

COL. C: Love thee, and thy blunt humor; a mere chance, man;  
"a thing besides all the fortunate stars." (Come TEAGUE, give us a  
15 song.)

(TEAGUE: I am a cup too low.)

(COL. C: Here, then. [*Gives him a glass*])

(TEAG: I should like to wet t'other eye.)

(COL. C: Here, then.)

20 (S O N G by TEAGUE)

(Last *Patrick*-mass night, 'bove all days in the year,  
I set out for *London* before I got there;  
But when I took leave of my own natural shore,  
Oh, whillil-a-lu, I did screech, bawl, and roar.)

25 (I did wake in the morning, while yet it was night,  
And could not see one bit of land, but was quite out of sight.  
So, with tumbling and tossing, and jolting poor TEAGUE  
My stomach was sea-sick in less than a league.)

(At *Chester*, to show my high birth, and great mind,  
30 I took a place in the coach, but walked in it behind.  
The seas they did roar, and the winds were uncivil;  
And, upon my soul, I thought we were all blown to the devil.)

(At *Coventry* next, where you see peeping TOM,  
Who was killed for a look at the Duchess's bum;  
35 But when her grace rid on her saddle all bare,  
Devil burn me, no wonder that old *Snob* did stare.)

"COL. B: You practice your wit to no purpose. I am not to be  
persuaded to lie still, like a jack-a-lent, to be cast at; I had rather

be a wisp hung up for a woman to scold at, than a fixed lover for 'em to point at. Your squib began to hiss."

*Enter OBADIAH.*

COL. C: Peace, man, here's *Jupiter's Mercury*. Is his message to us,  
5 trow?

OB: Gentlemen, you are opportunely overtaken and found out.

COL. B: How's this?

OB: I come unto you in the name of the honorable Mr. DAY, who  
desires to speak with you both about some important affair, which is  
10 conducting for your good.

COL. B: What train is this?

COL. C: Peace. Let us not be rash.—TEAGUE!

"TEAG: Well then."

COL. C: [*Aside*] Were it not possible that you could entertain  
15 this fellow in the next room, till he were pretty drunk?

TEAG: I warrant you that now. I will make him and myself too  
drunk, for thy sweet sake.

COL. C: Be sure, TEAGUE.—Some business, sir, that will take  
us up a very little time to finish, makes us desire your patience till  
20 we despatch it. In the mean time, sir, do us the favor as to call for  
a glass of sack, in the next room. TEAGUE shall wait upon you, and  
drink your master's health.

OB: It needeth not, nor do I use to drink healths.

COL. C: None but your master's, sir, and that by way of remem-  
25 brance.

OB: We that have the affairs of state under our tuition cannot  
long delay; my presence may be required for the carrying on the work.

COL. C: Nay, sir, it shall not exceed above a quarter of an hour;  
perhaps we'll wait upon you to Mr. DAY presently. Pray sir, drink  
30 but one glass or two. We would wait upon you ourselves, but that  
would hinder us from going with you.

OB: Upon that consideration I shall attend a little.

COL. C: Go wait upon him.—Now, TEAGUE, or never.

TEAG: I will make him so drunk as can be, upon my soul.

35 [*Exeunt* TEAGUE & OBADIAH]

COL. B: What a devil should this message mean?

COL. C: 'Tis too plain. This cream of committee rascals, who has  
better intelligence than a state-secretary, has heard of his son ABEL's  
being hampered, in the cause of the wicked, and in revenge would  
40 entice us to perdition.

COL. B: If TEAGUE could be so fortunate as to make him drunk,  
we might know all.

"COL. C: If the close-hearted rogue will not be open-mouthed, we'll leave him pawned for all our scores, and stuff his pockets with blank commissions."

"COL. B: Only fill up one with his master's name."

5 "COL. C: And another with his wife's name for adjutant general, together with a bill of ammunition hid under DAY's house, and make it be digged down, with scandal of delinquency. A rascal, to think to invite us into Newgate!"

"COL. B: Well, we must resolve what to do."

10 "COL. C: I have a fancy come into my head, that may produce an admirable scene."

"COL. B: Come, let's hear."

"COL. C: 'Tis upon supposition, that TEAGUE makes him drunk; and, by the way, 'tis a good omen that we have no sober apparition  
15 in that wavering posture of frailty. We'll send him home in a sedan, and cause him to be delivered in that good-natured condition to the ill-natured rascal, his master."

"COL. B: It will be excellent. How I pray for TEAGUE to be victorious!"

20 *Enter MUSICIAN.*

MUS: Gentlemen, will you have any music?

COL. B: Prithee no, we are out of tune.

COL. C: Pish! We shall never be out of humor. "Dost hear? Canst sing us a malignant sonnet?"

25 "MUS: I can sing many songs. You seem honest gentlemen."

"COL. C: Cavaliers, thou meanest. Sing without any apprehension."

#### "S O N G"

"Now the veil is pulled off, and this pitiful nation  
Too late sees the gull of a Kirk-reformation.

30                   How all things that should be  
Are turned topsy-turvy;

                  The freedom we have,  
Our prince made a slave,

And the masters must now turn the waiters.

35                   The great ones obey  
While the rascals do sway,

And the loyal to rebels are traitors."

"The pulpits are crowded with tongues of their own,  
And the preachers spiritual committee-men grown;

40                   To denounce sequestration  
On souls of old fashion.

They rail and they pray,  
 Till they quite preach away  
 The wealth that was once the wise city's.  
 The courts in the hall,  
 5 Where the lawyers did bawl,  
 Are turned into pious committees."

"COL. C: This song has raised my spirits. Here, sing always for the king. I would have every man in his way do something for him; I would have fiddlers sing for him, parsons pray for him, men  
 10 fight for him, women scold for him, and children cry for him; and according to this rule, TEAGUE is drinking for him. But see, ——"

*Enter TEAGUE and OBADIAH, drunk.*

——See and rejoice where TEAGUE with laurel comes.

COL. B: And the vanquished OBADIAH, with nothing fixed about  
 15 him but his eyes.

"COL. C: Stay. Sing another song in the behalf of compounders, if thou canst, that the vapors of the wine may have full power to ascend up to the firmament of his truly reformed coxcomb."

"S O N G [*Obadiah repeating with him*]"

20 "Come, drawer, some wine,  
 Let it sparkle and shine,  
 And make its own drops fall a bounding;  
 Like the hearts it makes light,  
 Let it flow pure and right,  
 25 And a plague take all kind of compounding."

"We'll not be too wise,  
 Nor try to advise,  
 How to suffer and gravely despair:  
 For wisdom and parts  
 30 Sit brooding on hearts,  
 And there they catch nothing but care."

"Not a thought shall come in  
 But what brings our king.  
 Let committees be damned with their gain.  
 35 We'll send by this stealth  
 To our hearts our king's health,  
 And there in despite he shall reign."

"COL. C: This is sport beyond modest hopes. How I will adore sack, that can force this fellow to religion. The rogue is full of worship."

TEAG: Well, now, upon my soul, Mr. OBADIAH sings as well as the man now. Come then, will you sing an *Irish* song after me?

OB: I will sing *Irish* for the king now.

TEAG: I will sing for the king as well as you. Hark you now.

[*He sings an Irish song, and OBADIAH tries*]

(S O N G)

10 (Oh, TEADY-foley, you are my darling,  
You are my looking-glass, both night and morning.  
I had rather have you without a farthing,  
Than BRYAN GAULICHAR, with his house and garden.  
Lal, ral lidy.)

15 (Oh, NORAH, agra, I do not doubt you,  
And for that reason I kiss and mouth you;  
And if there was ten and twenty about you,  
Devil burn me, if I would go without you.  
Lal, ral lidy.)

20 OB: That is too hard stuff. I cannot do these and these material matters.

TEAG: Here now, we will take some snuff for the king—so, there, lay it upon your hand; put one of your noses to it now; so—snuff now. Upon my soul, Mr. OBED. Commit. will make a brave *Irishman*.

25 (Put this in your other nose.)

OB: I will snuff for the king no more. Good Mr. TEAGUE, give me some more sack, and sing *English*, for my money.

TEAG: I will tell you that *Irish* is as good and better too. Come now, we will dance. Can you play an Irish tune? "Can you play this now?"

30 "MUS: No sir, but I can play you an excellent *Irish* jig."

"[*They dance*]"

"COL. C: This is beyond thought! So, this motion, like a tumbled barrel, has set the liquor working again. Now for a chair."

35 "COL. B: Drawer! Who waits there?"

"Enter DRAWER."

"DRAWER: What d'you want, gentlemen?"

"COL. B: Call a chair presently, and bring it into this room. Here's a friend of ours overtaken."

40 "DRAWER: I go, sir."

"[*Exit*]"



"COL. C: TEAGUE, thou hast done miracles. Thou art a good *omen*, and hast vanquished the cause, in the overthrow of this counterfeit rascal, its true epitome. And now, TEAGUE, according to the words of condemnation, we'll send him to the place from whence he came."

5 "TEAG: Upon my soul, he's dead now. Shall I howl, as we do in *Ireland?*"

"COL. C: How's that, TEAGUE?"

"TEAG: Yo! Yo!" "[*Howls.*]"

10 "COL. C: No more, good TEAGUE, lest you give an alarm to the enemy.—"

"*Enter CHAIRMEN with a chair.*"

"—Welcome, honest fellow. By your looks you seem so."

"1 CHAIR: How, Colonel, have you forgot your poor soldier NED?"

15 "COL. C: Why, this is a miraculous pursuit of good fortune! Honest NED. What, turned chairman?"

"1 CHAIR: Anything for bread and butter, noble Colonel. Shall I have the honor to carry you?"

"COL. C: No, NED. Is thy fellow honest?"

20 "1 CHAIR: Or I'd be hanged before I'd carry an inch with him."

"COL. C: 'Tis well.—Look you, NED, that fellow is Mr. DAY, the committee-man's clerk, whom with wonderful industry we have made drunk. Just as he is, pack him up in thy chair, and immediately transport him to his master DAY's house, and in the very hall turn him out. There's half a crown for thy pains."

25 "1 CHAIR: If I fail, say NED's a coward. Come, shall we put your short-winged worship into your mew? Come along."

"[*They put him in and go out*]"

"COL. C: Farewell, NED. TEAGUE, come, you must carry some money to one or two confident friends of mine. We'll pay our reckoning at the bar, then go home and laugh; and, if you will, plot some way to see our enchanting females once more. They make me so long—"

"[*Exeunt*]"

[SCENE 3]

35 *Enter MR. DAY and MRS. DAY.*

MRS. D: Dispatch quickly, I say; and say I said it. Many things fall between the lip and the cup.

MR. D: Nay, duck, let thee alone for counsel. Ah, if thou hadst been a man!

40 MRS. D: Why then you would have wanted a woman, and a helper too.

MR. D: I profess so I should, and a notable one too, though I say't before thy face, and that's no ill one.

MRS. D: Come, come, you are wandering from the matter. Dispatch the marriage, I say, whilst she is thus taken with our ABEL.

5 Women are uncertain.

MR. D: How if she should be coy?

MRS. D: You are at your *ifs* again. If she be foolish, tell her plainly what she must trust to; no ABEL, no land; plain dealing's a jewel. Have you the writings drawn as I advised you, which she

10 must sign?

MR. D: Ay, I warrant you, duck; here, here they be. Oh, she has a brave estate!

MRS. D: What news you have!

MR. D: Look you, wife,— [DAY *pulls out writings, and lays out his keys*]

15 MRS. D: Pish, teach your grannam to spin; let me see.

*Enter a SERVANT.*

SERV: May it please your honor, your good neighbor Zachariah is departing this troublesome life. He has made your honor his executor, but cannot depart till he has seen your honors.

20 MR. D: Alas, alas! A good man will leave us. Come, good duck, let us hasten. Where is OBADIAH, to usher you?

MRS. D: Why, OBADIAH!—A varlet, to be out of the way at such a time; truly he moveth my wrath. Come, husband, along. I'll take ABEL in his place. [*Exeunt*]

25

*Enter RUTH and ARBELLA.*

RUTH: What's the meaning of this alarm? There's some carrion discovered; the crows are all gone upon a sudden.

ARB: The She-DAY called most fiercely for OBADIAH. Look here, RUTH, what they have left behind.

30 RUTH: As I live, it is the DAY's bunch of keys, which he always keeps so closely.—Well—if thou hast any mettle, now's the time.

ARB: To do what?

RUTH: To fly out of *Egypt*.

*Enter ABEL.*

35 ARB: Peace. We are betrayed else. As sure as can be, wench, he's come back for the keys.

RUTH: We'll forswear 'em in confident words, and no less confident countenances.

40 ABEL: An important affair hath called my honorable father and mother forth, and in the absence of OBADIAH I am enforced to attend

their honors; "and therefore I conceived it right and meet to acquaint you with it; lest in my absence you might have apprehended that some mischance had befallen my person. Therefore I desire you to receive consolation." And so I bid you heartily farewell. [Exit]

5 ARB. Given from his mouth, this tenth of *April*.—He put me in a cruel fright.

RUTH: "As I live, I am all over such a dew as hangs about a still, when 'tis first set agoing; but this is better and better. There was never such an opportunity to break prison. I know the very  
10 places, the holes in his closet where the composition of your estate lies, and where the deeds of my own estate lie. I have cast my eye upon them often, when I have gone up to him in errands, and to call him to dinner." If I miss, hang me.

ARB: But whither shall we go?

15 RUTH: To a friend of mine, and of my father's, that lives near the *Temple*, and will harbor us. Fear not; and so set up for ourselves, and get our colonels.

ARB: Nay, the mischief that I have done, and the condition we are in, makes me as ready as thou art. Come, let's about it.

20 RUTH: Stay. Do you stand sentinel here; that's the closet window; I'll call for thee if I need thee; and be sure to give notice of any news of the enemy. [Exit RUTH]

ARB: I warrant thee.—"May but this departing brother have so much string of life left him, as may tie this expecting DAY to his  
25 bedside, till we have committed this honest robbery."—Hark—What's that?—This apprehension can make a noise when there is none.

RUTH: I have 'em, I have 'em! Nay, the whole covey, and his seal at arms, bearing a dog's leg. [Calls from above]

30 ARB: Come, make haste then.

"RUTH: As I live, here's a letter counterfeited from the king, to the rascal his rebellious subject DAY; with a remembrance to his discreet wife. Nay, what dost thou think there are? I'll but cast my eye upon these papers, that were schismatical, and lay in separa-  
35 tion. What dost thou think they are?"

"ARB: I can't tell. Nay, prithee, come away."

"RUTH: Out upon the precise baboon! They are letters from two wenches; one for an increase of salary to maintain his unlawful issue; another from a wench that had more conscience than he, and refused  
40 to take the physic that he prescribed to take away a natural tympany."

ARB: Nay, prithee despatch."

"RUTH: Here be abundance more. Come, run up, and help me carry 'em. We'll take the whole index of his rogueries. We shall be furnished with such arms, offensive and defensive, that we shall never need sue to him for a league. Come, make haste."

5 "ARB: I come." "[Exit]"

"Enter CHAIRMEN with OBADIAH in the Chair."

"1 CHAIR: Come, open this portable tomb. 'Slife, here's nothing in it; ferret him, or he'll never bolt. It looks as if we had brought a basket hare, to be set down and hunted."

10 "2 CHAIR: He's dead."

"1 CHAIR: Dead drunk, thou meanest. Turn up the chair, and turn him out, as they do badgers caught in a sack. Shake, man. So, now he sallies."

OBADIAH *tumbles out of the chair, and sings as at the tavern, some of the song.*—Then enter ARBELLA and RUTH, from robbing the closet."

15 "ARB: What's this? We are undone."

"OB: Mr. TEAGUE! Will you dance, Mr. TEAGUE?"

"RUTH: Put a good face on't, or give me the van. Oh, 'tis OBADIAH fallen."

20 "ARB: Nay, and cannot rise, neither. D'ye hear, honest friends, was this zealous gentleman your freight?"

"1 CHAIR: Yes, mistress. Two honest gentlemen took care of him, seeing him thus devoutly overtaken."

"ARB: It was our colonels, that thought DAY sent him to trapan them, as sure as can be."

25 "RUTH: No doubt on't. How unmerciful they are, ARBELLA, every minute to do something or other to increase our whimsy.—Are you paid?"

"1 CHAIR: Yes, mistress.—'Slife, we shall be paid double."

30 "RUTH: Stay. Where did you leave the two careful minded gentlemen?"

"1 CHAIR: Why do you ask, mistress?"

"RUTH: For no hurt. Canst carry us near the place?"

"1 CHAIR: Yes, mistress.—Sure there's no danger in women."

35 "ARB. [To RUTH] What dost mean?"

"RUTH: The same that thou dost. To see 'em, if I can.—Is't near *Temple-Bar*?" "[OBADIAH sings]"

"1 CHAIR: Hard by, mistress."

40 "RUTH: Come in. There's my friend lies hard by. Fear not; we can never fly so concealed.—May that nightingale continue his note till the owl DAY returns to hear him.—Come, honest fellow, stop over against the place where you left the gentlemen. We have some busi-

ness with them; we'll pay you, and they'll thank you. So good night, Mr. DAY."

"1 CHAIR: I warrant you, mistress. Come along, TOM." [*Exeunt all but OBADIAH*]

5 OB: Some small beer, good Mr. TEAGUE.

*Enter as returned, MR. DAY, MRS. DAY, and ABEL.*

MR. D: He made a good end, and departed as unto sleep.

MRS. D: I'll assure you his wife took on grievously; I do not believe she'll marry this half year.

10 MR. D: He died full of exhortation. Ha, duck, shouldst be sorry to lose me?

MRS. D: Lose you! I warrant you you'll live as long as a better thing.—[OBADIAH *sings*] —Ah, lord, what's that?

MR. D: How now! What's this? How!—OBADIAH—and in a  
15 drunken distemper, assuredly!

MRS. D: Oh fie upon't! Who would have believed that we should have lived to have seen OBADIAH overcome with the creature?—where have you been, sirrah?

OB: D—d—drinking the ki—ki—king's health.

20 MR. D: Oh terrible! Some disgrace put upon us, and shame brought within our walls. I'll go lock up my neighbor's will, and come down and show him a reproof.—How—how—I cannot feel my keys—nor—[*He feels in his pocket and leaps up*]*—hear 'em jingle.* Didst thou see my keys, duck?

25 MRS. D: Duck me no ducks. I see your keys! See a fool's head of your own. Had I kept them, I warrant they had been forthcoming. You are so slappish, you throw 'em up and down at your tail. Why don't you go look if you have left them in the door?

MR. D: I go, I go, duck. [*Exit*]

30 MRS. D: Here, ABEL, take up this fallen creature, who has left his uprightness; carry him to a bed, and when he is returned to himself, I will exhort him.

ABEL: He is exceedingly overwhelmed. [*He goes to lift him up*]

OB: Stand away, I say, and give me some sack, that I may drink  
35 a health to the king, and let committees be damned with their gain. [OBADIAH *sings Tedy-Foley*] Where's Mr. TEAGUE?

*Enter MR. DAY.*

MR. D: Undone, undone! Robbed, robbed! The door's left open, and all my writings and papers stolen. Undone, undone!—RUTH!

40 RUTH!

MRS. D: Why RUTH, I say! Thieves, thieves!

*Enter SERVANT.*

SERV: What's the matter! Forsooth, here has been no thieves. I have not been a minute out of the house.

MRS. D: Where's RUTH, and Mrs. ARBELLA?

SERV: I have not seen them a pretty while.

5 MR. D: 'Tis they have robbed me, and taken away the writings of both their estates. Undone, undone!

MRS. D: [*To ABEL*] This came of staying for you, coxcomb; we had come back sooner else. You slow drone, we must be undone for your dulness.

10 OB: Be not in wrath.

MRS. D: I'll wrath you, ye rascal you. I'll teach you, you drunken rascal, and you sober dull man.

OB: Your feet are swift and violent; their motion will make them fume.

15 MRS. D: D'ye lie too, ye drunken rascal?

MR. D: Nay, patience, good duck, and let's lay out for these women; they are the thieves.

MRS. D: 'Twas you that left your keys upon the table to tempt them. Ye need cry, good duck, be patient. Bring in the drunken

20 rascal, ye booby. When he is sober, he may discover something. Come, take him up. I'll have 'em hunted.

*[Exeunt MR. DAY and MRS. DAY]*

ABEL: I rejoice yet in the midst of my sufferings, that my mistress saw not my rebukes. Come, OBADIAH, I pray raise yourself upon  
25 your feet, and walk.

OB: Have you taken the covenant? That's the question.

ABEL: Yea.

OB: And will you drink a health to the king? That's t'other  
30 question.

ABEL: Make not thyself a scorn.

OB: Scorn in my face! Void, young Satan.

ABEL: I pray you, walk in; I shall be assisting.

OB: Stand off, and you shall perceive by my steadfast going,  
35 that I am not drunk. Look ye now—so, softly, softly; gently, good OBADIAH, gently and steadily, for fear it should be said that thou art in drink. So, gently and uprightly, OBADIAH [*He moves his legs, but keeps in the same place*]

ABEL: You do not move.

40 OB: Then I stand still, as fast as you go.

*Enter MRS. DAY.*

MRS. D: What, stay all day? [*To ABEL*] There's for you, sir; you are a sweet youth to leave in trust. [*To OBADIAH*] Along, you drunken rascal. I'll set you both forward.

5 OB: The Philistines are upon us, and day is broke loose from darkness. High keeping has made her fierce.

[*She beats them off*]

MRS. D: Out, you drunken rascal. I'll make you move, you beast.

[*Exeunt*]

10

## A C T V

## SCENE 1

*"Enter BOOKSELLER and BAILIFFS, having laid hold on TEAGUE."*

"BOOK: Come along, sir; I'll teach you to take covenants."

"TEAG: Will you teach me then? Did I not take it then? Why  
15 will you teach me, now?"

"BOOK: You shall pay dearly for the blows you struck me, my wild *Irish*; by Saint *Patrick*, you shall."

"TEAG: What would you have now to do with Saint *Patrick*? He will scorn your covenant."

20 "BOOK: I'll put you, sir, where you shall have worse liquor than your bonny-clabber."

"TEAG: Bonny-clabber! By my godship's hand, now, you are a rascal if you do not love bonny-clabber, and I will break your pate if you will not let me go to my master."

25 "BOOK: Oh, you are an impudent rascal. Come, away with him."

*"Enter COLONEL CARELESS."*

"COL. C: How now! Hold, my friend. Whither do you carry my servant?"

"BOOK: I have arrested him, sir, for striking me, and taking  
30 away my books."

"COL. C: What has he taken away?"

"BOOK: Nay, the value of the thing is not much; 'twas the covenant, sir."

"TEAG: Well, I did take the covenant, and my master took it  
35 from me; and we have taken the covenant then, have we not?"

"COL. C: Here, honest fellow, here's more than thy covenant's worth. Here, bailiffs, here's for you to drink."

"BOOK: Well, sir, you seem an honest gentleman; for your sake, and in hopes of your custom, I release him."

40 "1 BAIL: Thank ye, noble sir."

[*Exeunt BOOKSELLER and BAILIFFS*]"

COL. C: "Farewell, my noble friends. — So — d'ye hear, TEAGUE, pray take no more covenants." — Have you paid the money I sent you with?

TEAG: Yes; but I will carry no more, look you there now.

5 COL. C: Why, TEAGUE?

TEAG: God fa' my soul, now, I shall run away with it.

COL. C: Pish, thou art too honest.

TEAG: That I am too, upon my soul now; but the devil is not honest, that he is not. He would not let me alone when I was going;  
10 but he made me go to this little long place, and t'other little long place; and my soul was carrying me to *Ireland*, for he made me go by a dirty place like a lough, now; and therefore I know now it was the way to *Ireland*. Then I would stand still, and then he would make me go on; and then I would go to one side, and he would make  
15 me go to t'other side. And then I got a little farther, and did run then; and upon my soul the devil could not catch me; and then I did pay the money. But I will carry no more money, now, that I will not.

COL. C: But thou shalt, TEAGUE, when I have more to send. Thou art proof now against temptations.

20 TEAG: Well, then, if you send me with money again, and if I do not come to thee upon the time, the devil will make me be gone then with the money. Here's a paper for thee; 'tis a quit way. indeed.

COL. C: That's well said, TEAGUE. — [*Reads*]

25 *Enter MR. DAY, OBADIAH, and SOLDIERS.*

OB: See, sir, Providence hath directed us; there is one of them that clothed me with shame, and the most malignant among the wicked.

MR. D: Soldiers, seize him. I charge him with treason. Here's a  
30 warrant to the keeper, as I told you.

"1 SOLDIER.: Nay, no resistance now."

COL. C: What's the matter, rascals?

MR. D: You shall know that to your cost hereafter. Away with him.

35 COL. C: TEAGUE, tell 'em I shall not come home tonight. I am engaged.

TEAG: I prithee, ben't engaged.

COL. C: Gentlemen, I am guilty of nothing, that I know of.

MR. D: That will appear, sir. — Away with him.

40 TEAG: What will you do with my master now?

MR. D: Be quiet, sir, or you shall go with him.

TEAG: That I will, for all you now, (you old fool).



COL. C: TEAGUE, come hither.

(TEAG: Sir?)

(COL. C: [*Whispers*] Here, take this key, open my bureau, and burn all the papers you find there; and here, burn this letter.)

5 TEAG: (Pray, give me that pretty, clean letter, to send my mother.) "Must I not go with you, then?"

COL. C: No no. Be sure to do as I tell you.

MR. D: Away with him. We will be avenged on the scorner; and I'll go home and tell my duck this part of my good fortune. [*Exeunt*]

10 "*Enter CHAIRMEN with a Sedan. The WOMEN come out.*"

"RUTH: So far we are right.—Now, honest fellow, stop over, and tell the two gentlemen, that we two women desire to speak with them."

*Enter COLONEL BLUNT and LIEUTENANT.*

"1 CHAIR: See, mistress, here's one of them."

15 RUTH: That's thy Colonel, ARBELLA. Catch him quickly, or he'll fly again.

ARB: What should I do?

RUTH: Put forth some good words, "as they use to shake oats when they go to catch a skittish jade." Advance.

20 ARB: Sir.

COL. B: Lady—'tis she.

ARB: I wish, sir, that my friend and I had some conveniency of speaking with you. We now want the assistance of some noble friend.

25 COL. B: Then I am happy. Bring me but to do something for you; I would have my actions talk, not I. My friend will be here immediately. I dare speak for him too—pardon my last confusion, but what I told you was as true as if I had stayed—

RUTH: To make *affidavit* of it.

30 COL. B: Good overcharged gentlewoman, spare me but a little.

ARB: Prithee peace. Canst thou be merry, and we in this condition?—Sir, I do believe you noble, truly worthy. If we might withdraw any whither out of sight, I would acquaint you with the business.

35 LIEU: My house, ladies, is at that door, where both the Colonels lodge. Pray command it. Colonel CARELESS will immediately be here.

*Enter TEAGUE.*

TEAG: "Well now," (he will not come.) My good master will not come. That Commit rogue DAY has got him with men in red  
40 coats, and he is gone to prison here below this street. He would not let me go with him, i'faith, but made me come to tell thee now.

RUTH: Oh my heart.—Tears, by your leave awhile—*[Wipes her eyes]* D'ye hear, ARBELLA, here, take all the trinkets, only the bait that I'll use. "Accept of this gentleman's house; there let me find thee. I'll try my skill. Nay, talk not." *[Exit]*

5 COL. B: CARELESS in prison! Pardon me madam; I must leave you for a little while. Pray be confident. "This honest friend of mine will use you with all respects till I return."

ARB: What do you mean to do, sir?

COL. B: I cannot tell; yet I must attempt something. You shall have a sudden account of all things. You say you dare believe. Pray be as good as your word; and whatever accident befalls me, know I love you dearly. "Why do you weep?"

"ARB: Do not run yourself into a needless danger."

COL. B: How! D'ye weep for me? Pray let me see. Never woman did so before, that I know of. I am ravished with it; the round gaping earth ne'er sucked showers so greedily, as my heart drinks these. Pray, if you love me, be but so good and kind as to confess it."

"ARB: Do not ask what you may tell yourself."

20 "COL. B: I must go; honor and friendship call me. Here, Lieutenant, I never had a jewel but this. Use it as right ones should be used; do not breathe upon it, but gaze, as I do—hold—one word more. The soldier that you often talked of to me is still honest?"

"LIEU: Most perfectly."

25 "COL. B: And I may trust him?"

"LIEU: With your life."

"COL. B: Enough.—Pray let me leave my last looks fixed upon you—so, I love you, and am honest. Be careful, good Lieutenant, of this treasure—she weeps still"—I cannot go, and yet I must.— *[Exit]*

30 LIEU: Madam, pray let my house be honored with you. Be confident of all respect and faith.

"ARB: What uncertainties pursue my love and fortune." *[Exeunt]*

[SCENE 2]

*Enter RUTH with a SOLDIER.*

35 RUTH: Come, give me the bundle; so, now the habit; 'tis well; there's for your pains! Be secret, and wait where I appointed you.

SOL: If I fail, may I die in a ditch, and there lie, and outstink it.

*[Exit]*

RUTH: Now for my wild Colonel. "First, here's a note with my lady DAY's seal to it, for his release. If that fails—as he that will shoot at these rascals must have two strings to his bow—then here's my red-

coat's skin to disguise him, and a string to draw up a ladder of cords, which I have prepared against it grows dark. One of them will hit sure. I must have him out, and I must have him when he is out. I have no patience to expect." Within there—ho!—

5

*Enter KEEPER.*

RUTH: Have you not a prisoner, sir, in your custody, one Colonel CARELESS?

KEEP: Yes, mistress; and committed by your father, Mr. DAY.

10 "RUTH: I know it; but there was a mistake in it. Here's a warrant for his delivery, under his hand and seal."

"KEEP: I would willingly obey it, mistress; but there's a general order come from above, that all the king's party should be kept close, and none released but by the state's order."

"RUTH: This goes ill."—May I speak with him, sir?

15 KEEP: Very freely, mistress; there's no order to forbid any to come to him. To say truth, 'tis the most pleasantest gentleman.—I'll call him forth. *[Exit]*

RUTH: O my conscience, everything must be in love with him. Now for my last hopes; if this fail I'll use the ropes myself.

20

*Enter KEEPER and CARELESS.*

COL. C: Mr. DAY's daughter speak with me?

KEEPER: Ay, sir, there she is. *[Exit]*

RUTH: Oh sir, does the name of Mr. DAY's daughter trouble you? You love the gentlewoman, but hate his daughter.

25 COL. C: Yes, I do love that gentlewoman you speak of most exceedingly.

RUTH: And the gentlewoman loves you. But what luck this is, that DAY's daughter should ever be with her, to spoil all!

30 COL. C: Not a whit, one way; I have a pretty room within, dark, and convenient.

RUTH: For what?

COL. C: For you and I to give counter-security for our kindness to one another.

RUTH: But Mrs. DAY's daughter will be there too.

35 COL. C: 'Tis dark. We'll ne'er see her.

RUTH: You care not who you are wicked with; methinks a prison should tame you.

40 "COL. C: Why, d'ye think a prison takes away blood and fight? As long as I am so qualified, I am touchwood, and whenever you bring fire, I shall fall a burning."

"RUTH: And you would quench it."

"COL. C: And you shall kindle it again."

"RUTH: No, you will be burnt out at last, burnt to a coal, black as dishonest love."

COL. C: Is this your business? Did you come to disturb my contemplations with a sermon? Is this all?

RUTH: One thing more. I love you, it's true; but I love you honestly. If you know how to love me virtuously, I'll free you from prison, and run all fortunes with you.

COL. C: Yes, I could love thee all manner of ways; if "I could not, freedom were no bait. Were it from death, I should despise your offer, to bargain for a lie."—But—

RUTH: Oh noble—but what?

COL. C: The name of that rascal that got thee; yet I lie too, he ne'er got a limb of thee. Pox on't, thy mother was as unlucky to bear thee.  
15 But how shall we salve that? Take off but these incumbrances, and I'll purchase thee in thy smock; but to have such a flaw in my title—

RUTH: Can I help nature?

COL. C: Or I honor? Why, hark you now; do but swear me into a pretence, do but betray me with an oath, that thou wert not begot on  
20 the body of GILLIAN, my father's kitchen-maid.

RUTH: Who's that?

COL. C: Why, the honorable Mrs. DAY that now is.

RUTH: Will you believe me if I swear?

COL. C: Ay that I will, though I know all the while 'tis not true.

25 RUTH: I swear then by all that's good, I am not their daughter.

COL. C: Poor kind perjured pretty one, I am beholden to thee; wouldst damn thyself for me?

RUTH: You are mistaken. I have tried you fully. "You are noble, and I hope you love me; be ever firm to virtuous principles." My  
30 name is not so godly a one as RUTH, but plain ANNE, daughter to Sir BASIL THOROWGOOD; "one perhaps that you have heard of, since in the world he has still had so loud and fair a character," 'tis too long to tell you how this DAY got me, an infant, and my estate, into his power, and made me pass for his own daughter, my father dying when I was but  
35 two years old. "This I knew but lately, by an unexpected meeting of an ancient servant of my father's." But two hours since, ARBELLA and I found an opportunity of stealing away all the writings that belonged to my estate, and her composition. In our flight we met your friend, with whom I left her as soon as I had intelligence of your mis-  
40 fortune, to try to get your liberty; which if I can do, you have an estate, for I have mine."

COL. C: Thou more than—

RUTH: No, no; no raptures at this time. Here's your disguise, purchased from a true-hearted red-coat. "Here's a bundle!" Let this line down when 'tis almost dark, and you shall draw up a ladder of ropes. "If the ladder of ropes be done sooner, I'll send it by a soldier that I dare trust, and you may. Your window's large enough." As soon as you receive it, come down; "if not, when 'tis dusk, let down your line," and at the bottom of the window you shall find yours, more than her own, not RUTH, but ANNE.

COL. C: I'll leap into thy arms.—

10 RUTH: So you may break your neck. If you do, I'll jump too. But time steals on our words. Observe all I have told you. So farewell—

COL. C: Nay, as the good fellows used to say, let us not part with dry lips.—One kiss.

RUTH: Not a bit of me, till I am all yours.

15 COL. C: Your hand then, to show I am grown reasonable. A poor compounder.

RUTH: Pish, there's a dirty glove upon't.—

"COL. C: Give me but any naked part, and I'll kiss it as a snail creeps, and leave sign where my lips slid along—"

20 "RUTH: Good snail, get out of your hole first. Think of your business. So fare—"

COL. C: Nay, prithee be not ashamed that thou art loath to leave me. 'Slid, I am a man, but I am as arrant a rogue as thy *Quondam* father DAY, if I could not cry to leave thee a brace of minutes.

25 RUTH: Away. We grow foolish—farewell—yet be careful—nay, go in.

COL. C: Do you go first.

RUTH: Nay, fie, go in.

COL. C: We'll fairly, then, divide the victory, and draw off together.—So—I will have the last look. [*Exeunt severally, looking at one another*]

30

## [SCENE 3]

*Enter COLONEL BLUNT and SOLDIER.*

COL. B: No more words; I do believe, nay, I know thou art honest. May I live to thank thee better.

SOL: I scorn any encouragement to love my king, or those that serve him. I took pay under these people, with a design to do him service; Lieutenant knows it.

COL. B: He has told me so. No more words. Thou art a noble fellow. Thou art sure his window's large enough?

SOL: Fear it not.

40 COL. B: Here then, carry him this ladder of ropes. So. Now give me the coat. Say not a word to him, but bid him dispatch when he sees the

coast clear. He shall be waited for at the bottom of his window. Give him thy sword too, if he desires it.

SOL: I'll dispatch it instantly; therefore get to your place. *[Exit]*

COL. B: I warrant ye.

5

*Enter* TEAGUE.

TEAG: Have you done everything then? By my soul now, yonder is the man with the hard name; that man, now, that I made drunk for thee, Mr. TAY's rascal. He is coming along there behind, now upon my soul, that he is.

10 COL. B: The rascal comes for some mischief. TEAGUE, now or never play the man.

TEAG: How should I be a man then?

COL. B: Thy master is never to be got out, if this rogue gets hither; meet him therefore, TEAGUE, in the most winning manner thou canst,

15 and make him once more drunk; and it shall be called the second edition of OBADIAH, put forth with *Irish* notes upon him. And if he will not go drink with thee—

TEAG: I will carry him upon my back-side, if he will not go; and if he will not be drunk, I will cut his throat then, that I will, for my sweet  
20 master now that I will.

COL. B: Dispatch, good TEAGUE; and dispatch him too, if he will not be conformable; and if thou canst but once more be victorious, bring him in triumph to Lieutenant STORY'S. There shall be the general rendezvous. Now, or never, TEAGUE.

25 TEAG: I warrant you, I will get drink into his pate, or I will break it for him, that I will, I warrant you. He shall not come after you now.

*[Exit]*

"COL. B: Good luck go with thee!—The fellow's faithful and stout; that fear's over. Now to my station."  
*[Exit]*

30

[SCENE 4]

"COLONEL CARELESS *as in prison.*"

"COL. C: The time's almost come. How slow it flutters. My desires are better winged. How I long to counterfeit a faintness when I come to the bottom, and sink into the arms of this dear witty fair!—Ha,  
35 who's this?"

*Enter* SOLDIER.

"SOL: Here, sir, here's a ladder of ropes; fasten it to your window, and descend. You shall be waited for."

40 "COL. C: The careful creature has sent it.—But d'ye hear, sir, could you not spare that implement by your side? It might serve to keep off small curs.

"SOL: You'll have no need on't, but there it is. Make haste, the coast is clear." [Exit]

"COL. C: Oh this pretty she Captain-General over my soul and body. The thought of her musters every faculty I have. She has sent the  
5 ropes, and stays for me. No dancer of the ropes ever slid down with that swiftness—or desire of haste—that I will make to thee." [Exit]

[SCENE 5]

*Enter BLUNT in his soldier's coat.*

"COL. B: All's quiet, and the coast clear. So far it goes well; that is  
10 the window; in this nook I'll stand, till I see him coming down."

[Steps in]

COLONEL CARELESS, *above, in his soldier's habit, lets down the ladder of ropes, and speaks.*

"COL. C: I cannot see my North Star that I must sail by; 'tis clouded.  
15 Perhaps she stands close in some corner; I'll not trifle time. All's clear. Fortune forbear thy tricks, but for this small occasion."

*Enter BLUNT.*

COL. B: What's! A soldier in the place of CARELESS? I am betrayed, but I'll end this rascal's duty.

20 COL. C: How, a soldier!—Betrayed! This rascal shan't laugh at me.

COL. B: Dog!

COL. C: How, BLUNT?

COL. B: CARELESS!

COL. C: You guess shrewdly. Plague, what contrivance hath set you  
25 and I a tilting at one another?

COL. C: The same friend, for aught I know, that furnished you.—This kind gentlewoman is RUTH still. Ha, here she is. I was just ready to be suspicious.

*Enter RUTH with a ladder of ropes.*

30 RUTH: Who's there?

COL. C: Two notable charging red-coats.

RUTH: As I live, my heart is at my mouth.

COL. C: Prithee, let it come to thy lips, that I may kiss it. "What have you in your lap?"

35 RUTH: "The ladder of ropes." How in the name of wonder got you hither?

COL. C: Why, I had the ladder of ropes, and come down by it.

COL. B: Then the mistake is plainer; 'twas I that sent the soldier with the ropes. †

40 RUTH: What an escape was this! Come, let's lose no time; here's no place to explain matters in.

COL. C: I will stay to tell thee, that I shall never deserve thee.

RUTH: Tell me so when you have had me a little while. Come, follow me. "Put on your plainest garb; not like a dancing master, with your toes out. Come along. [RUTH *pulls their hats over their eyes*] Hang down your head as if you wanted pay. So." [Exeunt]

5

[SCENE 6]

*Enter MR. DAY, MRS. DAY, ABEL, and MRS. CHAT.*

MRS. D: Are you sure of this, neighbor CHAT?

MRS. CH: I'm as sure of it, as I am that I have a nose to my face.

MRS. D: Is my—

10 MR. D: Ay! Is my—

MRS. D: You may give one leave, methinks, to ask but one question. Is my daughter RUTH with her?

MRS. CH.: She was not, when I saw Mrs. ARBELLA last. I have not been so often at your honor's house, but that I know Mrs. ARBELLA, the rich heiress, that Mr. ABEL was to have had, the good gentleman, if he has his due. They never suspected me; for I used to buy things of my neighbor STORY, before she married the Lieutenant. And stepping in to see Mrs. STORY that now is, my neighbor WISH-WELL that was, I saw, as I told you, this very Mrs. ARBELLA. And I warrant Mrs. RUTH is not far off.

20

MRS. D: Let me advise then, husband.

MR. D: Do, good duck, I'll warrant 'em—

MRS. D: You'll warrant, when I have done the business.

MR. D: I mean so, duck.

25 MRS. D: Well! Pray spare your meaning, too. First, then, we'll go ourselves in person to this STORY's house, and in the mean time send ABEL for soldiers; and when he has brought the soldiers, let them stay at the door, and come up himself; and then, if fair means will not do, foul shall.

30 MR. D: Excellent well advised, sweet duck. Ah! Let thee alone. Be gone, ABEL, and observe thy mother's directions. Remember the place. We'll be revenged for robbing us, and for all their tricks.

ABEL: I shall perform it. [Exit]

MRS. D: Come along, neighbor, and show us the best way; "and by and by we shall have news from OBADIAH, who is gone to give the other colonel's gaoler a double charge, to keep the wild youth close. Come husband, let's hasten." Mrs. CHAT, the state shall know what good service you have done.

35 MRS. CH: I thank your honor.

[Exeunt]



## [SCENE 7]

*Enter ARBELLA and LIEUTENANT.*

LIEU: Pray, madam, weep no more! Spare your tears till you know they have miscarried.

5 "ARB: 'Tis a woman, sir, that weeps! We want men's reasons, and their courage to practise with."

"LIEU: Look up, madam, and meet your unexpected joys!"

*Enter RUTH, COLONEL CARELESS, and COLONEL BLUNT.*

ARB: Oh, my dear friend! My dear, dear RUTH!

10 COL. C: Pray, none of these phlegmatic hugs; there, take your colonel; my captain and I can hug afresh every minute.

RUTH: When did we hug last, good soldier?

COL. C: I have done nothing but hug thee in fancy, ever since you, RUTH, turned ANNICE.

15 ARB: You are welcome, sir; I cannot deny I shared in all your danger. "LIEU: If she had denied it, Colonel, I would have betrayed her."

COL. B: I know not what to say, nor how to tell, how dearly, how well I love you.

"ARB: Now can't I say I love him; yet I have a mind to tell him too."

20 "RUTH: Keep't in, and choke yourself, or get the rising of the lights."

"ARB: What shall I say?"

"RUTH: Say something, or he'll vanish."

"COL. B: D'ye not believe I love you? Or can't you love me? Not a word.—Could you—but—"

25 ARB: No more, I'll save you the labor of courtship, which should be too tedious to all plain and honest natures. It is enough; I know you love me.

COL. B: Or may I perish, whilst I am swearing it.

*Enter PRENTICE.*

30 LIEU: How now, JACK?

BOY: Oh master, undone! Here's Mr. DAY the committee-man, and his fierce wife, come into the shop. Mrs. CHAT brought them in, and they say they will come up. They know that Mrs. ARBELLA, and their daughter RUTH, is here. Deny 'em if you dare, they say.

35 LIEU: Go down, boy, and tell 'em I'm coming to 'em. [*Exit BOY*] "This pure jade, my neighbor CHAT, has betrayed us. What shall I do? I warrant the rascal has soldiers at his heels. I think I could help the colonels out at a back door."

"COL. B: I'd rather die by my ARBELLA; now you shall see I love you."

40 "COL. C: Nor will I, CHARLES, forsake you, ANNICE."

RUTH: Come, be cheerful. I'll defend you against all the assaults of Captain DAY, and Major-General DAY, his new-drawn-up wife. Give me my ammunition, [*To ARBELLA*] the papers, woman. So, If I do not rout 'em, fall on; let's all die together, and make no more graves but one.

COL. B: 'Slife, I love her now, for all she has jeered me so.

RUTH: "Go fetch 'em in, Lieutenant. [*Exit LIEUTENANT*] Stand you all drawn up as my reserve—so—I for the forlorn hope.

"COL. C: That we had TEAGUE here! To quarrel with the female triumphing DAY, whilst I threw the male DAY out of the window. Hark, I hear the troop marching. I know the she DAY's stamp, among the tramples of a regiment."

ARB: They come, wench. Charge 'em bravely; I'll second thee with a volley.

15 RUTH: They'll not stand the first charge, fear not. Now the DAY breaks.

COL. C: Would 'twere his neck were broke.

*Enter MR. DAY, and MRS. DAY.*

MRS. D: Ah, ah! My fine runaways, have I found you? What, you think my husband's honor lives without intelligence? Marry come up.

MR. D: My duck tells you how 'tis—We—

MRS. D: Why then, let your duck tell 'em how 'tis. Yet, as I was saying, you shall perceive we abound in intelligence; else 'twere not for us to go about to keep the nation quiet. But if you, Mrs. ARBELLA, 25 will deliver up what you have stolen, and submit, and return with us, and this ungracious RUTH.

RUTH: ANNE, if you please.

MRS. D: Who gave you that name, pray? \*

RUTH: My godfathers and godmothers in baptism.—Or, forsooth; I 30 can answer a leaf farther.

MR. D: Duck, good duck, a word. I do not like this name ANNICE.

MRS. D: You are ever in a fright, with a shrivelled heart of your own.—Well, gentlemen, you are merry.

ARB: As newly come out of our wardships. I hope Mr. ABEL is well.

35 MRS. D: Yes, he is well; you shall see him presently; yes, you shall see him.

COL. C: That is, with myrmidons. Come, good ANNE, no more delay; fall on.

RUTH: Then before the furious ABEL approaches with his red-coats, 40 who perhaps are now marching under the conduct of that expert captain in weighty matters, know the articles of our treaty are only these: this ARBELLA will keep her estate, and not marry ABEL, but this gentle-

man; and I, ANNE, daughter to Sir BASIL THOROWGOOD, and not RUTH, as has been thought, have taken my own estate, together with this gentleman, for better, for worse, We are modest, though thieves; only plundered our own.

5 MRS. D: Yes, gentlewoman, you took something else, and that my husband can prove; it may cost you your necks if you do not submit.

RUTH: Truth on't 'tis, we did take something else.

MRS. D: Oh, did you so?

10 RUTH: Pray give me leave to speak one word in private with my father DAY?

MRS. D: Do so, do so; are you going to compound? Oh, 'tis father DAY, now!

RUTH: [*Takes him aside*] D'ye hear, sir; how long is't since you have practised physic?

15 MR. D: Physic! What d'ye mean?

RUTH: I mean physic. Look ye, here's a small prescription of yours. Do you know this hand-writing?

MR. D: I am undone.

20 RUTH: Here's another upon the same subject. This young one I believe came into this wicked world for want of your preventing dose; it will not be taken now, neither; it seems your wenches are wilful. Nay, I do not wonder to see 'em have more conscience than you have.

MR. D: Peace, good Mrs. ANNE. I am undone, if you betray me.

*Enter ABEL. Goes to his father.*

25 ABEL: The soldiers are come.

MR. D: Go and send 'em away, ABEL. Here's no need, no need now.

MRS. D: Are the soldiers come, ABEL?

ABEL: Yes, but my father biddeth me send them away.

30 MR. D: No, not without your opinion, duck; but since they have but their own, I think, duck, if we were all friends—

MRS. D: Oh, are you at your *ifs* again? D'you think they shall make a fool of me, though they make an ass of you? Call 'em up, ABEL, if they will not submit. Call up the soldiers, ABEL.

35 RUTH: Why, your fierce honor shall know the business that makes the wise Mr. DAY inclinable to friendship.

MR. D: Nay, good sweetheart, come, I pray, let us be friends.

MRS. D: How's this! What, am I not fit to be trusted now? Have you built your credit and reputation upon my council and labors, and am I not fit now to be trusted?

40 MR. D: Nay, good sweet duck, I confess I owe all to thy wisdom. Good gentlemen, persuade my duck, that we may be all friends.

COL. C: Hark you, good GILLIAN DAY, be not so fierce upon the husband of thy bosom; 'twas but a small start of frailty. Say it were a wench or so?

RUTH: *[Aside]* As I live, he has hit upon't by chance. Now we shall  
5 have sport.

MRS. D: How, a wench, a wench! Out upon the hypocrite. A wench! Was not I sufficient? A wench! I'll be revenged, let him be ashamed if he will. Call the soldiers, ABEL.

"COL. C: Stay, good ABEL; march not off so hastily."

10 ARB: Soft, gentle ABEL, or I'll discover, you are in bonds; you shall never be released, if you move a step.

RUTH: D'ye hear, Mrs. DAY, be not so furious; hold your peace. You may divulge your husband's shame, if you are so simple, and cast him out of authority; nay, and have him tried for his life. Read this.  
15 Remember too, I know of your bribery and cheating, and something else. You guess. Be friends, and forgive one another. Here's a letter counterfeited from the king, to bestow preferment upon Mr. DAY, if he would turn honest; by which means, I suppose, you cozened your brother cheats; in which he was to remember his service to you. I  
20 believe 'twas your indicting; you are the committee-man. 'Tis your best way—nay, never demur—to kiss and be friends. Now, if you can contrive handsomely to cozen those that cozen all the world, and get these gentlemen to come by their estates easily, and without taking the covenant, the old sum of five hundred pounds, that I used to talk  
25 of, shall be yours yet.

MRS. D: We will endeavor.

RUTH: Come, Mrs. ARBELLA, pray let's all be friends.

ARB: With all my heart.

RUTH: Brother ABEL, the bird is flown; but you shall be released from  
30 your bonds.

ABEL: I bear my afflictions as I may.

*Enter TEAGUE leading OBADIAH in a halter and a MUSICIAN.*

TEAG: What is this now? Who are you? Well, are not you Mrs. TAY? Well, I will tell her what I should say now? Shall I then? I will try if  
35 I cannot laugh, too, as I did, "that I will," (or think of the mustard pot.)

COL. C: No, good TEAGUE, there's no need of thy message now. But why dost thou lead OBADIAH thus?

TEAG: Well, I will hang him presently, that I will. Look you here,  
40 Mrs. TAY, here's your man OBADIAH; do you see "that now?" He would not let me make him drunk, "no more, that he would not." So, I did take him in this string, "and I did tell him, if he did make noises,

I would put this knife into him, that I would, upon my soul," (and I am going to choke him by the throat).

COL. B: Honest TEAGUE, thy master is beholden to thee in some measure for his liberty.

5 COL. C: TEAGUE, I shall requite thy honesty.

TEAG: Well, shall I hang him then? It is a rogue, now, who would not be drunk, "that he would not," (for the king).

OB: I do beseech you, gentlemen, let me not be brought into death.

(TEAG: You shall be brought to the gallows, you thief o' the world.)

10 COL. C: No. Poor TEAGUE, 'tis enough; we are all friends. Come, let him go.

TEAG: (Are you all friends?) "Well, he shall go then.—But you shall love the king, or I will hang you another time, that I will by my soul."

(Then here, little OBID, take this string, and go hang yourself.) "Well,

15 look you here now, here is the man that sung you the song, that he is. I met him as I came, and I bid him come hither and sing for the king, that I did."

"COL. C: [*To the MUSICIAN*] D'ye hear, my friend, is any of your companions with you?"

20 "MUS: Yes, sir."

"COL. C: As I live, we'll all dance; it shall be the celebration of our weddings. Nay, Mr. DAY, as we hope to continue friends, you and your duck shall trip it too."

"TEAG: Ay by my soul will we. OBADIAH shall be my woman, too,

25 and you shall dance for the king, that you shall."

"COL. C: Go, and strike up then. No chiding now, Mrs. DAY. Come, you must not be refractory for once."

MRS. D: Well, husband, since these gentlemen will have it so, and that they may perceive we are friends, dance."

30 "COL. B: Now, Mr. DAY, to your business; get it done as soon as you will, the five hundred pounds shall be ready."

COL. C: "So, friends." Thanks, honest TEAGUE; thou shalt flourish in a new livery for this. Now, Mrs. ANNICE, I hope you and I may agree about kissing, and compound every way. Now, Mr. DAY,

35 If you will have good luck in everything,

Turn cavalier, and cry, God bless the king. [*Exeunt*]

## EPILOGUE

But now the greatest thing is left to do,  
More just Committee, to compound with you;  
For, till your equal censures shall be known,  
5 The poet's under sequestration.  
He has no title to his small estate  
Of wit, unless you please to set the rate.  
Accept this half year's purchase of his wit,  
For in the compass of that time 'twas writ.  
10 Not that this is enough; he'll pay you more,  
If you yourselves believe him not too poor.  
For 'tis your judgment gives him wealth; in this,  
He's just as rich as you believe he is.  
Would all Committees could have done like you,  
15 Made men more rich, and by their payments too.

FINIS

## TEXTUAL NOTES

Page Line

50 10 *give it to you* = *give it you*, 1665, 1710.50 19 *passed*; all editions give *past*.

51 GENERAL NOTE: The editions of 1665 and 1710 are printed in lines of uneven length, resembling blank verse form. As there seems to be no metrical scheme followed, however, and as the divisions are usually made without any apparent reason, I have abandoned this line scheme for the more modern and satisfactory arrangement above. The Bell and E. T. editions do likewise. To justify this course, I reproduce below lines 1-8, as arranged in the edition of 1665 (the 1710 arrangement is the same).

MRS. DAY: Now out upon't, how dusty 'tis;

All things consider'd, 'tis better

Travelling in the Winter; especially for us of the better sort,

That ride in Coaches; and yet to say truth, warm weather is

Both pleasant and comfortable: 'Tis a thousand pities

That fair weather should do any hurt. Well said, honest

Coachman, thou hast done thy part; My son ABEL

Paid for my place at *Redding*, did he not?

COACH: Yes, and plase you.

MRS. DAY: Well, there's something

Extraordinary to make thee drink.

51 *Scene 1; Scen. 1*, 1665; *Scene 1*, 1710, Bell; omitted, E. T. The Scene is evidently laid at the stage-depot.

*stage-coachman* = *hackney-coachman*, 1665, 1710.

51 7 *an't* = *and*, 1665, 1710.

51 25 *Busy* = *Busie*, 1665, 1710.

52 7 *fain* = *feign*, 1710.

52 13 *the* = *a*, 1710.

52 14 *were* = *was*, 1665.

52 38-39 "*What—sometimes*" not acted. NOTE that all passages such as this are included in the texts, although set off as above. Where passages—or parts of passages—are entirely omitted (as in Bell they often are) they will be so noted.

53 4 *quite*; omitted, 1665, 1710.

53 30 *peace! Sir, we* = *peace sir—We*, 1665.

54 1 *for*, added by ed.

54 16 *thee* = *you*, 1710.

54 24 *hour* = *hours*, 1665, 1710.

54 33 *wert* = *we'll be*, 1665.

54 36 *They were* = *it was*, 1665, 1710.

54 38 *clerk, rogues* = *clerk-rogues*, 1665, 1710.

54 38 *tale* = *tail*, 1665, 1710.

54 40 *heirress*, appears as *heir* throughout 1665.

55 6 *Enter* TEAGUE; TEAGUE is spelled TEG throughout 1665, 1710.

55 8 *and Heaven* = *and Christ*, 1665, 1710; *Heaven*, E. T., Bell.

55 8-9 *save you all your three faces*; 1665 & 1710 *have save you all*; E. T. has *save you all three faces*; Bell has *save all your three faces*. I give the complete version.

55 9 *I prithee*; omitted, Bell. *a thirteen* = *sixpence*, 1665, 1710.

55 10 *A thirteen* = *sixpence*, 1665, 1710; omitted, Bell.

Page	Line	
55	12	Line added by theatres. NOTE that where such lines come between two speeches by the same person, those two speeches are, in the 1665 & 1710 editions, all one speech: i.e., line 13 above is a continuation of line 11, in eds. of 1665 & 1710.
55	13	<i>sixpence = a groat</i> , 1665, 1710.
55	16	" <i>Troth—enough</i> ," omitted, Bell.
55	17	<i>here = hither</i> , 1665, 1710.
55	18	<i>That's true</i> , omitted, Bell.
55	30	" <i>faith now</i> ," omitted, Bell.
55	32	<i>would = will</i> , Bell.
55	33	" <i>that I cannot</i> ," omitted, Bell.
55	33-34	<i>have went and gone = went</i> , Bell.
55	40-41	" <i>he—soul</i> ," omitted, Bell.
55	42	" <i>that there are</i> ," omitted, Bell.
56	7	" <i>that he does</i> ," omitted, Bell.
56	10	<i>man</i> , omitted, 1665, 1710.
56	13	" <i>I—then</i> ," omitted, Bell.
56	17-18	" <i>and—TEAGUE</i> ," omitted, Bell.
56	21	<i>I was naked till I got this mantle, that I was</i> ; Bell has left me nothing but this mantle.
56	25	" <i>i'faith</i> ," omitted, Bell.
56	25	<i>you will be good to poor TEAGUE</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>thou wouldst be good, too</i> .
56	35	<i>dead = dar'd</i> , E. T., Bell.
56	39	" <i>if—would</i> ," omitted, Bell.
57	13-14	Lines omitted by Bell.
57	14	<i>Exit</i> note added by E. T. & Bell.
57	18-19	" <i>then—too</i> ," omitted, Bell.
57	25	<i>Scene 2</i> ; no scene divisions except the first of each act are noted in the texts. I have added the others throughout. This scene is laid in the home of the DAYS.
57	35	<i>many a good thing</i> ; 1665 omits <i>a</i> ; 1710 has <i>things</i> .
57	42	<i>To</i> , omitted, 1665, 1710.
58	1	<i>sweets = sweet</i> , 1665, 1710, Bell.
58	8	<i>under hand = under-hand</i> , Bell.
58	39	1665 gives this speech to MR. DAY, evidently in error. The preceding line (page 58, line 38) was added by the theatres, and hence does not appear in 1665 or 1710. In 1710 Mrs. DAY's two speeches (as above) are all one; and <i>thought = were</i> , 1665, 1710.
59	18	<i>good = poor</i> , Bell.
59	24	<i>I'll = I</i> , 1665, 1710.
59	31	<i>have</i> , omitted, 1665, 1710.
60	4	Mrs. ARBELLA, Bell; Others <i>Mistress</i> .
60	22	<i>'Save you = God save you</i> , 1665, 1710.
61	6	<i>for</i> , added by ed.
62	24	<i>Scene 1</i> ; so in 1710 & Bell; 1665 has <i>Scene 1</i> ; E. T. omits. The Scene is laid in A Street.
62	26-27	" <i>now—has</i> ," omitted, Bell.
62	27	<i>tell him so = will go tell him so too</i> , 1665, 1710.
62	31	<i>teach them to = make them</i> , 1665, 1710.
62	32	" <i>that I will</i> ," omitted, Bell. <i>I will</i> (first one) omitted, E. T.
62	34	<i>Enter</i> , 1665; <i>Enter Bookseller</i> , Bell, E. T.;— <i>crying his books</i> , 1710.
62	36	* * * 1665 inserts here, [ <i>One cries books without</i> .]
63	12-17	" <i>I'faith—sirrah!</i> " omitted, Bell.



- Page Line
- 63 18 "*I'faith—now*," omitted, Bell. After *take it now*, 1665 & 1710 have *He throws the fellow down, and takes the paper, and runs out*. They omit (*Oh,—nation*) and (*Exil.*)
- 63 21 *Crying*, added by Bell.
- 63 24 *Irishman* = *Irish*, 1665, 1710.
- 63 26 *Scene 2*, added by ed.; A Street.
- 63 31 *camest* = *comest*, 1665.
- 63 32 *other*, omitted, 1665, 1710.
- 64 3 *prices* = *prizes*, 1665.
- 64 4 *mundungus* = *mundungo*, 1665, 1710.
- 64 20-21 = "*for—soul*," omitted, Bell.
- 64 22 "*Where—thou*," omitted, E. T. & Bell.
- 64 23 "*Hadst it thou*," omitted, E. T. & Bell.
- 64 27-28 "*Ay—prithee*," omitted, Bell.
- 64 36 *time* = *some*, 1710 (misprint?)
- 64 40 *good man of*; 1665 omits *man*.
- 65 13 *Come along*, TEAGUE; 1665 & 1710 have *Come along, along*.
- 65 15 *Scene 3*, added by ed.; the DAYS'.
- 65 25 *Aside* inserted by ed. It may be well to note that a number of such stage directions were omitted in the editions of 1665 & 1710. I have added them where necessary.
- 66 9 *Aside*, added by ed.
- 66 10 *consternation* = *conservation*, 1665, 1710.
- 66 14 *dare* = *care*, E. T.
- 66 20 *for*, added by ed.
- 66 23 *Aside*, added by ed.
- 66 24 *how now!* ABEL; E. T. has *now now* ABEL; Bell has *how now* Abel?
- 66 32-35 1665 gives this all as one speech, of Mrs. DAY's.
- 67 15 *my brother* ABEL; 1665 has *my brethren*, ABEL.
- 67 20 *Scene 4*, added by ed. The Committee's chamber.
- 67 21 *The Committee, sitting*; 1665 & 1710 have *Enter the Committee as to sit*; Bell and E. T. have simply *The Committee*.
- 67 42 The *Asides* in line 42, p. 67, & lines 1, 7, 9 & 17, p. 68 were added by ed.
- 68 9 *mean! That concerns me* = *mean that concerns me*, 1710; no break ins ppeech, 1665.
- 68 20 "MR. D." In Bell & E. T. line 20 is a continuation of line 16.
- 68 30 *lie* = *lies*, 1665.
- 68 40 *any offer of taking*; 1665 & 1710 have *any—For taking*.
- 68 40 *he was*; omitted, 1665, 1710.
- 69 37 The *Asides* in lines 37 & 38, p. 69, & line 9, p. 70 were added by E. T. & Bell.
- 70 10 *Asides* in lines 10, 22, 23 & 32, added by E. T. & Bell.
- 70 17 *please, be* = *please by*, 1665, 1710.
- 70 25 Line added by theatres; appears only in Bell.
- 70 34 *To the Colonels*, added by E. T. & Bell.
- 71 10 This line, through *him.*, is omitted from 1710; evidently a misprint.
- 71 15 This line does not appear in Bell. Instead is: *Why, did I not knock the fellow down?*
- 71 23-24 Lines omitted, Bell.
- 71 34-35 *Asides*, added by E. T. & Bell.
- 72 18 *Aside*, added by E. T. & Bell.

- Page Line
- 73 5 *Exeunt* &c. 1665 & 1710 omit this and the *Enter CARELESS* after 15; instead, the Colonels go out as in line 22.
- 73 8 *Porter*. 1665 & 1710 have *Keeper*.
- 73 15 "*that—soul*," omitted, Bell.
- 73 21-22 (*Pay for—along*), added by theatres; appears only in Bell.
- 73 22 *Exeunt* &c.; 1665 & 1710 have *Exeunt*. E. T. has *Exit*. Bell omits entirely.
- 73 23-24 "*you—then*," omitted, Bell.
- 73 24 (*But how*, &c), Bell omits *But*.
- 73 26 TEAGUE's speech, ending line 32 above, appears in 1665 & 1710 as follows: Upon my soul now I have but one six pence that I. Have not: here though. I will give it thee for a Curse; there. Mr. Committee, now there is six pence for the Curse beforehand. Mr. Committee, and a plague take you all. [*Runs out.*]
- 74 2 *Exeunt* &c.; stage direction does not appear, 1665, 1710.
- 74 12 *To OBADIAH*, added by ed.
- 74 19 *Scene 1*; 1665 has *Scen. 1*; 1710 & Bell have *Scene 1*; E. T. omits. Scene laid in Street before Lieutenant Story's house.
- 74 25 *swallow = swallows*, E. T.
- 74 32 *Enter* TEAGUE; the eds. of 1665 & 1710 have the whole scene of lines 32-42 incl., above, and lines 1-6 on the following page follow line 12 on the following page. I.e., TEAGUE enters (1665 & 1710) directly after line 12 (next page).
- 74 37 "*bid—and*," omitted, Bell.
- 74 38 *make game of him*; 1665 & 1710 have *mock him*.
- 74 40 "*Well now*," omitted, Bell.
- 74 40 *asked = did ask*, 1665, 1710.
- 75 7 *angered me so = angered me but*, 1665, 1710. NOTE ALSO: In 1665 & 1710 this line is a continuation of line 31, preceding page.
- 75 11 *time*; Bell has *days*.
- 75 12 In 1665 & 1710 TEAGUE enters here (after *Gillian*). See note to line 7, above, and note on 74:32.
- 75 21 *How is that, now?*, omitted, Bell. *now = so*, 1665, 1710.
- 75 31-32 "*Well, that I will do*," omitted, E. T. & Bell.
- 75 38 *or spits*; Bell omits *or*.
- 76 32 *Scene 2*, added by ed. The home of the DAYS.
- 76 39 *baron*; 1665 has *barne*; 1710 has *barn*.
- 77 3 *I'll not*; 1665 & 1710 omit *not*.
- 77 11 *all's gone*; 1665 & 1710 have *all's ago*.
- 77 25 *to*, omitted, 1665.
- 77 34 BLUNT COLONEL; Bell has *blunt colonel*.
- 78 13 *shilly-shally*; 1665 & 1710 have *shall I? shall I?* Bell and E. T. have *shilly, shally*. So also in line 19.
- 78 34 *without speaking*; omitted, 1665, 1710.
- 79 1 *down*; omitted, 1665, 1710.
- 79 1 *with my hammer*; 1665 & 1710 have *with me, then*.
- 79 7 *Oh, so then, are you Mrs. TAY?* Bell has: *Oh, are you there? With yourself, Mrs. TAY.*
- 79 7 *Aside* added by E. T. & Bell.
- 79 9 *tell her my message*; 1665 & 1710 have: *tell her then what I will speak to her*.
- 79 22 "*I faith now*," omitted, Bell.
- 79 23 *then*, omitted, Bell.

Page	Line	
79	28	<i>dost thou mock thyself</i> ; Bell & E. T. have <i>do you abuse yourself</i> .
79	34	<i>and</i> , omitted, E. T. & Bell.
79	41-42	" <i>You—you</i> ," omitted, Bell.
79	42	<i>that you shall</i> ; all editions print <i>that I shall</i> .
80	1	<i>You rascally varlet</i> ; 1710 omits <i>you</i> .
80	6	<i>Well then, I care not neither</i> ; omitted, Bell.
80	14	<i>To ABEL</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
81	10-11	Bell has <i>Exits</i> as above; others have <i>Exeunt</i> after line 11; 1710 and E. T. have line 11 an <i>Aside</i> .
81	12	<i>Scene 3</i> , added by ed. A Street.
81	19	<i>Kicking him</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
81	31-32	All editions have <i>throws up one of their heels</i> , instead of <i>throws up the heels of one of them</i> .
82	17	<i>Scene 4</i> , added by ed. A room in the DAYS' house.
82	29	<i>gentlewoman</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>gentleman</i> .
83	5	<i>Aside</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
83	11	<i>slat</i> ; 1710 has <i>salt</i> .
83	18 & 24	<i>Asides</i> added by E. T. & Bell.
83	36	<i>horrible</i> ; Bell has <i>horribly</i> .
84	1	<i>amber grease</i> ; 1665, 1710, & Bell have <i>ambergreece</i> ; Bell has <i>ambergrease</i> .
84	6	<i>footman</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>fool man</i> .
84	21	<i>his</i> , omitted, E. T. & Bell.
84	24	<i>Aside</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
84	31	<i>Aside</i> , added by ed.
84	35	<i>Aside</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
85	5	<i>Aside</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
85	9	<i>a</i> , added, E. T. & Bell.
85	9	<i>Exit MRS. DAY</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
85	10	<i>Aside</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
86	32	" <i>that he did</i> ," omitted, Bell.
86	33	<i>of that</i> , omitted, Bell.
86	36	<i>and</i> , added by ed.
87	13	<i>sent hither</i> = <i>should either</i> , 1665, 1710.
87	21	Line added by theatres; appears only in Bell.
87	26	<i>It is</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>Is it</i> .
88	2	<i>Scene 1</i> ; <i>Scene 1</i> , 1710 & Bell; <i>Scen. 1</i> , 1665; omitted, E. T. <i>Scene, A Jail</i> .
88	6-7	" <i>before—curs</i> ," omitted, Bell.
88	12	<i>bill</i> = <i>bell</i> , 1665, 1710.
88	11-15	appears as one speech, 1665, 1710.
88	15	<i>blood</i> = <i>urine</i> , 1665, 1710.
88	19	<i>To ABEL</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
89	7	<i>Aside</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
89	27	<i>that</i> = <i>but</i> , 1665, 1710.
90	4	<i>and I am just going</i> ; 1665 & 1710 omit <i>I</i> .
90	34	<i>his pursuivant</i> ; omitted, Bell. <i>for</i> , added by ed.
91	5	<i>arrant</i> ; Bell has <i>errant</i> .
91	29	" <i>at some tavern</i> ," omitted, Bell.
91	30-3	" <i>Tavern—reckoning</i> ," omitted, Bell.
91	40	<i>fair</i> ; 1665 has <i>fare</i> .
92	2	<i>Scene 2</i> , added by ed. At the Tavern.

## Page Line

- 92 3 *crafty*; so E. T.; others all have *craftily*.
- 92 14 "*a thing—stars*"; omitted, Bell.
- 92 14-41 These lines, from (*Come TEAGUE &c*) through 41, added by theatres, appear only in Bell. The song, like all songs in the play, is italicized throughout. I have not here followed this practice, as it seems unnecessary.
- 92 14 *fortunate*; 1665 & 1710 have *venerate*.
- 93 13 *Well then*; Bell substitutes *Ek!* for this.
- 93 14 *Aside*, added by E. T. & Bell.
- 94 23 The Bell text departs rather widely from the others, from line 23 on, for the next five pages. Here, lines 23-41 (from "*Dost*") are omitted from Bell. For further notes, see following pages.
- 95 1 Bell omits lines 1-11 incl., and lines 16-37, incl. TEAGUE and OBADIAH enter immediately after *humor*, line 23, preceding page.
- 95 18 *his*; 1710 has *this*.
- 96 1 Bell omits lines 1-3 incl., line 14 following line 23 of the preceding page.
- 96 4 OBADIAH; 1665 & 1710 have *Obed. Commit*.
- 96 10 1665 & 1710 omit the SONG, lines 10-19 incl., and 1710 has the OBADIAH *tries*, etc., follow *matters*, line 21.
- 96 24 *Obed.*; E. T. & Bell have *Obad*.
- 96 29 Bell omits all after "*Can you,*" &c." line 29, substituting the lines below. Lines 29 ff. were not acted. See also notes to following page.
- (*Dance. OBADIAH tumbles down*)
- (TEAG: *Obid! Obid!* Upon my soul, I believe he's dead.)
- (COL. C: Dead!)
- (TEAG: Dead drunk. Poor *Obid* is sick, and I will mull him some wine.—I will put some spice in't. [*Puts some snuff into the funnel*] Now I will howl over him as they do in *Ireland*. Oh, Oh, Oh.)
- (COL. C: Peace, TEAGUE, you'll alarm the enemy. Here's a shilling. Call a chair, and let them carry him in this condition to his kind master. If you meet the ladies, say you would speak with them at the lieutenant's.)
- (TEAG: Give me the thirteen, and I will give him an *Irish* sedan.)
- (COL. C: How's that?)
- (TEAG: This way.) (*Takes him by the heels and draws him off*)
- (*Exeunt*)
- 97 6 Note that lines 1-34 incl., with lines 29-40 incl. of preceding page, make up the scene omitted by Bell.
- 97 12 "*Enter Chairmen*" &c. 1665 has *Enter Sedan*. 1710 has *Enter Chairman with a sedan*.
- 97 34 *Scene 3*, added by ed. The DAYS' home.
- 99 10 *the holes in his closet*; 1665 omits *the holes*; 1710 has *the places in his closet*.
- 99 31 *from*; 1665 has *to*.
- 99 34 *schismatical*; 1665 & 1710 have *schismatically*; E. T. has *schismatist*.
- 100 6 *Enter Chairman* &c. 1665 has *Enter with the Sedan*. 1710 has *Enter chairman with the Sedan*.
- 100 6 NOTE: Bell omits lines 6 ff., again inserting a different scene, as given below. See also notes to following page. These inserted scenes were the ones that were acted.
- (*Enter TEAGUE, with OBADIAH on his back.*)
- (TEAG: Long life to you, madam. My master is at Lieutenant Story's, and wants to speak to you, and that dear creature too.)

Page Line

(ARB. & RUTH: Conduct us to him.)

(TEAG.: Oh, that I will—Come along, and I will follow you.)

(*Exeunt all but OBADIAH.*)

This final *Exeunt* &c. corresponds to the one at the end of the scene which was omitted by Bell. See following page.

100 14 OBADIAH *humbles* &c. 1665 & 1710 omit *some*. E. T. & Bell omit *robbing*.

100 35 *To* RUTH; added, E. T. & Bell.

100 41 *stop*; 1665 & 1710 = *stay*.

101 1-4 Bell omits down to *Exeunt*. See notes on preceding page.

101 35 *and let—gain*; Bell & E. T. wrongly mark these words as added by the theatres. They appear in both 1665 & 1710. *Enter* MR. DAY; 1665 has *Enter* TEAGUE, an evident error.

101 36 OBADIAH *sings Teedy-Foley*; so Bell; others omit *Teedy-Foley*.

102 7 *To* ABEL, added E. T. & Bell.

102 8 *You*; 1665 & 1710 have *yes*.

102 11 *I'll teach you*; 1665 & 1710 have *teaching you*.

103 1 *To* ABEL, and (2), *To* OBADIAH; added by E. T. & Bell.

103 6 *high keeping*; 1665 & 1710 have *with keeping*.

103 11 *Scene 1*; So 1710 & Bell. 1665 has *Scen. 1*. E. T. omits. A street.

103 34 *master*; 1665 has *mastero*.

104 2 As, in the playing versions, ACT V begins at the break in the line 2, in them *Enter* Colonel CARELESS and TEAGUE should come there.

104 31 *now*, and (42), *now*; omitted, Bell. Lines 2-6, p. 105 were added by the theatres. Hence in 1665 & 1710 *Whispers* precedes "*Musi*," 6.

105 10 *Enter* Chairmen &c. 1665 has *Enter* Sedan; women come out. 1710 has above. E. T. omits *a.* and *the*. Bell omits *a.* and *the* and has *Sedans*.

105 38 "*Well now*," omitted, Bell.

105 41 *to = till*, Bell.

106 1-2 *wipes her eyes*; added, E. T. & Bell.

106 3 *gentleman's*; omitted, 1665. 1710.

106 15 *I am ravished*; 1665 has *which I am ravished*.

106 23 *to me is still honest?* E. T. has *to me is he still honest?*

106 29 *and yet*, omitted, 1665, 1710.

106 33 *Scene 2*, added by ed. The Jail.

106 35 *so = he*, 1665, 1710.

106 37 *and there—out-stink it*, omitted, Bell.

106 40 *as he = as they*, 1665.

108 31 *Thorrowgood*: note variation in spelling of this name. In Act I we have *Thoroughgood*. Probably we should have the same here. I have thought it best, however, to follow the texts.

109 30 *Scene 3*, added by ed. Outside the Jail.

110 18 *back-side*; Bell omits *-side*.

110 30 *Scene 4*, added by ed. Within the Jail. Note that all of Scene 4, as here arranged, and part of Scene 5 were omitted in acting.

110 39 *careful creature*; 1710 inserts *her*.

111 5 *dancer*; 1665 & 1710 have *danger*.

111 6 *or desire = of desire*, 1665, 1710.

111 7 *Scene 5*, added by ed. Before the Jail.

111 15 *perhaps she stands close*; 1665 & 1710 have *only she stands close perhaps*.

Page	Line	
111	17	<i>Enter BLUNT.</i> In acting versions, this follows immediately after Scene 3, the intervening lines being omitted.
111	18	<i>the place of CARELESS</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>place? CARELESS, I</i> &c.
111	35	<i>in the name of wonder</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>a' God's name.</i>
111	38	<i>plainer</i> ; 'twas <i>I that</i> ; E. T. has <i>plainer 'twas that I.</i>
112	5	<i>Scene 6</i> , added by ed. The DAYS' Home.
112	10	Line added by E. T. & Bell.
112	16	<i>for I used to buy</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>for—to buy.</i>
112	33	<i>Exit</i> , added by ed.
113	1	<i>Scene 7</i> , added by ed. The Lieutenant's Home.
114	3	<i>To ARBELLA</i> , added by E. T. & Bell.
114	11	DAY's; 1665 & 1710 have DAY.
114	29	<i>in baptism</i> ; omitted. E. T. & Bell.
114	29	<i>forsooth</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>for Sir.</i>
116	21	<i>nay, never demur</i> &c. 1665 & 1710 have <i>way. Nay, never demur. So.</i>
116	29	<i>Brother ABEL</i> ; 1665 & 1710 have <i>Brethren, ABEL.</i>
116	35	" <i>that I will</i> ;" omitted, Bell.
116	40	" <i>that now?</i> " omitted, Bell.
116	41	" <i>no more—not</i> ," omitted, Bell.
116	42	" <i>and I—my soul</i> ," omitted, Bell.
117	1-2	( <i>and I—by the throat</i> ); added by theatres; <i>by the throat</i> is found only in Bell.
117	7	" <i>that he would not</i> ," omitted, Bell.
117	12-13	" <i>Well, he—my soul.</i> ," omitted, Bell.
117	14-18	" <i>Well, look—did.</i> ," omitted, Bell.
117	18	<i>To the Musician</i> , added, E. T. & Bell.

## GLOSSARIAL NOTES

## PROLOGUE

## Page Line

- 50 5 bracks: broken pieces, bits; in other words, flaws.
- ACT I, SCENE 1
- 51 6 Reading: a parliamentary borough, the county town of Berks County (see Berkshire, p. 52, line 5). Reading is about 40 miles from London.
- 9 groat: an English coin, worth 4d.
- 21 composition: settlement. To effect the composition of one's estate was to compound for it (as on page 54, line 1). For all references to compounding, sequestration, etc., see Introduction, page 40 ff.
- 30 princox: a pert, forward, saucy boy. Here evidently used humorously, to mean an active, pushing fellow. The term was ordinarily used to imply contempt.
- 52 1 a-gallopping: here merely bustling about. Note the obvious play on the word in its use here and in line 2.
- 5 Berkshire: or Berks, a county in England, of which Reading is the county seat. See note to page 51, line 6.
- 29 chopping: strapping, bouncing.
- 53 16 humoursome: afflicted by, or full of, one of the four "humours"—the choleric, melancholic, sanguine, or phlegmatic—, or, more broadly, moody. Where the word humour is given this significance in the play I have retained the older spelling.
- 17 forward: pushing, impertinent, presuming.
- 18 plain: here frank, straightforward. In line 10 it is taken in its literal sense, meaning plain of feature, plain looking.
- 54 25 notched rascals: notched=with hair cut close, or cropped. The term was one of contempt applied to the Roundheads, or Puritans, by the Cavaliers.
- 55 8 Heaven save me: here and in a number of other places, the E. T. and Bell texts have softened oaths, removed or altered rather crude passages, and, in general, improved the tone of the play. Note, in this connection, the following pages and lines: 60:22, 88:15, 106:37, 111:35.
- 8 save you all your three faces: note that in the original this was "save you all." I cannot find any record of the use of the complete version elsewhere, but undoubtedly it was a popular, mild form of greeting.
- 34 Lilly: William Lilly was a popular English astrologer and writer of Howard's time. During the Civil Wars he was consulted even by Charles I.
- 35 May-pole-house: In England the celebration of May Day included the setting up of a May Pole, usually a temporary affair of birch. In the large cities, however, the poles were of durable wood, and were erected for permanent use. These poles were particularly obnoxious to the Puritans, and were forbidden by Parliament in 1644. With the Restoration, however, they came back into use. In London the last one was erected in 1661. It was of cedar, 134 ft. high, and was erected by 12 British sailors, under the personal supervision of James II, then Duke of York. As this pole was erected in the Strand, on or about the site of the present Saint-Mary's-in-the-Strand, it may well be that the May-pole-house, in which Lilly held forth, was in this immediate vicinity, and was so called, of course, because of its proximity to the Pole. I can find no more direct explanation than this.

## Page Line

- 56 4 simply honest: simple meaning plain, untutored; and honest in its older, broader connotation, upright, virtuous.
- 34 low-belled: in hawking, one of the practises was to hunt larks and other small birds by means of torches or flares (at night, of course) and small, low and sweet toned bells. The idea was that the birds, suddenly aroused by the lights and the bells, would become "dared"—i.e., so paralyzed with fear as to be half *dead*. They could then be captured with ease.
- 35 dead lark: dead, or dared lark; see above note.
- 37 a covenant to be taken: the Solemn League and Covenant; see Introduction, page 50.

## ACT I, SCENE 2

- 58 37 harlotry: here about equivalent to wench. The words harlot and harlotry are used in their 17th Century significance, which is about that indicated here.
- 59 39 put home: strike home, strike straight and true; i.e., go straight to the point.
- 60 4 a month's mind: to have a month's mind = to have a fancy, a liking, an inclination.
- 9 scribble-scribble: a reduplicated form of scribble, meaning to write hastily or carelessly. Here a hit at Obadiah, as clerk. Note also the reference to Obadiah's "hasty scribble," page 52, line 39.
- 12 when you begin to open: open, here, in the sense of opening one's mouth; i. e., beginning to speak. Possibly also a play on the word.
- 13 apace or softly: quickly or slowly.
- 19 gird: a jump or start.
- 61 15 played at hard head: an old-time game (if anything so informal may be called a game) in which two contestants bumped heads together until one cried quits.
- 62 16 bladders to swim with: compare the modern "Water Wings."

## ACT II, SCENE 1

- 36 Mr. Saltmarsh: John Saltmarsh (d. 1647) was a rather prolific mystical writer and an ardent preacher of church reform, especially during 1643-1647. There is one of his works to which this reference may apply: "England's Friend, raised from the grave, giving seasonable advice to the lord generall, lieutenant generall, and the councill of warre, being the true copies of three letters written by Mr. John Saltmarsh a little before his death." Edited by Mary Saltmarsh (his widow), London, 1649. Note also, however, that his name is used, without explanation, on the title-pages of two books by Samuel Gorton: "Saltmarsh returned from the Dead, In Amice Philalethe," &c., London, 1655; and "An Antidote against the Common Plague of the World—intituled Saltmarsh returned from the dead," &c., London, 1659. The reference might be to either one of these publications.
- 37 Mercurius Britannicus: an early English periodical; "Mercurius Britannicus: communicating the affairs of Great Britaine for the better information of the People." Edited T. Audley and M. Nedham. Printed by G. Bishop and R. White, London, 1643-1646.
- 63 24 catchpoles: warrant officers, bum-bailiffs. These bum-bailiffs were, literally, those who caught their victims (usually debtors) in the rear; in other words, they were the bailiffs who made arrests, and they were looked down upon



## Page Line

with contempt, as being of the lowest sort of officers of the law. See also "bumbailly rascals," page 73, line 6, and another use of catchpole, page 81, line 30.

## ACT II, SCENE 2

- 64 4 mundungus: slang or cant term for mundungo (the word is mundungo in the original text), meaning bad-smelling tobacco.

## ACT II, SCENE 3

- 66 12 take off your dog: a reference to the old-time practise of bear-baiting; i.e., setting dogs to attack a bear chained to a stake.  
67 14 stay: wait.  
19 Now for an old shoe: a popular catch-phrase; about the same as "Now to get our things on."

## ACT II, SCENE 4

- 40 C. K.: evidently Charles the King, or Charles, King.  
69 38 which whelp opens next: open, here, in the sense of giving tongue, as of dogs, in hunting, when the game is sighted.  
72 6 there's a Rowland for your Oliver: in the old metrical romances dealing with Charlemagne and his court, two of Charlemagne's twelve peers, Rowland and Oliver, were so ridiculously and extravagantly treated by the romancers that there arose the popular expression, to "give one a Rowland for his Oliver," meaning to match one incredible lie with another. Here, probably, implying that Careless was giving the Committee as good as they gave.  
11 draw 'em and quarter 'em: as the old form of torture, or rather, of capital punishment, known as drawing and quartering, was usually reserved for traitors, the play on the words here is appropriate. To the Roundheads, the Cavaliers were traitors.  
73 1 kite: both the kite and the merlin (line 1) were small falconoid birds, and were used in certain phases of hawking.  
2 muck-worms: literally, larvae of scarabaeid beetles, most often found under dung-heaps; figuratively, the term was applied to misers. It is here used in this latter sense.  
6 bumbailly rascals: see note to page 63, line 24.  
13 lie by the heels: to lay by the heels is to manacle, imprison, or confine.  
18 gander faced gag: apparently merely a play on gag, the Porter having gagged Teague—i.e., restrained him, by force, from free speech.

## ACT III, SCENE 1

- 74 24 cormorants: the cormorant, a large web-footed water bird, is a voracious fish-eater; hence the figurative use of the name, as here, to signify rapacious or avaricious persons, gluttons.  
26 agitants: i.e., those who were actively conspiring against the Roundheads.  
27 blank commission: about the same as the more modern blank warrant; a commission in which some of the items were left blank at the time of issuance, to be filled in later by the officer serving the paper. See also page 94, line 3.  
75 25 made a leg; to make a leg means to bow.  
76 8 the Temple: in mediaeval times the London Temple was the home of the Knights Templars, situated near the junction of Fleet Street and the Strand. By Howard's time, however, as now, the Temple Round Church was the only

## Page Line

remnant of this older London Temple, the rest of the site being occupied by the Inner and Middle Temple, two buildings belonging respectively to the legal societies of the same name, and constituting two of the four Inns of Court (the other two being Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn). The Inner and Middle Temple were occupied mostly by lawyers and barristers. See also the note to Temple Bar, page 100, line 37.

## ACT III, SCENE 2

- 76 38 under covert-baron: in the condition of a woman who is protected by her husband.  
 41 scruple: an obvious play on the word; literally, an apothecaries' weight (= 20 gr., or  $\frac{1}{4}$  oz.). Here used both literally and figuratively.
- 78 23 saffron-posset-drink: the dried, orange colored stigmas of the saffron plant were formerly in high repute as a medicinal stimulant. Posset was a drink made of hot milk, curdled with liquor, sweetened, spiced, and often thickened, as with bread.
- 79 1 with my hammer: no apparent meaning, unless Teague came on the stage here carrying a hammer.  
 2 miraculous: extraordinary, beyond belief; the word was used more loosely than now.  
 10 mould himself: literally, put himself into shape; here probably prepare himself, or possibly, preen himself.  
 11 tempers his chops: to temper one's chops is, literally, to cool one's lips or mouth (jaws) by licking. Here the expression means that Teague was hesitating, thinking things over, before going on.  
 15 rattling in his kecher: I find no trace of kecher except as a verb meaning to cough unceasingly. I think this word should be kecker (shorter form of keckhorn), a provincial term for the windpipe.  
 29 Irish traitor: if this and "Irish rebel" (line 30) are specific references, they probably have to do with the Irish troubles which began in 1641, under Charles I, developed into the Irish War of 1641-3, and lasted until, in 1649, Cromwell began and, in 1650-1652, Ireton and Ludlow finished, the subjugation of the rebels. See any complete history of England.  
 37 brabble-bibble (usually found bribble-brabble): a reduplicated form of brabble, meaning vain chatter or wrangling. Here used as an adjective, "one given to—," &c.
- 80 18 'Slid: (See also 'Slife, page 72, line 18, and 'Uds my life, page 80, line 22): in all of these the contracted form stands for *God's*. The expressions were rather vulgar exclamations or expletives than oaths.

## ACT III, SCENE 3

- 81 24 conveniently: unaware; i.e., conveniently for the bailiffs.  
 27 has eat many a child: one of the many barbarous practises credited to the Cavaliers by the Roundheads, in the wild tales of the period.  
 36 an action for free quarter: I can find no explanation for this phrase.  
 36 trover: an action to recover the value of personal property which another has wrongfully converted to his own use.
- 82 3 shift several ways: escape in different directions.

## ACT III, SCENE 4

- 83 9 has bruised some intellectuals: merely pompous language, so far as I am able to discover.

## Page Line

- 83 11 Irish slat: Irish slate, or slat, consisting of powdered alum slate, was formerly much used as a medicine.
- 14 Sir Royster: Sir Roisterer.
- 84 5 *non obstante*: notwithstanding.
- 7 strangeness: acting like a stranger, pretending lack of acquaintance.
- 16 whoa-bub: (or whoobub): hubbub, outcry.
- 41 admitted in his first condition: i.e., as before he had refused to take the covenant, &c.
- 85 2 his stomach's come down: one whose "stomach was up" was proud, haughty.
- 35 I am riveted: I am rooted to the spot, fastened here.
- 86 13 a malignant: a name applied to Cavaliers and Royalists during the Cromwellian epoch.
- 15 jointure: a settlement of land, tenements, etc. made to a woman in consideration of marriage, and in lieu of dower.
- 41 the Devil Tavern: a London Inn situated nearly opposite the Church of St. Dunstan, in Fleet Street. The name arises from an old tale that here the good St. Dunstan seized the Evil One by the nose with a pair of pincers.

## ACT IV, SCENE 1

- 90 2 one, two, three, and away: an old hunting call.
- 7 contain: contain oneself, keep still.
- 41 the gentle squire of low degree: *The Squyer of Lo Degree* is a very old English poem, apparently popular at one time, since the phrase reappears rather often. The poem itself is reprinted in part in the *Percy Folio*, III, 269. See also Spenser's *Faery Queene*, Bk. IV, Canto 7, Stanza 15 ("Yet was he but a squire of low degree."); see also *The Nut-Browne Maid*, 2 *Percy Reliques*, 28 ("Yet have you proved howe I have loved a squyer of low degree.").

## ACT IV, SCENE 2

- 92 20 I have tried in vain to locate and identify the four Songs in this play (pages 92, 94, and 95). The first and last are evidently merely popular songs, and as they do not appear in the original text they may very likely have been of a later date. The other two songs ("Now the veil is pulled off," and "Come, drawer, some wine") are strongly political, and are, of course, "malignant," or Royalist, productions.
- 21 Patrick mass-night: I find no record of any such day, or night, or service; unless, indeed, it be the 17th of March.
- 29 Chester: a manufacturing city in Cheshire, England.
- 33 Coventry: an ancient town in Warwickshire, England. This whole verse refers, of course, to the legend of Lady Godiva, wife of Leofric, earl of Mercia, and her freeing her husband's oppressed tenantry from their heavy tolls by riding naked through the streets of Coventry. The husband had promised to remit the tolls when she should be brave enough to do this feat (meaning never), and when she took him at his word, and did what he asked, he kept his word. The story is first told by Matthew of Westminster, in 1307. In its earlier forms the episode or detail of Peeping Tom (see following note) does not appear.
- 33 Peeping Tom: When Lady Godiva decided to take her famous ride, all the inhabitants of Coventry were directed to keep indoors, with the blinds drawn. All did so but one, Tom, a tailor, and his peeping (whence the name Peeping Tom, which has been his from that day to this) lost him his life.

## Page Line

- 92 36 Old Snob: this was a cant name for a cobbler; as Tom is said to have been a tailor, I do not see how Old Snob applies here.
- 38 a jack-a-lent: a simpleton.
- 93 1 a wisp hung up: according to popular custom, a wisp of hay or straw was said to be the badge of the scolding woman (as in the game, Skimmington, &c.).
- 2 your squib began to hiss: squib is used here figuratively, to mean a flashy, futile project or design. Freely interpreted, your plan didn't work out.
- 5 throw: think, believe.
- 21 sack: name applied during 17th Century to all strong white Southern wines, as distinguished from Rhenish and red wines.
- 29 presently: here and elsewhere in the play, in its older sense, meaning at once, immediately.
- 94 2 pawned for all our scores: i.e., they would leave Obadiah as security for their bill at the tavern.
- 6 bill of ammunition: a commission or warrant charging him with having hidden ammunition, etc.
- 8 Newgate: the famous English prison, established 1218 in the New Gate of the City of London, and demolished in 1902.
- 24 a malignant sonnet: a Cavalier or Royalist song. See notes to page 85, line 13, and page 92, line 20.
- 96 13 Bryan Gaulichar: I have been unable to trace this.
- 97 27 shortwinged worship into your mew: when falconry was popular (and since then, for that matter), hawks were (and have since been) divided into two general classes: (a) falcons, or long-winged hawks, and (b) hawks proper, or short-winged hawks. The latter were used for smaller game, and were therefore of slightly less value and importance than the others. Hence the reference to Obadiah is a rather contemptuous one. The mew was the coop in which the hawks were kept when not in use.

## ACT IV, SCENE 3

- 98 15 grannam: grandmother.
- 99 34 schismatical (or schismatically): set apart, separate.
- 40 a natural tympany: a tympany was a species of dropsy in which the stomach was stretched tight, like a drum; here, of course, the expression refers to the condition of a woman who is enceinte.
- 100 8 ferret him, or he'll never bolt: referring to the practise of hunting rabbits with ferrets. The ferret is put into the rabbit's burrow, and forces the rabbit to "bolt," or come out.
- 9 basket hare: a hare carried to the hunting field in a basket, and then let out to be coursed.
- 24 trapan: to inveigle, ensnare; modern trap.
- 27 increase our whimsy: whimsy = whim, freakish or whimsical notion; here apparently referring to the way in which Careless and Blunt unconsciously played up to the girls' plan.
- 37 Temple Bar: a historic site in London, at the junction of Fleet Street and the Strand, and near the Temple (see note to page 76, line 8). This spot marks the boundary between the city proper and Westminster, and it is here that the Lord Mayor of London presents the sovereign, entering in state, with the sword of the city.
- 40 that nightingale: i.e., Obadiah.

## Page Line

101 27 slappish: given to slapping his coat-tails as he walked.

## ACT V, SCENE 1

103 21 bonny-clabber: sour buttermilk.

104 12 lough: a loch or lake.

22 a quit way: a way out.

105 11 stop over: should be step over?

106 10 a sudden account: sudden in the sense of early, prompt.

## ACT V, SCENE 2

107 4 no patience to expect: no patience to wait.

108 6 honestly: virtuously.

32 had so loud and fair a character: was so widely and well known.

## ACT V, SCENE 4

111 5 dancer of the ropes: a tight-rope walker.

## ACT V, SCENE 7

113 20 get the rising of the lights: originally a nautical phrase, meaning to draw near enough to harbor to begin to see the lights rise above the horizon. Here meaning, unless you wish to call the courtship over; i.e., unless you wish to be already nearly home, nearly through.

114 20 intelligence: information, usually of the sort secured by espionage.

29 I can answer a leaf farther: I know more still; I can recite the next page too.

## EPILOGUE

118 3 equal censures: equitable, or just, censures.

\* \* \* \* \*

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# THE SEPULCHRE OF CHRIST IN ART AND LITURGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LITURGIC DRAMA

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Representations of the sepulchre of Christ occur in art from the fourth century on.<sup>1</sup> They began after Christianity had emerged from the catacombs and become a state religion under Constantine. In the painting of the catacombs the death and the resurrection of Christ were not depicted, although probably symbolically suggested by the resurrection of Lazarus. This Lazarus scene, with its little gabled temple tomb, was the most popular of all New Testament subjects in catacumbal art.

The sepulchre of Christ appears in scenes of the Entombment, of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, of Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene, and, at a comparatively late period, in the Resurrection scene. Throughout the earlier centuries, the most frequent and most important of these scenes is that of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, and it is chiefly in connection with this that the forms of the sepulchre in art will be traced.

Certain ceremonies in the liturgy of the medieval church took place about a *sepulchrum*, that is, about a representation or symbolization of the sepulchre of Christ. In the so-called *Depositio* (*Crucis* or *Hostiae* or *Crucis et Hostiae*) of Good Friday, the burial of Christ was symbolized by placing a cross or a Host or both in the *sepulchrum*. In a corresponding ceremony early on Easter morning, the *Elevatio*, the buried symbol or symbols were raised from the sepulchre in token of the resurrection. Later on Easter morning, usually at the end of Matins, just before the *Te Deum*, came the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, representing the visit of the holy women to the tomb. The *sepulchrum* of these ceremonies seems to have been at first either the high altar itself or a small repository on or in the altar. Later there was a separate structure, richly adorned and brightly illumined.

The earliest modern interest in this sepulchre of the medieval church was archaeological, being aroused by the permanent stone "Easter Sepulchres" which are still to be seen in about a hundred English churches.<sup>2</sup> They are usually walled recesses with more or less ornate arches. If a church had such a structure it would naturally use it at Easter time as the location for the temporary part of the Easter sepulchre, the bedecked and becardled coffer in which the cross or Host was buried. If there was no such structure, a wholly temporary sepulchre would be set up. Anti-

<sup>1</sup> Josef Strzygowski (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV, 425) assigns the famous ivory of the Munich National Museum, with its representation of the sepulchre, to the pre-Constantinian period, but this lacks probability and has not been generally accepted.

<sup>2</sup> A list of these may be found in Cox and Harvey's *Early Church Furniture*, 77-78.

quarian research has gradually brought to light, from old wills and legacies, from church wardens' accounts and other archival sources, many interesting facts about the setting up and adorning of these Easter sepulchres in England.

To this archaeological and antiquarian interest has come in more recent years a dramaturgical interest, a result of the increasing attention that has been given to the development of the liturgical drama. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* seems to have been the first of all liturgical offices to develop dramatic form and it remained throughout the middle ages the most popular and widespread of liturgical plays. Its action centered of course about the sepulchre, and from the rubrics of its many versions, of which almost three hundred are known, it is possible to cull many descriptive details concerning the temporary Easter sepulchre. The *Elevatio* occurs in dramatic form, but only in a few late versions. The *Depositio*, although essentially dramatic in nature, did not, so far as our present knowledge goes, develop dramatic form.

The purpose of this study is to bring together and interpret, as far as possible, the essential facts about the sepulchre as known from art, architecture, and archives, and from liturgical rubrics.<sup>3</sup> The study is an outgrowth of interest in the liturgical drama and is to be viewed primarily as an attempt to enlarge our knowledge of the *mise en scène* of the liturgical Easter plays, i.e., the dramatico-liturgical versions of the *Visitatio* and *Elevatio*. In addition to published material, generally available, I am able to use a limited amount of material drawn from unpublished liturgical manuscripts. Undoubtedly much more of valuable material lies hidden in the innumerable liturgical manuscripts of European libraries. The rubrics of the *Depositio* often contain fuller details about the preparation of the sepulchre than do those of the *Visitatio*, and unfortunately fewer versions of the *Depositio* have been published. In the appendix are published a few new texts of *Depositio*, *Elevatio* and *Visitatio*.

<sup>3</sup> The only real attempt that has hitherto been made to bring the data from art and architecture and archives into relation with the liturgical data was in an interesting article by Dr. J. K. Bonnell entitled *The Easter Sepulchrum in its Relation to the Architecture of the High Altar* in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXI (1916), 664 f., an article, which, as its title indicates, was more limited in its scope than this study. His chief conclusion, which will be discussed later, is that there was a close relation between the early form of canopied altar and both the sepulchre of art and the temporary Easter sepulchre.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN JERUSALEM

As the starting point for a study of the Sepulchre of Christ in art and liturgy, it is natural to turn to the Holy Sepulchre itself in Jerusalem. The Evangelists' accounts of the entombment all agree in speaking of a tomb hewn out of the solid rock, with a door that was closed by rolling a great stone against it; Matthew and John state further that it was a new tomb, and John mentions that it was in a garden.<sup>1</sup> Thus it was evidently a plain rock-hewn tomb of the Jewish type. However, with the development of Christianity and its growing worship of relics and reverence of sanctuaries and its ever increasing tendency to express reverence by richness of ornament, one would naturally expect the Holy Sepulchre itself, as well as representations of it in art and liturgy, to assume an ornate form. Encouragement of this was found also in the prophetic passage of Isaiah (XI, 10): *Et erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum.*

After the accounts of the Evangelists the next knowledge we have concerning the place of burial is from Eusebius, the Greek historian and contemporary biographer of Constantine. In his *Vita Constantini* he states that he wrote a separate treatise on the church of the Saviour and his sepulchre,<sup>2</sup> a work which unfortunately is no longer extant. The *Vita* itself, however, contains a rather full but not always perfectly clear description of the entire site and its buildings. It relates that Constantine "judged it incumbent upon him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all" . . . "that the Holy Sepulchre had been covered with rubbish and with idols by the ungodly." . . . that "Constantine commanded the materials of the idol temple, and the soil itself, to be removed at a distance," and that "as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered." This monument Constantine adorned, and over it he probably built a circular structure, the Anastasis. He also built a large basilica, the Martyrium,

<sup>1</sup> Matt. XXVII, 60; Mark XV, 46; Luke XXIII, 53; John XIX, 41 and XX, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Const.*, IV, 46: "The structure of the Church of our Saviour, the form of his sacred cave, the splendor of the work itself, and the numberless offerings in gold and silver and precious stones, I have described to the best of my ability, and dedicated to the Emperor in a separate treatise, which on a fitting opportunity I shall append to this present work." (This, as other citations, in the translation of E. C. Richardson in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd Series, I.)

and enclosed a large open court, or atrium, with porticoed walls on three sides, the fourth side being the basilica. These were erected according to Eusebius in the years 326 to 335. Although these buildings of Constantine have long since been destroyed, it has nevertheless been clearly established, especially by excavations of the Russian Palestine Society,<sup>3</sup> that they were on the same plateau of rock on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands today. There is, of course, a very natural doubt as to its being, as Constantine thought, the true site of Christ's entombment.

Eusebius gives no description of the Anastasis, built over the sepulchre, and it may possibly have been erected somewhat later. Of the sepulchre itself he says (III, 24): "This monument, therefore, first of all, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, and profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind"—a description which emphasizes its splendor but gives very little aid in picturing it. With the fervid cult of the Sepulchre thus inaugurated by Constantine, Jerusalem became the most sacred place of pilgrimage, and several more or less clear descriptions of early pilgrims have been preserved, which supplement the account of Eusebius.

Upon the basis of all the evidence, it is now generally accepted that the Anastasis was a rotunda<sup>4</sup> entirely separate from the Martyrium, not in it, as some have thought. Heisenberg places it to the east, but it was probably to the west of the Martyrium.<sup>5</sup> Somewhere in the atrium, between the Anastasis and the Martyrium, was a small eminence, known as the Rock of Golgotha. The essential part of the "monument" of the Holy Sepulchre, within the Anastasis, was, as the sources unanimously state, a part of the natural rock. This seems to have been quadrangular in form. In it was the sacred cave and before it the stone which closed the entrance to the cave. Within the cave were lamps and the grave, which was probably on the north side, as later pilgrims report. The grave was either a sarcophagus above the level of the floor, or, more probably, sunken into the floor.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche*, 13. Much has been written (and most of it worthless) about the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The earlier literature is briefly reviewed by August Heisenberg in his very thorough study, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig, 1908, (*Grabeskirche*, 5 f.). My references to Heisenberg are always to the *Grabeskirche*, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>4</sup> "Ecclesia in rotundo posita" says the *Breviarium de Hierosolyma* of the sixth century, Heisenberg, 117. It is probable that the ancient mosaic in the apse of S. Pudenziana in Rome gives a more or less faithful picture of it. (See Heisenberg, 141 f. and Tafel V.)

<sup>5</sup> See O. Wulff's review of Heisenberg's work in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVIII, 538 f.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be indicated by the *poteus* of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini*: "quia monumento de petra est naturale excisus et poteus ex ipsa petra excisus, ubi Corpus Iesu Christi positum fuit." See Heisenberg, 122.



Encircling columns, connected with silver lattice-work,<sup>7</sup> formed a protecting barrier around the natural rock. The columns, with connecting arches, supported a latticed roof of gold and silver, the whole forming a sort of canopy or ciborium. "Super ipso sepulcro transvolatile argenteum et aureum et in circuitu omne de aurum," says the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*. Heisenberg gives (p. 119 f.) a philological discussion of the word *transvolatile* and shows convincing reasons for interpreting it to mean "ciborium." In the description of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* is the sentence: "ipsum monumentum sic quasi in modum metae coopertus ex argento sub solas aureos"; from the phrase *in modum metae* Heisenberg (p. 124) thinks that from the natural rock rose a silver shaft. The opinion of O. Wulff,<sup>8</sup> which seems to me more probable, is that the *meta* of the *Itinerarium* is the same as the *transvolatile* of the *Breviarius*, viz., the ciborium of silver and gold.

The buildings erected by Constantine were destroyed by the Persians in 614—just how completely is not known. In the decade from 616 to 626 they were rebuilt by Modestos, patriarch of Jerusalem. Pilgrims' descriptions subsequent to this, including the account of Adamnan with the famous plan of Arculf, can therefore be used with safety only for this later and less interesting period. According to Adamnan, whose information is of second hand through Arculf, the Holy Sepulchre was a cylindrical body of natural rock, within which was the sacred cave, large enough to hold nine people. On the exterior the natural rock was covered with plates of marble and at its summit was a golden cross. The plan of Arculf shows the entrance to the sacred cave on the east and the rectangular grave within on the north side, to the right of the person entering for prayer. This general description, including the location of the door and grave, is confirmed by the Nun of Heydenheim, who writes what Bishop Willibald (ca. 740 A. D.) tells her of his pilgrimage. She, however, describes the block of natural rock as square below and slender above—"est quadrans in imo et in summo subtilis." Since both she and Adamnan have their information second hand, it is hard in this question of shape to know which to believe. Heisenberg (p. 178) is probably right in giving preference to the round monument of Adamnan, supported by the plan of Arculf. The buildings of Modestos, doubtless with changes through the centuries, survived until 1010 when they were completely destroyed by El Hakim, Caliph of Egypt. Greek architects built them again in 1048, retaining the plan of Modestos and the rotunda over the Holy Sepulchre. In 1130 the Crusaders undertook to unite in a single monumental structure all the sanctuaries

<sup>7</sup> Mentioned repeatedly in the *Peregrinatio* of the Abbess Etheria (formerly known as Silvia). See Heisenberg, 90 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVIII, 538 f.

grouped together here, and this, with extensive alterations and restorations at various times, has developed into the complex of the present day. Since in this complex the main part, over the Sepulchre, is a rotunda, there has been, from the time of Constantine on, a circular edifice over the Holy Sepulchre. Despite all these changes, some actual fragments of the Constantinian buildings, parts of wall and frieze and pillars, are still embodied, as Josef Strzygowski has shown, in the structure of today.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SEPULCHRE OF CHRIST IN ART

In Christian art up to the latter part of the twelfth century the actual moment of the Resurrection was not depicted.<sup>1</sup> The Resurrection-picture of these early centuries was the scene of the holy women finding the tomb empty and learning from the angel that Christ had risen. Since Crucifixion and Resurrection belong together as the two central facts of the Christian faith, it is natural to find in early art the Holy Women at the Tomb combined with the Crucifixion, being usually placed beneath it. When in the thirteenth century the picturing of the actual Resurrection became frequent, the fundamental importance of the scene of the Holy Women came to an end. The scene continued to be fairly common through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but ultimately vanished almost entirely.

In several places the iconography of this scene has been sketched in broad lines.<sup>2</sup> In the genesis of this early "Resurrection-picture" the really creative factor, as Otto Schönewolf has said,<sup>3</sup> seems to have been not so much the Gospel account as Constantine's discovery of the Holy Sepulchre and the resulting cult in Jerusalem. From this impulse there developed two types of representations in art, differing with the cultural region, one a Syro-Palestinian type in close connection with the Holy Sepulchre itself and its cult, the other a freer, more ideal Western type, an outgrowth, however, of the same impulse. The tracing of the development of the Eastern and Western types with their influences upon each other would give the iconography of the scene. For the purposes of this study a brief survey will suffice, with the emphasis upon the forms of the sepulchre. Although the earliest known representations are of the Occident, the Eastern development will be sketched first, through its Syro-Palestinian and its medieval Byzantine types, and then the Western development from its forms on early Christian sarcophagi through the long period of the "temple type" and the later "coffer type" down to the Renaissance.

<sup>1</sup> See Wilhelm Meyer, *Nachrichten von d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* (1903), 236 f.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Semper, *Ivoires du X<sup>e</sup> et du XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle au Musée National de Buda-Pesth*, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1897), 389 f. W. Petkovic, *Ein frühchristliches Elfenbeinrelief im Nationalmuseum zu München*, Halle (Diss.) (1905), 11 f. Heisenberg, *Apostelskirche*, 251 f. Wilhelm Vöge, *Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, 223 f. G. Sanoner, *La Vie de Jésus-Christ, racontée par les imagiers du moyen âge sur les portes d'églises*, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1907), 366 f. N. Pokrowskii, *The Gospel in the Monuments of Iconography* (Russian), 392 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Darstellung der Auferstehung Christi*, 83.

### 1. Syro-Palestinian Type

It is chiefly the merit of Josef Strzygowski<sup>4</sup> to have swung the emphasis in the study of early Christian art from Rome to the East and especially to have traced art influences centering in Syria and Palestine. Here was developed in the sixth century a type of representation of the Holy Women at the Tomb that was evidently in close touch with the cult at the Holy Sepulchre itself. Its best examples are the representations of the scene on eight of the sixteen famous ampullae of Monza<sup>5</sup> which Queen Theodolinde received either direct from Jerusalem or as a gift from Gregory the Great. They are small vessels which were used to bring back holy oil from the sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

The Syro-Palestinian type is of symmetrical composition—in the center the sepulchre, on the right the angel with nimbus and wings, bearing a lance-like rod, with one hand upraised towards the sepulchre and towards the Maries who are approaching on the left. They also have a nimbus and are always two in number, in keeping with the account of Matthew; the one in front usually has a swinging vessel, which is probably a censer,<sup>6</sup> the one behind has generally an ointment vase. The sepulchre shows as a rule one side of a quadrangular body, usually with diagonally latticed double doors; this is completed by a pyramidal, or occasionally cupola-shaped, upper part, a sort of ciborium, surmounted by a cross or a palmette.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See, among other works, his *Orient oder Rom*.

<sup>5</sup> All to be found in Garrucci, *Storia della Arte Cristiana*, VI, plates 433, 434 and 435; six (from photographs) in Heisenberg, *Tafel VIII and IX*; one or two in almost every work on early Christian art; four, from Heisenberg, in Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

<sup>6</sup> This swinging vessel on early representations has been variously identified—as ointment vessel, as lamp (in keeping with the “mane, cum adhuc tenebrae essent” of John XX, 1), or as censer. I think it is a censer, as it undoubtedly is in numerous later representations. The practice of censuring tombs was very old. This would shatter Paul Weber’s not very plausible theory that the censer in this scene was due to influence of the liturgic drama, which could not have been exerted before the ninth century (see his *Geistliches Schauspiel und Kirchliche Kunst*, 32).

<sup>7</sup> In addition to reproductions of four of the Monza ampullae, I have illustrated this type by reproducing, from the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II, 188, an Egyptian amulet, in the form of a medallion, of the sixth or seventh century (Fig. 5). Among other examples are one on the Ring of Palermo (reprod. in *Archaeolog. Journ.* XXXVIII (1881), 154), one on the Silver Plate of Perm (reprod. by J. Reil, *Das Kreuzigungsbild*, 1904, *Tafel II*), one on one of the medallions of the collection of the Countess of Bearm (Reprod. by W. Froehner, *Collection de la Comtesse R. de Bearm*, 1905—not accessible to me. See *Byzantinische Zt.*, XV, 423). Early representations that are usually considered related to this type, although they follow it less closely, are: Mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Garr. IV, 251), miniature in the Syrian Gospel of Rabula (Garr. III, 139), marginal drawing in the Etschmiadzin Evangeliary (Strzygowski, *Byzant., Denkm.*, I, 22), design on the Bishop’s Pallium of Achnim (Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achnim-Panopolis*, Plate XVI, 9).



1. (Garrucci 434, 2)



2. (Garrucci 434, 4)



3. (Garrucci 434, 5)



4. (Garrucci 435, 1)

FIGS. 1-4. AMPULLAE OF MONZA  
(Syro-Palestinian Type)



This Syro-Palestinian type of sepulchre agrees strikingly with the descriptions of early pilgrims and it is generally believed that it represents more or less faithfully the Holy Sepulchre of the Constantine period, with its block of hewn stone surrounded by a latticed barrier, and its canopy on pillars, with silver and gold latticed roof. The lamp which both the Abbess Etheria and the *Itinerarium Placentini* mention as burning night and day was doubtless within the sacred cave, but there may well have been one or more hanging from the roof of the ciborium as shown on the Egyptian amulet (Fig. 5) and on one of the Monza ampullae (Garrucci 434, 1). A. Wulff, in his lengthy review of Heisenberg's work,<sup>8</sup> offers what seems to me to be a valuable correction to Heisenberg in giving a different interpretation to the Monza representations of the Sepulchre. Heisenberg sees in some of them (Garr. 433, 8; 434, 2, 7, see Fig. 1) the monument with latticed doors and his conjectured pyramidal shaft, or "Aufsatz" (*in modum metae*), but without the ciborium. In others he sees the ciborium, either with or without a full view of the monument which it covers (Garr. 434, 4, 5, 6; 435, 1, see Figs. 2, 3, 4). Wulff also distinguishes two types, both however with ciborium. Heisenberg's pyramidal *Aufsatz* of the monument is, in Wulff's opinion, the roof of the ciborium. In his first type, therefore, he would put these as well as those with a broader hexagonal view (Garr. 434, 5, 6, Fig. 3). To his second type belong those that show plainly two structures, one beneath and within the other (Garr. 434, 4; 435, 1, Figs. 2, 4). These show the ciborium under a four-columned *tempietto*, which Wulff thinks is an ideal representation of the Anastasis. In both types the block of hewn rock is to be thought of as within the enclosure of the latticed doors, and the puzzling semicircle in Garr. 434, 5 (Fig. 3), which Heisenberg (p. 172) confesses his inability to explain, is the opening to the sacred cave, slightly visible through the doors ajar. The small rectangle is probably not the large stone (of the Gospels) but the rectangular grave (*potens*) within the sacred cave.

## 2. Medieval Byzantine Type

The Syro-Palestinian type belonged primarily to the sixth and seventh centuries. Later, and especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a different type, which may be called the "medieval Byzantine type," prevailed in Eastern art and in certain works of the West that were clearly under Byzantine influence. The type is characterized by having the composition center in the angel and not in the sepulchre. A late variation of this type prevailed when the monk-artist of Mt. Athos compiled his *Guide to Painting*. He gives the following description of the scene: "The open tomb. Angel clothed in white is seated on the lid; he holds a lance with one hand and with the other points to the shroud and winding sheet

<sup>8</sup> *Byzant. Zt.*, XVIII, 538 f.

in the bottom of the tomb. The women bearing myrrh; they hold vases in their hands."<sup>9</sup>

The commanding figure of the angel in this Byzantine type is unmistakable, wherever he may be met. He is seated, usually upon a large quadrangular block of stone; is in almost full face but turns slightly toward the holy women, usually two in number, on his right; with his right hand he points across his own body to the empty tomb on the left; his left hand holds a lance-like rod terminating in a cross or a fleuron. His large wings are sometimes both outspread, but usually, perhaps from difficulties of composition, only one is fully extended. The soldiers are generally present, sometimes in unusual numbers; their minor importance is often indicated by diminutive size.

The sepulchre, a subordinate feature of this type, appears in several forms. In some representations it is a tomb hewn in the rock, as on a book-cover of the Louvre,<sup>10</sup> or the manuscript of the British Museum, executed for Melisende of Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup> In others it is a sarcophagus placed before an opening into the rock, but meant evidently to suggest location within. Examples of this are the Byzantine diptych of Milan (Fig. 7) and most of the fourteen representations in *MS Grec. 74* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.<sup>12</sup> In this Greek Manuscript, as well as in other works of art that have both the Entombment and this form of the Holy Women at the Tomb, the Entombment shows the body of Christ being borne directly towards the opening in the rock, without any sarcophagus before it. In other medieval Byzantine representations the sepulchre is a sarcophagus surmounted by a ciborium and without suggestion of a rock hewn tomb. The ciborium is of the cupola form, so popular in Byzantine art from the eighth to the eleventh century. Examples of this form are the mural painting of S. Angelo in Formis (see Fig. 6), and the miniature of a psalter of the Pantocratoros Monastery on Mt. Athos.<sup>13</sup> Finally, in some cases, in agreement with the Byzantine *Guide to Painting*, the sepulchre is a sarcophagus without ciborium or suggestion of rock hewn tomb, as on the so-called "Altar of Charles the Bold"<sup>14</sup> and the altar of King Andrew III of Hungary.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Didron's *Christian Iconography* (transl. by Margaret Stokes), II, Appendix II, 319. This Byzantine *Guide to Painting* goes back probably to the twelfth century.

<sup>10</sup> Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, II, 657 (and many other places.)

<sup>11</sup> Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints*, II, 467.

<sup>12</sup> *Évangiles avec Peintures Byzantines du XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Bibl. Nat. Reproductions des MSS et Miniatures.*

<sup>13</sup> Mentioned but not reproduced by E. Dobbert, *Zur byzantinischen Frage, Jahrb. d. k. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XV, 158.

<sup>14</sup> Fleury, *La Messe*, V, Pl. CCCLX.

<sup>15</sup> *Zeitschr. f. christl. Kunst*, I, Pl. VI.





FIG. 5. EGYPTIAN AMULET  
(Syro-Palestinian Type)



FIG. 6. WALL PAINTING IN S. ANGELO  
IN FORMIS  
(Medieval Byzantine Type)



There is abundant evidence of strong Byzantine influence in Italy in the early middle ages,<sup>16</sup> and it is not surprising to find there not only pure Byzantine types but also forms that show a mingling of Byzantine and Western features. The representation on the bronze door of Benevento<sup>17</sup> shows the typical Byzantine ciborium and the general character of the Byzantine angel, but the right hand, instead of pointing across to the tomb on the left, is raised towards the holy women, as is often found in Western representation. A fresco in the Church of St. Urban near Rome, said by Seroux d'Agincourt<sup>18</sup> to be the work of a Greek school established in Rome in the eleventh century, shows the Byzantine form of sarcophagus before an opening in the rock, but it is reversed, the opening being to the angel's right and the Maries to his left. An ivory of the National Museum in Florence<sup>19</sup> shows an angel that is in every respect Byzantine, but the sepulchre is a four-storied tower of the Western "temple type."

*Psalter Subtype.* A special subtype of sepulchre in Byzantine art is peculiar to the illustrated psalters, in connection with psalms referring to the Resurrection. This type is a rather tall narrow structure, resembling a sentry box, with door in front and with gabled roof, surmounted by a cross. Examples from the London Psalter and the Barberini Psalter may be found in Tikkanen's *Die Psalter-illustration im Mittelalter* (p. 64 and Pl. V). Tikkanen says of it: "The peculiar type of representation, characterizing, as it seems, solely Greek psalter illustration, rests perhaps upon the mention of Christ's emerging from the tomb, which is repeated so often in the liturgy of the Greek church. In the picture of the Pantocratoros Psalter to Ps. IX, 33, he is seen just stepping out of the sepulchre."

### 3. Western Type on Early Christian Sarcophagi

The earliest known representations of the sepulchre of Christ in art are of the West and on Christian sarcophagi of the late fourth and the fifth centuries. It is in the form of a cylindrical tower, with cupola-shaped or conical roof. It is interesting to note that the tombs of Christ and of Lazarus, both rock hewn tombs according to the Evangelists, are both represented by *aediculae* in early art, and yet are sharply differentiated, the tomb of Lazarus<sup>20</sup> being a small rectangular temple with saddle-roof, while the tomb of Christ, throughout its early Western representations, was a circular temple or tower, with or without a square base.

<sup>16</sup> See Dobbert, *Zur Byz. Frage*, 126 f.

<sup>17</sup> Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, III, 705.

<sup>18</sup> *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*, V, Pl. XCIV.

<sup>19</sup> Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, II, 625.

<sup>20</sup> Of the tomb of Lazarus, E. Baldwin Smith says in his *Early Christian Iconography* (p. 110): "Nearly all the representations of the first six centuries, either from technical difficulties of depicting a cave, or, as is more likely, from the influence of the temple tomb widely used in Hellenistic times, represent the sepulchre in the form of an aedicula."

It has usually been thought that, before the actual appearance of the sepulchre of Christ in art, it had been suggested symbolically on certain sarcophagi which have in their central field a cross surmounted by Christ's symbol in a wreath, with two Roman soldiers, one asleep, the other alert, in sitting posture beneath the arms of the cross. Otto Schönewolf<sup>21</sup> has tried to show that this was not intended to call to mind the tomb of Christ and the Resurrection, or at least not to call them alone to mind. He thinks it expresses more broadly the mood of triumphal confidence towards death, based to be sure upon the Cross of Christ. However, the two soldiers must surely, it seems to me, signify a military guard with thought either of the cross or the tomb, or, as Grimouar de St. Laurent<sup>22</sup> thinks, of both (the one awake representing the centurion and his companions on Calvary, the one asleep the guards of the tomb). There are certain reasons which lead me to think that they signify solely the guards at the tomb. Their symmetrical position, one on each side of the base of the cross, resembles the position of the guards, one on each side of the sepulchre, on the early ivories of the Trivulzio Collection and the National Museum in Munich, and on the fibula of St. Cesarius.<sup>23</sup> On the Trivulzio ivory they are in the same sitting posture as on the sarcophagi. Also these early representations show both waking and sleeping guards, on the Trivulzio ivory both are awake, on the fibula of St. Cesarius both are asleep, on the famous ivory of the Munich National Museum, one is awake and one asleep, as on the sarcophagi. And finally it seems significant that another sarcophagus has, in the same field below the cross and emblems, a representation of the sepulchre with the scene of the risen Christ appearing to the holy women.

This other sarcophagus, just mentioned,<sup>24</sup> is a Roman one and represents probably the earliest occurrence of the sepulchre in art, being assigned to the second half of the fourth century. The sepulchre is a small cylindrical structure with cupola roof; its surfaces are smooth without masonry lines and quite unbroken, except for one small window (if Garrucci's drawing is accurate). This little temple-tower is in the background, partly concealed by the kneeling figures of the two Maries, and distinctly subordinated to the scene of the foreground.

On a sarcophagus of Southern Gaul<sup>25</sup> occurs the same scene, except that here three women kneel before the risen Christ. In the background

<sup>21</sup> *Die Darstellung der Auferstehung Christi*, 41.

<sup>22</sup> *Manuel de l'Art Chrétien*, 177.

<sup>23</sup> Reproductions of these three well known ivories are numerous; in Garrucci's *Storia della Arte Cristiana* they are in VI, plates 449, 459, and 479.

<sup>24</sup> Garrucci, 350, 4. See Fig. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Garrucci, 316, 2; Le Blant, *Étude sur les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, 46 f. and Pl. XXIX.



FIG. 7. BYZANTINE DIPTYCH IN MILAN  
(Medieval Byzantine Type)



is the same cylindrical sepulchre, having, however, a door instead of a window. Although the stone is broken and badly worn, so that earlier drawings and descriptions have to be relied upon in part for its interpretation, there seem to have been two figures, probably guards, one on either side of the sepulchre. The symbolic cross with wreath and emblems does not appear and the sarcophagus is probably a little later than the Roman one, either late fourth or early fifth century.

A sarcophagus of Milan,<sup>26</sup> of the late fourth or the fifth century, shows a sepulchre with the scene of the Angel and the Holy Women—the women approach sadly, while the half figure of the angel above in a cloud points to the open door of the empty tomb and the sudary that lies before it. The sepulchre, which here is in the foreground and larger, is of the same shape as the above two, except that the roof is not cupola-shaped, but conical, with bands.

The type of sepulchre on early sarcophagi is therefore a rather slender cylindrical tower, resembling a round sentry box. The above three sarcophagi are the only ones that show clear cases of its occurrence. A similar structure is on a fragment in the Museum of Aix,<sup>27</sup> and, chiefly because of its shape, has been thought to represent the sepulchre of Christ.<sup>28</sup>

#### 4. *Western Temple Type*

The tower type of sepulchre, which in a simple form is found on Christian sarcophagi, remains, in architecturally more elaborate forms, the usual type of the sepulchre of Christ in Western art from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. For the more or less elaborate temple-tower structure of this long period I shall use the term "Western Temple Type." The edifice has usually two or more stories. The lowest story, representing the mortuary chamber, is generally square, the upper story or stories round. Most of the early representations are on ivory.

It is interesting to note how in the fourth and fifth centuries the tradition of using the scene of the Holy Women and the Angel to express the idea of the Resurrection was not yet fully crystallized. The sarcophagi show, in addition to the purely symbolic form, two instances of the appearance of the risen Christ to the holy women and one of the holy women and the angel, all intended doubtless to suggest the Resurrection. The earliest ivories indicate similar uncertainty and transition. The British Museum ivory, assigned by Dalton<sup>29</sup> to the early fifth century, seems to show a con-

<sup>26</sup> Garrucci, 315, 4.

<sup>27</sup> Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens de la Gaule*, 145.

<sup>28</sup> Mention may be made here of a sepulchre of similar shape on an early medallion, found, I believe, in Rome (Garrucci, 480, 14). On each side of the sepulchre is a prostrate soldier and above is the word *Anastasis*.

<sup>29</sup> O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the Brit. Museum*, p. 6 and Plate IV, c. See Fig. 9.

fusion of scenes. Two guards are present, and two holy women seated in attitudes expressive of grief, but the angel is not present. This might express the time just after the entombment (as is expressed in one of the fields of the diptych of the treasury of the Milan Cathedral<sup>30</sup>), were it not for the fact that the door is open, showing the empty sepulchre, and thus expressing the Resurrection. In the Trivulzio ivory<sup>31</sup> the devotional attitude of the two Maries kneeling before the wingless angel suggests a confusion between the scenes of the Holy Women and Angel and the appearance of Christ to the Maries.

Two of the ivories just mentioned, that of the British Museum (Fig. 9) and that of the Trivulzio collection show what was probably the earliest form of the "temple type"—a square base with double doors and flat roof, above which rises a smaller circular story of solid walls with windows.<sup>32</sup> In other early representations, probably not quite so early as these, the rotunda surmounting the square part consists of cupola roof resting simply on columns—forming thus a sort of ciborium. This is found on the ivory fibula of St. Cesarius of the sixth century and several others of later date. An intermediate form is the famous early ivory of the National Museum of Munich, in which the walls of the rotunda are solid but are faced with columns and arches.

In the St. Cesarius type, with its ciborium-like rotunda, has been seen a mixed form, a combination of the Syro-Palestinian type with its ciborium and the early Western form with rotunda of solid walls.<sup>33</sup> This seems to me, however, a rather strained explanation. There was a natural tendency to make the sepulchre ever more beautiful—*et erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum*—and columns are more ornate than solid walls; the monopteros was not uncommon in Western architecture, even as a tegurium over tombs; a pagan altar<sup>34</sup> on an ancient relief shows such a structure rising from a quadrangular base, strikingly similar to the St. Cesarius sepulchre; the rotunda with solid walls was already lightened by unusually abundant windows; it would thus seem a very natural architectural variation to replace the walls with columns—quite without Syro-Palestinian influences.

The question has naturally arisen as to the origin of the use of the tower to represent the sepulchre of Christ in art and in particular the origin of this early characteristic form of square base with superimposed rotunda. Petkowicz<sup>35</sup> has advanced a theory that the architectural forms used by the

<sup>30</sup> Garrucci, 450.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 449, 2.

<sup>32</sup> Bonnell, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* (1916), 702, is wrong in seeing two different structures on the Trivulzio ivory. The guards are on the flat roof of the base.

<sup>33</sup> Semper, *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1897), 396.

<sup>34</sup> Reproduced in Fleury, *La Messe*, II, 24.

<sup>35</sup> *Ein frühchristl. Elfenbeinrelief* (Halle diss. 1905), 27 f.





FIG. 8. ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS, WITH CHRIST  
APPEARING TO THE HOLY WOMEN



FIG. 9. EARLY IVORY IN BRITISH MUSEUM  
(Western Temple Type)



early artists were suggested by the forms of those Host-preservers to which early liturgical writers gave the name of *turris*, and similarly he considers it even more certain that later representations of the sepulchre were in imitation of the forms of medieval reliquaries. The probability, however, in both of these cases is that the relation is just the reverse; *turris* and reliquary had a natural association in thought with the tomb of Christ,<sup>36</sup> and their form may well have been influenced by the traditional idea of the first Christian centuries and a large part of the middle ages that Christ was buried in a tower-like tomb, and by its representations in art. This is definitely suggested in an early Gallic liturgy: "Corpus vero Domini ideo defertur in turribus, quia monumentum Domini in similitudinem turris fuit scissum in petra."<sup>37</sup>

Whence arose, however, the traditional idea of the tower-like tomb, contrary to the Gospels and to the Holy Sepulchre? Over the Holy Sepulchre was, to be sure, the circular Anastasis and this may have been of some influence. The chief explanation seems to me to lie, however, in the early association of tower and rotunda with the tomb. J. Rudolf Rahn says: "Im Grabmale hatte der Rundbau seinen Uranfang genommen und hier bei einer grossen Mannigfaltigkeit von andern Gestaltungen sich in stetem Gebrauche erhalten,"<sup>38</sup> and he gives numerous examples, especially from Roman antiquity. To these examples of tombs might be added the fairly frequent round temples, since the close relationship of ideas between tomb and temple was common to antiquity and early Christian times. In Roman tombs, such as those of Caecilia Metella, of Priscilla and others, there is a square base, or mortuary chamber, above which rises a massive circular structure—just the architecture of the sepulchre of Christ on the early ivories, except in the relative size of base and superstructure and in the matter of windows. One needs but to imagine this type of Roman tomb with the mortuary chamber emphasized by putting it above ground and provided with prominent open doors to indicate that it is empty and with windows in the rotunda ("diese Vorliebe der christlichen Architektur für vielfältige Fensteranlagen"<sup>39</sup>) to get quite the type of sepulchre on the British Museum ivory or that of the Trivulzio collection. Other monuments of antiquity, such as that of Lysikrates in Athens,<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, 159 f. Also Fleury, V, 60 f.

<sup>37</sup> Fleury, V, 62. An ancient benediction for a pyx designates it as *Corporis Christi novum sepulchrum* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXI, 1185).

<sup>38</sup> *Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung des christlichen Central- und Kuppelbaus*, 20. Cahier speaks of "cette forme de rotonde qui plus d'une fois a dérouter les amateurs en leur faisant prendre pour des baptistères d'une haute antiquité ce qui n'était que des monuments funéraires élevés sur les restes de quelque mort plus ou moins important." *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, II, 68.

<sup>39</sup> Rahn, 42.

<sup>40</sup> Ludwig von Sybel, *Weltgesch. d. Kunst im Altertum*, 327.

or of the Julii in St. Remy,<sup>41</sup> show square base and circular columnar superstructure. Thus, in the architecture of Roman tombs and other monuments of the Occident, there seems to me to lie sufficient suggestion to explain the characteristic form of the sepulchre of Christ on the early ivories.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail the many examples of the "temple type" through the long period of its prevalence. The form of the early ivories persists. That this form is considered possible throughout the period is strikingly illustrated by the fact that the early Christian ivory of the National Museum in Munich has been dated by different art historians in every century from the third to the eleventh.<sup>42</sup> A late and rather free copy of this ivory is preserved in a Liverpool ivory<sup>43</sup> of the ninth century. A somewhat doubtful ivory of the Louvre,<sup>44</sup> possibly of the tenth or eleventh century, imitates the whole composition of the early Christian diptych of the Milan Cathedral, simplifying, however, the circular temple-sepulchre to one story. A two-storied sepulchre of the exact shape of this early Milan ivory, and, like it, accompanied by the less usual scene of the appearance of Christ to the Maries, is found on a Manchester ivory.<sup>45</sup> Along with this persistence of comparatively simple early forms there are new shapes of greater elaborateness and infinite variety, such as three and four-storied temples, basilicas with or without towers, single circular towers comparable to those on early sarcophagi, phantastic complexes of many towers, etc. A careful study of the forms would doubtless yield certain interesting groups and classifications. Something of this is in fact revealed by a rather cursory examination of the first volume of the *Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, so admirably published by Adolph Goldschmidt.<sup>46</sup> Although his classification of the ivories into the Ada Group, the Liuthard Group, and the Older and Younger Metz Groups is made upon a stylistic basis without particular consideration of the architecture of the sepulchre, yet each group shows a distinct and different style of sepulchre. Among the thirty-nine ivories of the Ada Group and its derivatives are six representations of the sepulchre, all, except the very phantastic one of Dole (No. 30), showing a circular temple (if two-storied, both circular) with conical tiled roof. The four sepulchres of the Liuthard Group<sup>47</sup> are slender towering

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 393.

<sup>42</sup> Petzkowic, *Ein frühchr. Elfenbeinrelief*, 7 f., and for the third century, Strzygowski in *Byz. Zt.*, XV, 425.

<sup>43</sup> Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser* (VII to XI Jahrh.), I, No. 139.

<sup>44</sup> Goldschmidt, I, No. 146.

<sup>45</sup> Goldschmidt, I, No. 27.

<sup>46</sup> Volume I appeared in 1914, vol. II in 1918.

<sup>47</sup> Including I, No. 132a, which is "verwandt mit der Liuthardgruppe."



FIG. 10. SEPULCHRE FROM EVANGELISTARY OF UTA OF NIEDERMÜNSTER. (TRANSITION FORM)



FIG. 11. SEPULCHRE FROM CODEX OF MASTER BERTOLT, IN MONASTERY OF ST. PETER, SALZBURG. (TRANSITION FORM)



structures of three stories each, of which the lowest one at least is square and the uppermost one round. The four of the Metz Group<sup>48</sup> all show a basilica with saddle roof, either with or without accompanying circular towers.

The three chief elements in the composition of the Holy Women at the Tomb are the sepulchre, the angel,<sup>49</sup> and the Maries. Since the angel should be near the sepulchre, there are two natural arrangements, either the sepulchre in the middle with angel on one side and Maries on the other, or the sepulchre to one side with angel in the middle and the Maries on the other side. Both of these are very common in the "temple type," although the one with the sepulchre in the middle is more frequent. Of subordinate elements, the guards are almost always found, and a conventionalized tree is frequent, indicating the garden mentioned in John. There was manifest difficulty in disposing of the guards. When the sepulchre was on one side, they were usually placed before or behind it or awkwardly jammed into the narrow space between it and the foliated margin.<sup>50</sup> When the sepulchre was in the middle, they were sometimes placed in the extreme foreground, but many artists manifestly considered this position all too prominent, and a variety of other solutions are found—they are omitted entirely; they are kept in the foreground, but made dwarfish in size,<sup>51</sup> as they are frequently also in Byzantine art; they lie prostrate under the feet of the angels;<sup>52</sup> they are put in a separate field;<sup>53</sup> they are put with the sepulchre in a field separate from the angel and the Maries;<sup>54</sup> they peer out of the second-story windows or openings of the sepulchre;<sup>55</sup> or, most commonly of all, they are put in the upper corners of the composition, either apparently suspended in mid-air,<sup>56</sup> or on a slightly indicated hillock or bit of ground,<sup>57</sup> or on the roof of one of the stories of the temple-sepulchre.<sup>58</sup> A

<sup>48</sup> Excluding I, No. 80, which, as Goldschmidt says, is an imitation.

<sup>49</sup> Occasionally there are two angels, and in a very few cases even more. An ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Goldsch., II, 85) has two seated in front of the sepulchre and three more hovering about it.

<sup>50</sup> Ivory of Munich Staatsbibliothek, Goldschmidt, I, No. 41. See also Goldsch., II, Nos. 62 and 64.

<sup>51</sup> Ivory in Collection of Graf Harrach, Goldsch., I, No. 18.

<sup>52</sup> On a tenth century ivory situla, Goldsch., II, No. 3a.

<sup>53</sup> Miniature in Missal of the priest Henri of Midlum, Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, II, Pt. 1, 328.

<sup>54</sup> Ivory in Bibl. Nat., Paris (Goldschmidt, I, No. 84), and in Museo Nazionale, Florence, (Goldsch., I, No. 9).

<sup>55</sup> Ivory of Buda-Pesth (Goldsch., I, No. 165, Semper, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1897), 389 f.)

<sup>56</sup> Carolingian Ivory in National Museum, Munich, (Goldsch., I, No. 44).

<sup>57</sup> Ivories of Quedlinburg reliquary, (Goldsch., I, No. 147), of the Collection of Martin Le Roy, Paris, (Goldsch., I, No. 148) and of Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, (Goldsch., I, No. 55).

<sup>58</sup> Drawing in Hartker's Antiphonal, see Fig. 13 and Bonnell's article in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* (1916); his suggested interpretation is referred to later (see p. 28); ivory in

variation of this last is to have the temple represented solely by a betowered or battlemented arch spanning the whole composition, with the soldiers on its roof. Such a broad arch with slender towers seems to have been especially common in South Germany in the eleventh century (Fig. 11) and constitutes a sort of transition from the temple type to the sarcophagus type without any edifice.

##### 5. *Western Coffer-Tomb Type*

The term "Western Coffer-Tomb Type" is used to designate the representations of the Occident in which the tomb is a coffer-shaped sarcophagus without any edifice. We are told by early pilgrims to Jerusalem that within the sacred cave there was a grave, doubtless in the shape of a coffer, either resting upon or sunken into the floor. In representations of the temple type, the lowest story is to be thought of as the mortuary chamber containing the sarcophagus, and even in the early centuries the artist at times affords a glimpse of it through the open doors. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries in a number of cases the lowest story is open, showing more or less distinctly the sarcophagus, and having pillars to support the story or stories above.<sup>59</sup> Usually, in these cases, the angel still sits outside the edifice, but in at least two cases of the early eleventh century<sup>60</sup> the angel sits within or underneath upon a coffer-tomb, above which, resting on slender and incompletely executed pillars, is the typical second story of the "temple type." This represents manifestly a transition form. Another form of transition is the broad spanning arch mentioned above. In the course, however, of the eleventh century, the representation of the sepulchre as an edifice or within an edifice began to disappear, and the sarcophagus began to be represented by itself, without architectural construction of any sort over it (Fig. 12).

In the coffer-tomb type the sarcophagus cover usually lies transversely across the open sarcophagus (Fig. 11). On the cover the angel generally sits, pointing to the linen visible within. This position of the angel shows an evident confusion between the cover of the sarcophagus and the stone of the Gospels upon which, according to Matthew (xxviii, 2), the angel sat, after rolling it from the door of the rockhewn tomb. The holy women, three in number, stand behind or to one side of the tomb. The soldiers are easily fitted into this type by placing them in sitting or lying posture

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South Kensington Museum, London (Fig. 14); miniature in Sacramentary of Heinrich II (Fig. 15). On an ivory book-cover in Utrecht, (Goldsch., II, No. 151), on which both angel and sepulchre are on the left side, the one guard that is wholly visible is clinging on to one side of the sepulchre, as if in the act of climbing up or down from the roof. The other guard, only partly visible, is probably to be thought of in a similar position on the other side.

<sup>59</sup> Figs. 10 and 13 and 15 will serve as examples.

<sup>60</sup> An ivory at Metz, (Goldsch., II, 54) and one in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, (Goldsch., II, 53).





FIG. 12. SEPULCHRE IN MS 1186, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ARSENAL, PARIS. (COFFER-TOMB TYPE)



immediately before the sarcophagus; occasionally this is raised upon slender pillars or low arches and the soldiers are put beneath (Fig. 12).

This Western coffer-tomb type resembles in many respects the medieval Byzantine type previously discussed, although the angel has not the characteristic Byzantine pose. It is difficult to say in how far the Occidental type is the result of Byzantine influence, or how far it is a purely Western development, a gradual simplification of representation. It is possible that the religious drama was not without influence upon it. Wilhelm Meyer's theory of the influence of the drama upon the Resurrection scene from the latter half of the twelfth century on has been favorably received, and the tomb of these Resurrection scenes is the same coffer-tomb without edifice which about a century earlier became usual for the scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb. After this strikingly late introduction of the Resurrection scene into Christian art, the importance and popularity of the scene of the Holy Women at the Tomb waned. The sepulchre of both scenes has remained from the twelfth century on prevaillingly the coffer-tomb type. An occasional Renaissance artist, however, wishing evidently to follow the Gospel more faithfully, has depicted a rock-hewn tomb or a coffer-tomb amid rocks.<sup>61</sup>

The occasional occurrence of this coffer type of tomb with canopy or ciborium over it will be discussed in the following chapter.

<sup>61</sup> Fra Angelico depicts the same rock-hewn tomb in his *Entombment*, his *Holy Women at the Tomb*, and his *Appearance of Christ to Mary*. Duccio has in his *Holy Women at the Tomb* a sarcophagus amid towering rocks; his Byzantine angel sits on the transverse cover quite in keeping with the medieval tradition.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RELATION OF THE SEPULCHRE IN ART TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ALTAR

This chapter is in the nature of an excursus to consider a theory advanced by Dr. J. K. Bonnell in his previously mentioned article.<sup>1</sup> In this study he compares the high altar, the sepulchre of Christ in art, and the Easter sepulchre of the liturgy, and comes to the conclusion that all three are closely related, basing his conclusion very largely upon the assumption that a ciborium or canopy is characteristic of all three. A conclusion so important as this warrants a rather careful examination. It seems feasible to divide Bonnell's triple comparison and consider here the relation of the sepulchre in art to the altar, leaving to a later chapter the question of their relation to the Easter sepulchre.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with the sepulchre in art Bonnell uses a very inadequate classification, stating that for his purpose (that of relating these pictures to the architecture of the altar and to the form of the *sepulchrum* of the liturgical plays) it is sufficient to indicate three types, or groups:

I. The tomb represented as a little building with two folding doors, or a rectangular doorway (what I have called the "temple type").

II. The tomb represented as an upright hollow in a rock.

III. The tomb represented as a structure almost or exactly identical with canopied altars.

He mentions that there are some representations of a coffer-tomb, or sarcophagus alone, but does not make a group, or type, of them.

He says further (p. 701): "But that my third group should be so large and so circumstantial as it is, explaining so satisfactorily the rubrics of the plays and the church records of the sepulchre, and illustrating so aptly the form of the medieval altar, is to my mind most convincing." This gives rise to two questions: Is the sepulchre with ciborium a predominant type, especially in the Occident, as Bonnell assumes? Is it reminiscent, or a direct imitation of the canopied altars?

Bonnell states that his list is not intended to be an exhaustive catalog of the pictures of the tomb of Christ, but rather a representative one. However, since he attaches importance to the size of his third group, it is legitimate to consider whether the relative sizes of his groups are representative or significant. Of his group I, he gives four examples. My notes include

<sup>1</sup> *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXI (1916), 664 f.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 85.

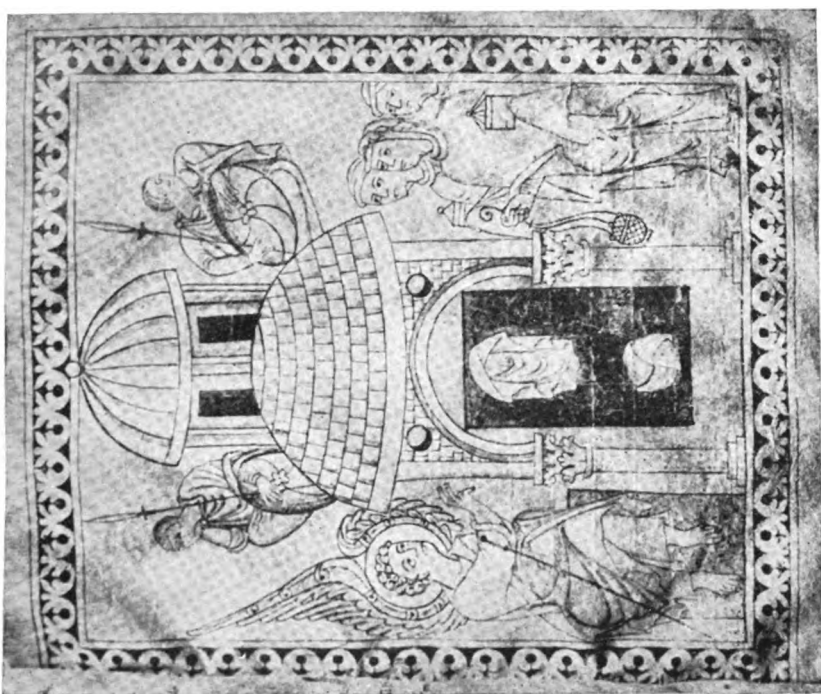


FIG. 13. SEPULCHRE IN ANTIPHONAL OF HARTKER

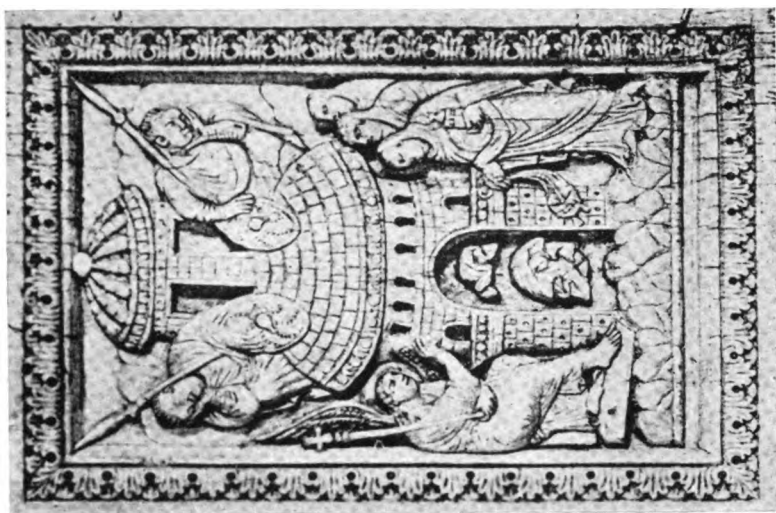


FIG. 14. SEPULCHRE ON IVORY PLAQUE,  
SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM



about sixty, of which about fifty have been reproduced. Of his group II, he gives but two examples. Of group III, he gives ten, of which about half, as I shall point out, should not be included. Of the sarcophagus without canopy, which he considers exceptional, he gives five. My notes include some thirty-five or forty and are necessarily very incomplete, as comparatively few of the many illuminated liturgical manuscripts of this later period have been reproduced. This sarcophagus type without canopy was undoubtedly the most common Western form after the disappearance of the "temple type," and was apparently also the most common late medieval Eastern form, being the one described in the previously mentioned Byzantine *Guide to Painting*.<sup>3</sup>

A fairly thorough search through modern works on art would reveal mention of over a hundred and fifty early Christian and medieval representations of the Holy Women at the Tomb (together with numerous other representations of the sepulchre of Christ in Entombment and Resurrection scenes), and would show over a hundred reproductions of the scene.<sup>4</sup> In view of this large amount of material that is available even without going back to the original sources at all, the relative sizes of Bonnell's groups lose significance.

In determining how common the sepulchre with canopy, or ciborium, is, it is necessary to leave out of consideration those architectural constructions which are not ciboria. This would, in my opinion, eliminate first of all the drawing in Hartker's antiphonal, to which Bonnell attaches special importance and which he considers "the most satisfactory illustration of the relationship between the form of the altar canopy and the representations of the tomb of Christ." This drawing (Fig. 13) represents simply

<sup>3</sup> See p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Some general ideas of the number of representations can be conveniently given in connection with the material or the forms of art in which they occur. Over 50 on ivory are known to me, most of them in reproductions. Adolph Goldschmidt's work reproduces 44 from the time of the Carolingian and Saxon emperors. From such works as Vöge's *Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, Haseloff's *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule des XIII. Jahrh.*, Swarzenski's *Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrh.*, some 60 or 70 representations in illuminated MSS are known to me, of which half can be found in reproductions. In my own examination of liturgical MSS I have seen a good many more, of which I have no exact record. A. Sanoner, in one of a series of articles in the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* entitled *La Vie de Jésus Christ, racontée par les imagiers du moyen âge sur les portes d'églises* (1907), mentions 17 in the stone or bronze of church portals, and reproduces 7 of them. Eckart von Sydow, in his *Die Entwicklung des figuralen Schmucks der christlichen Altar-Antependia und -Relabula bis zum XVI. Jahrh.* (1912), lists 15 representations in antependia and reproduces several of them. Other places where representations occur, of which reproductions can be found in scattered works, are early Christian sarcophagi, mosaics and mural paintings, altars and pulpits, stained glass windows, church vestments, and a large variety of metal objects of church art, such as reliquaries, patens, ampullae, rings, buckles, medallions, crosses, etc.

a two-storied temple-sepulchre, of which the lower story is open, with supporting pillars, a form which, as we have seen, was found in the temple type of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. (Hartker died early in the eleventh century.) An example so similar to the drawing as to suggest common influences and yet with a more elaborate temple superstructure may be seen in the sepulchre of the Sacramentary of Henry II, of the eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> An ivory in the South Kensington Museum (Fig. 14), of about the same period as the Hartker drawing, is so very similar to it that inter-relationship of some sort is perfectly evident, yet here the lower story is of masonry with the usual door-like opening and bears no resemblance to a ciborium. The lower story of the Hartker sepulchre, if it stood alone, might represent a ciborium, and Bonnell suggests *décor simultané*, viz. that the upper part is not a domed superstructure, but is an entirely separate structure representing the tomb at an earlier time, during the watch of Good Friday and Easter Eve. But this becomes improbable, one may even say impossible, when viewed in connection with related representations such as the two just mentioned and in connection with the whole development of the temple-type and particularly with what has previously been said about the position of the guards in the composition,<sup>6</sup> (as illustrated also in the representations of the Sacramentary and the South Kensington ivory).

Other constructions that cannot be considered as ciboria are decorative arches or other architectonic settings or divisions of compositions into fields. Such an excellent authority as Leclercq states: "Nous n'admettons pas comme *ciborium* ou comme pseudo-ciborium ce qui n'est rien du tout, tel décor architectural plaqué contre une muraille."<sup>7</sup> Any one who is at all familiar with the earlier periods of art knows how commonly architectural elements, particularly arches, were used for decorative purposes and for delimiting fields of composition, especially in ivory carving and miniature painting.<sup>8</sup> In Bonnell's group III, I see in No. 5 and No. 9 no ciboria, but simply architectural decoration, and I have considerable doubt as to

<sup>5</sup> See Fig. 15. The Sacramentary is Cod. lat. 4456 of the Munich Staatsbibliothek.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> See article on "Ciborium" in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrét. et de Liturgie*, col. 1612.

<sup>8</sup> Dalton, in the Introduction to his admirable *Catalog of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the Brit. Mus.*, p. XXXVII, says: "The association of ivory carving with architecture has been continuous during the Christian epoch. In the first centuries . . . monumental sculpture frequently received an architectural background; figures were placed in niches or beneath arches. . . . To the carver in ivory, as to the worker in metal, such a back-ground was of great value, providing his work with a convenient setting and lending it an architectural unity. . . . In Romanesque times the single figure under an arch perpetuates the antique tradition. . . . In the Gothic period, when the statue and the relief stood in the most intimate relation to the fabric of the cathedral, it was natural that the canopies or arches under which the stone figures were placed should have been adopted by the carver in ivory."





FIG. 15. SEPULCHRE IN THE SACRAMENTARY OF HENRY II  
OF GERMANY



whether Nos. 6 and 8 represent ciboria. Although representations of the sepulchre with a single broad betowered arch, with guards lying on the roof, which, as previously mentioned, seem to have been common in South Germany in the eleventh century, are not found in Bonnell's list, yet No. 8 of his Group III, a Paduan illumination of the twelfth century, is a very similar form, a double arch with towers and battlements and soldiers on the roof. Such single or double arches with towers and battlements and guards on top are not suggestive of altar ciboria. They are, in my opinion, to be considered transitional variations of the temple tower-type, blending into architectural decoration. No. 3, incidentally, is not the sepulchre of Christ at all, but is the scene, fairly common in early art, of Zachariah and the Angel before the altar.<sup>9</sup>

With the elimination of meaningless arches and other constructions that cannot be reasonably considered as ciboria, the number of representations of the sepulchre of Christ with ciboria over them is much reduced. It is almost entirely limited to the art of the Christian East. A ciborium is, as we have seen, characteristic of the Syro-Palestinian type. This, however, as has been pointed out, is doubtless in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and hence is not reminiscent, or in imitation of the altar ciborium. A ciborium is also at times found in the medieval Byzantine type. The typical cupola ciborium of Byzantine art, as seen in the mural paintings of S. Angelo in Formis (Fig. 6), is clearly related to Byzantine architecture and may possibly stand in close relation to Eastern altar ciboria. However, there is no evidence that ciboria of this particular type, a type to which Bonnell attaches considerable importance, occurred in the actual church architecture of the West.<sup>10</sup> This fact is important also for his comparison of altar and sepulchre in art with the sepulchre of the liturgic drama, because the liturgic drama is developed only in the Occident, and in fact is but scantily found in that part of the Occident, viz. Italy, in which ciboria are most frequent both in architecture and in art.

The number of representations of the sepulchre of Christ with ciborium that could be imitations of altar ciboria of churches of the Occident is so small as to be negligible, in Bonnell's list not more than two (nos. 1 and 10), and to these I do not know many to add from other sources. In view of all these considerations I cannot feel convinced that the architecture of the high altar, in the Occident at least, was of influence upon the representations of the Holy Sepulchre in art.

<sup>9</sup> A good reproduction, with the inscriptions plainly identifying it, may be found in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* (1912), 344.

<sup>10</sup> Kraus states (*Christl. Kunst.*, I, 374): "Holtzinger glaubt constatiren zu können, dass die Miniaturen zwischen dem 8. und 11. Jahrhundert in der Ersetzung des Pyramidendachs durch das Kuppeldach bei Darstellung solcher Ciborien einen Reflex der Kirchenarchitektur der Zeit wiedergeben. Die uns erhaltenen abendländischen Denkmäler bestätigen dies nicht, und es wird wohl jene Beobachtung nur für den Umkreis byzantinischer Denkmäler ihr Recht behalten." Bonnell's No. 4 and No. 7 are cupola ciboria. See also p. 85 of this study.

## CHAPTER V

### LITURGICAL CEREMONIES AT THE SEPULCHRE

There were, as has already been mentioned, three liturgical ceremonies that took place at the sepulchre, the *Depositio* (*Crucis*, or *Hostiae*, or *Crucis et Hostiae*) of Good Friday, symbolizing and commemorating the Entombment, the *Elevatio*, in which the buried symbol or symbols were raised early on Easter morning in commemoration of the Resurrection, and the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, later on Easter morning, representing the visit of the Maries to the tomb after the Resurrection. All three of these ceremonies were extra-liturgical in that they were not a part of the traditional and essential liturgy of the Roman church. They were quite widespread, but never in universal use.

Another ceremony of Holy Week which from the late middle ages on was often viewed as a symbolic Entombment was connected with the reservation of a Host from the Mass on Maundy Thursday for use at the Mass of Friday, the so-called *Missa Praesantificationum*. Good Friday is a non-liturgical day, on which no Host is consecrated, the only such day in the Western church. The Roman rite, therefore, has directed from early times and still directs that on Thursday two Hosts be consecrated, one for that day and one to be reserved for Friday's communion. The term "sepulchre" has often been applied to the Place of Repose used for this reservation of the Host. The relation of this *repositor* to the true sepulchre will be considered later.

#### 1. *Depositio and Elevatio*

*Depositio* and *Elevatio* have an interest to the student of the liturgic drama through their close relation to the dramatico-liturgical *Visitatio*, which cannot be fully studied without them. The *Elevatio* has also a special interest of its own in that it developed dramatic dialogue. At the time that this chapter was planned and the material for it brought together, there was no satisfactory study of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. Since then there has appeared an excellent study of their development by Professor Karl Young,<sup>1</sup> with a goodly number of new texts. It becomes my purpose therefore to add some new data to his and to discuss upon the basis of the combined material, certain aspects of the development of these two ceremonies.

<sup>1</sup> *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre*, *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 10 (Madison, 1920). Throughout this chapter references to Young, without name of publication, will be to this study.

Professor Young's theory of the origin of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* is that they arose, in the course of the tenth century, under the influence especially of the reservation of Holy Thursday and of the *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday, with another furthering influence in the idea of burial which was early developed in connection with such ritualistic objects as the altar, the tabernacle, and the chalice.<sup>2</sup>

The practice of exposing a part of the true cross on Good Friday to be kissed and adored by the people began in Jerusalem as early as the fourth century, as we learn from the description of the lady pilgrim Etheria.<sup>3</sup> From here it was soon communicated to churches elsewhere, to those that possessed some bit of the true Cross and then to others, where common crosses were substituted. The ceremony came into general use in the Western church in the seventh or eighth century<sup>4</sup> and has continued to the present day. In several of the early church uses the *Depositio Crucis* is found just at the close of the *Adoratio Crucis*. The two rites and their close connection may be seen in the following directions of John of Avranches, Archbishop of Rouen from 1069 to 1079, as given in his *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*.<sup>5</sup>

When these (i.e. lessons and prayers) have been completed, let two priests, in chasubles, singing the antiphon *Popule meus*, bring a veiled cross; to whom let two others in copes, standing in the midst of the choir, reply with the Greek words *Agios*, and let all the others say the *Sanctus*, which is three times repeated. After the third repetition let the priest, coming before the cross and beginning the antiphon *Ecce lignum*, unveil the cross. Let them, so soon as they see it, with tearful hearts prostrate themselves and adore it. After the priest and the subdeacon prostrate themselves and adore the cross, let all the clergy follow, and then the people. Let the adoration of all be so done, that each lay his body close to the earth (*ut uniuscujusque venter in terra haeret*). . . . When this has been done, let the crucifix, in commemoration of the blood and water flowing from the side of the Redeemer, be washed with wine and water, of which the clergy and the people should drink after the holy communion. After the responsory *Sicut ovis ad occisionem*, let them bring the cross to a certain place fitted up in the manner of a sepulchre, where it should be laid away until Sunday. When it is placed there, let the antiphon *In pace in idipsum* and the responsory *Sepulto domino* be sung. Afterwards let

<sup>2</sup> Young, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> See *Peregrinatio Etheriae* in Duchesne's *Christian Worship*, pp. 510 and 564 of the fourth English edition. It will be recalled that the year usually given as the date of the finding of the true cross was 326.

<sup>4</sup> Duchesne, p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLVII, 51. The position of the *Adoratio* before communion, as found here, was the usual one and is also the present day position. Martene (*De Antig. Ecd. Rit.* Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII) states that in some places, as at Lodi, the bishop only adored the cross before communion, the clergy and the people doing so after communion. This usage is found also at Laon (Chevalier, *Bibl. Liturg.*, VI, 114) and at Reims (*ibid.*, VII, 285).

The directions of John of Avranches for the *Elevatio* in the night before Easter are brief, being as follows: "At the tenth hour of the night let a few clerks, vested, approach, and, taking up the crucifix, with incense and perfume, and singing the antiphon *Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro*, let them put it up honorably in its proper place. Then, all the bells sounding, let them open the doors of the church and begin Matins."

the ministers of the cross, vested in chasubles, bring to the altar, with wine not consecrated, the reserved Body of the Lord, where let it be incensed by the priest and then only let *Oremus: Præceptis salutaribus* be said by the priest as far as *Sed libera nos a malo*. The *Pax Domini* should be omitted, for Christ was betrayed by the kiss of peace. Afterwards let all take the communion from the greatest to the least.

This same immediate sequence of *Adoratio* and *Depositio* is found in the *Concordia Regularis*, which contains the earliest known text of the *Depositio*. The *Concordia* was drawn up, probably between 965 and 975, by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester.<sup>6</sup> Although it was prepared for use in England and doubtless represents at least an early Winchester use, yet for the *Depositio* Ethelwold speaks of "following the use of certain of the religious which is worthy of imitation," and this earlier use was probably one of the continent.<sup>7</sup>

In view of the close connection of *Adoratio* and *Depositio* in these early uses and in others somewhat later, and of the fact that the cross or crucifix is a most suitable symbol for an Entombment ceremony and the further facts, as Young points out, that nothing could be more natural than a vivid commemoration of the Burial after the *Adoratio*, itself a vivid commemoration of the Crucifixion, and that any taking down of the Cross, after the ceremony of the *Adoratio*, must inevitably suggest a representation of the burial of the crucified Christ, it seems justifiable to assume, as Young does,<sup>8</sup> that the regular liturgical *Adoratio* was an influence to which in some measure the extra-liturgical *Depositio* and the naturally following *Elevatio* owe their origin.

The first instance that is known of the burial of the Host in the *Depositio* is of practically the same date as that of the cross in the *Concordia Regularis*. The text has not been preserved, but a passage in a Life of St. Ulrich (†973), Bishop of Augsburg, shows that the burial of the Host was in use there and a "customary practice" in the latter part of the tenth century.<sup>9</sup> An *Elevatio Hostiæ* in an eleventh-century St. Gall *Breviarium*<sup>10</sup> parallels the eleventh century burial of the cross in the *Liber* of John of Avranches. Thus, as far as the scant evidence goes, the burial of the Host was as early and, for the early period, as common as the burial of the cross. Young's

<sup>6</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 14. The directions of the *Concordia* can be conveniently found in Chambers, II, 306 f.

<sup>7</sup> The *Concordia* is said in its *Prooemium* to have been based in part upon customs of Fleury and Ghent. (Chambers, II, 3-7).

<sup>8</sup> Young, p. 26. His assumption of the influence of the particular papal ceremonies of Rome seems to me unnecessary and rather improbable, in view of the fact that *Depositio* and *Elevatio* doubtless originated north of the Alps, probably in France.

<sup>9</sup> " . . . Sacro Dei mysterio perpetrato, populoque sacro Christi corpore saginato et consuetudinario more, quod remanserat, sepulto . . . " For the complete passage see Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CXXXV 1020; also *Acta Sanctorum*, July, II (Paris and Rome, 1867), 103, and Young, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Young, p. 30.

theory, however, that the reservation of the Host on Thursday influenced the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* seems to me to lack the probability that his theory of the influence of the *Adoratio* has. The placing of the reserved Host in the *repositor* was, in this early period, a simple ceremony without antiphons or responsories, with nothing more than was called for by the necessities of the reservation and the proper respect for the Host. There is no evidence and no probability that there was thought of a symbolic burial, such as developed much later in connection with it. If the act of reservation was not thought of as a burial, there would be little significance to the traditional symbolism which was attached, doubtless vaguely, to altar, chalice, and tabernacle at all times and in all services throughout the year.

The following summary attempts to list in a classified way all the texts available for the study of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, including those in Young, those printed for the first time in this study, and a few previously published but not mentioned by Young. About each will be given, if available, these facts: country, century (indicated by Roman numeral), symbol or symbols buried, position of *Depositio*, and position of *Elevatio* whenever it is not in its usual position before Matins. Cases will be included where, from my notes or other sources, information about any of these facts can be given, although complete texts are not available.<sup>11</sup>

#### BURIAL OF CROSS ONLY.

ENGLAND. *Concordia Regularis*, X, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*<sup>12</sup>), Young, p. 74; DURHAM, XIV, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*, MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 77; HEREFORD, XIV, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*), text not published, so far as I know; see Edm. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (1918), 295.

FRANCE. John of Avranches' *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, XI, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*), Young, p. 76; ROUEN, texts of XIII and XIV, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*, *Elevatio* is lacking in both MSS), Young, p. 74; FÉCAMP, XIV, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*), Young, p. 77, n. 23; CLERMONT-FERRAND, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers, MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 84; ST. VANDRILLE (Fontenelle), *Elevatio* is in Martene, *De Antiq. Monach. Ritibus*, Lib. III, Cap. XVI;<sup>13</sup> TOUL, *Depositio* (after Vespers) is in Martene, *De Ant. Mon. Rit.* Lib. III, Cap. XIII.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Young's *Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre* will be referred to for all texts published by him irrespective of whether they have appeared previously elsewhere or not. Hence all other references indicate material not in Young. Reference to new material in this study will be to the Appendix or to footnotes. Information without a reference or with reference to a manuscript only will be from my notes.

<sup>12</sup> There were three positions of the *Depositio*, "after *Adoratio*," i.e., immediately after the Adoration of the Cross and before the communion of Friday's Mass (which came after None), "after Mass," i.e. after Communion and before Vespers, "after Vespers," i.e. between Vespers and Compline.

<sup>13</sup> "Hac nocte ante vigiliis Secretarius, convocatis ex majoribus fratribus sex vel octo, induantur albis, et levant Crucifixum de Sepulcro, et ponant eum in loco suo, cantantes suppressa voce R. *Christus resurrexit*. Dehinc sonentur matutinae."

<sup>14</sup> "Finitis igitur Vesperis et Sacerdote, casula tantum deposita Diaconoque in alba, stola, et fanulo, et Thuribulario et Ceroferario in albis existentibus, accipiat Crux ab ipso

BELGIUM. *Processionale*, XIV, in Royal Library, Brussels. See Appendix.

GERMANY. South German *Breviarium Monasticum*, probably Dominican, XIII, (MS has *Elevatio* but no *Depositio*), Young, p. 88, n. 71; *Ordinarium Benedictinum*, probably of HIRSAU, XIII, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 78; RANSHOFEN, XIII, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 81; TREVES, XIII, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 83; ZÜRICH, 1260, (*Dep.* after Mass), see Appendix; ST. FLORIAN, XIV, for a description of the *Depositio* (which seems to be after Mass) and the text of the *Elevatio* of this MS (C Fl. XI, 434) see Adolph Franz, *Das Rituale von St. Florian aus dem Zwölften Jahrh.*, (1904) p. 195; MAGDEBURG, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers), see Appendix; MOOSBURG, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers; MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 80; PRAGUE, XIV, (*Dep.* after Mass), see Appendix; ZENO, XIV, and ALDERBACH, XV, (Cod. lat. 16404 and 2725 of Munich Staatsbibl.) have *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of a common South German type, similar to Chiemsee and Diessen; ANDECHS, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass; MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 80; CHIEMSEE, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 88, n. 71; DIESSEN, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 88, n. 71; HAVELBERG, XV, (*Dep.* after Vespers), see Appendix; INDERSDORF, XV, (*Dep.* not printed), Young, p. 84, n. 51; LÜBECK, XV (?), an unnumbered MS of the Lübeck Stadtbibliothek has an *Elevatio*, coming after Matins;<sup>18</sup> PASSAU, XV (MS has no *Dep.*), Young, p. 88, n. 71; RAITENBUCH, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 81; REGENSBURG, XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 88; ST. GALL, XV, representing doubtless also the use of Hersfeld, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 90; TREVES (St. Maximin), XV, (*Dep.* after Mass), see Appendix; MOOSBURG, XV-XVI, (*Dep.* after Mass) see Appendix; FREISING, 1516, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 84; PRAGUE, 1517, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 86.

#### BURIAL OF HOST ONLY.

FRANCE. LAON, XII-XIII, (Quasi-*Depositio* and combined *Visitatio-Elevatio* both occur Easter morning before Matins), Young, p. 49; SOISSONS, XII-XIII, (Quasi-*Depositio* Easter morning before Matins, combined *Visitatio-Elevatio* after Matins), Young, p. 46; ST. QUENTIN, (Quasi-*Depositio* Easter before Matins, combined *Visitatio-Elevatio* after Matins) see B. Thiers, *Traité de l'exposition du St. Sacrement*, II, p. 691, also Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, LXIV, p. 88; ORIGNY, XIII, (*Depositio* not printed), Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age*, p. 340.

GERMANY. AUGSBURG, X, described in *Vita S. Udalrici*, Young, p. 17; ST. GALL, XI, (MS has no *Dep.*, *Elevatio* after Matins), Young, p. 30; STRASSBURG, texts of XIII, XIV, and XVI, (*Dep.* after Mass; text of XIV is from Martene, who gives no *Dep.*; Young calls the two ceremonies of the text of XIII *Depositio Hostiae* and *Elevatio Hostiae*, but there is no

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Sacerdote super altare S. Petri, et fiat processio ad sepulchrum, in qua processione iste ordo servetur . . . portetur crux in sepulchro a Sacerdote, qui fecit officium in Missa, sive sit Abbas vel alius; ipsumque praecedant ceroferarii, thuribularii et Diaconus et collocet ipsam crucem super altare, ponatque corporale involutum super aspectum crucifixi, et alium pannum super ipsum corporale, incipiendo has antiphonas alta voce et chorus prosequatur antiphonam *In pace*, antiphonam *Habilet*, antiphonam *Caro mea*, antiphonam *In pace factus est*. Iis finitis, egrediatur per aliud ostium sepulcri, eo ordine, quo per primum sunt ingressi. Tunc Sacerdos, qui facit officium, sive sit Abbas, sive alius, claudat ostium sepulcri, incipiens hoc responsorium *Sepulto Domino*, et chorus prosequatur, finitaque repetitione post versum a loco recedit processio, et ostium sepulcri firmetur a Sacrista."

<sup>18</sup> "Ante *Te Deum* plebanus cum socio levat crucem cantando trina vice *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*, respondentibus duabus trina vice *Qui pro nobis*, etc. Quo facto ambo portant crucem ad sedem suam vel locum consuetum. Statim incipitur in organis *Victime pascali laudes* et dum respondent *Cristi is upgestanden* et continuatur per tres versus et non amplius sed statim incipitur in organis *Te deum laudamus*."



mention of Host in either and in the *Depositio* is the rubric: "Deinde dum uadunt cum cruce ad locum Sepulcri . . ."), Young, p. 38; ST. BLASIEN, XIV, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 5; HALLE, 1532, (*Dep.* after Vespers), see Appendix; BAMBERG, XVI, (*Dep.* after Mass; Host is put in sepulchre, cross is left just outside), see Appendix; CONSTANCE, XVI (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 31, combined *Elevatio-Visitatio*, Lange, p. 47; SALZBURG, 1686, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 36; FREISING, 1673, (*Dep.* after Vespers). With Salzburg and Freising belong a number of rituals from the middle of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, listed by the Congregation of Sacred Rites (*Decreta*, IV, p. 433).

HUNGARY. ERLAU, *Elevatio* (after Matins) in Dankó, *Hymnarium Hungariae*, p. 581; GRAN, 1580, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 32; MS of Budapest (Nat. Mus. fol. lat. no. 2669), XIV, (no *Dep.* given), Dankó, *Feier des Osterfestes*, p. 44.

ITALY. PARMA, XV, (1417) (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 43; *Liber Sacerdotalis*, printed at Venice, 1523 (*Dep.* is to be either after Mass, or later, "post prandium"), Young, p. 56; ST. MARKS, 1736, (*Dep.* "post prandium," just before Compline), Young, p. 67.

#### BURIAL OF CROSS AND HOST.

BRITISH ISLES. EXETER, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 99; DUBLIN, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 103, n. 44; SARUM, texts from XIII to XVI, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 103, n. 44; HEREFORD, later use of XV-XVI, (no *Dep.* in the Breviary of 1505 in Young; according to Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in XIII, XIV and XIX Cent.* (App. XXXII and XXXIII) *Dep.* of cross and Host was after *Adoratio*, before Mass), Young, p. 111; ARBUTHNOT, this Scotch Missal has *Depositio*, but no *Elevatio*, Reprint of 1864, p. 149; DURHAM, XVI, (*Dep.* after *Adoratio*), description, but no text preserved, Young, p. 77, n. 23.

FRANCE. ST. ADELPH, XII, (*Dep.* after Mass, MS has no *Elevatio*), Young, p. 92; BAYEUX, XIII, (*Dep.* after Vespers), Young, p. 101; CAEN, XIII (MS has no *Depositio*), Young, p. 103, n. 44; POITIERS (*Depositio* speaks of *corpus dominicum cum cruce aurea*, *Elevatio* mentions the *corpus dominicum* only), Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII and XXV.

HOLLAND. HARLEM, XIII, (no *Dep.* given), Young, p. 95.

GERMANY. AUGSBURG, XI-XII, (MS has no *Dep.*), Young, p. 95; EICHSTÄTT, an *Elevatio* of XIV, a *Depositio* (after Mass) of 1517, and an *Elevatio* of 1539. Both texts of *Elevatio* mention Host only and it is not certain that they represent uses in which both symbols were buried, Young, p. 104; ESSEN, XIV, (*Dep.* after Vespers; Host put in sepulchre-chest, cross laid upon it), see Appendix; AUGSBURG, 1487, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 113, n. 78; BASEL, 1480, *Depositio* given by Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Allemanica*, Pars, II, III, p. 857-8;<sup>16</sup> BLAUBEUREN, XV, cod. ascet. 77 (4<sup>o</sup>), of Stuttgart Landesbibliothek, an unpublished *Rituale* of Blaubeuren, has a *Depositio* of which the following is an incomplete text: (f. 43<sup>r</sup>) " . . . fit processio ad tumulum cum sacramento et crucifixo. Et canitur R. *Recessit pastor* . . . Deinde revertitur cum R. *Sepulto domino*, . . . cum aromatibus et aspersione honorifice sub dextro crucifixi humero sub custodia . . . recondatur"; BÜCKEBURG, an unpublished *Ordo officii divini in monasterio Bocensi* (cod. ascet. 63 (4<sup>o</sup>), Stuttg. Landesbibl.) has *Depositio* (f. 158<sup>v</sup>) and *Elevatio* (f. 165<sup>v</sup>), in which both *corpus dominicum* and *crucifixus* are buried; FRITZLAR MS, XV, (*Dep.* at Compline), see Appendix; KLOSTERNEUBURG, XV, (*Dep.* not printed), Young, p. 95; PRÜFENING, XV, (cross deposited after *Adoratio*, Host after Mass), see Appendix; REGENSBURG (St. Emmeran), XV, (After Vespers; Cross and Host

<sup>16</sup> Ex missali Basileensi, an. 1480 imp.: "(Communio) Deinde procedat ad sepulchrum cum calice, corpore Domini sine sanguine intus posito, et crucem, quam prius duo sacerdotes gestabant, unus sacerdos deferat, et haec in sepulchro honorifice recondatur choro submissa voce cantante Resp. *Ecce quomodo* . . . (complete) . . . Hic calix cum corpore dominico lapide advolta ponatur in sepulchrum et iterum chorus cantabit Resp. *Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentum* etc."

placed in sepulchre, Host then secretly removed), Young, p. 109; MEISSEN, a *Depositio* of 1512 mentions cross only, a *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of 1520 mention cross and Host, Young, p. 107; RHEINAU, a *Processionale* of 1573 has a combined *Elevatio-Visitatio*, Lange, *Latein. Osterfeiern*, p. 68; ST. GALL, a *Responsoriale* of 1582 and a *Directorium* of 1583 have a combined *Elevatio-Visitatio* (the rubrics of the *Directorium*, much mutilated in Lange, show the use of both crucifix and Host: "Statim Diacono exeunte sepulchrum cum crucifixo discooperto, incipit ludimagister scilicet cum toto populo: *Christus surrexit* . . . Expletis thurificatione, aspersione, et assumpto Sacramento, processio redit ad chorum."), Lange, pp. 69 f.; BAMBERG, 1587, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 114.

HUNGARY. GRAN or ZIPS (*ordinarium Scepusiensis sive Strigoniensis*), XV, (*Dep.* after Vespers; *Elevatio* after Matins), Young, p. 122; PRESSBURG, *Depositio* in Dankó, *Hymnarium Hungariae*, p. 579.<sup>17</sup>

ITALY. AQUILEIA, 1575, (*Dep.* after Mass), Young, p. 93.

#### DOUBTFUL OR IRREGULAR CASES.

ENGLAND. YORK, The *Depositio*, attached directly to the *Adoratio*, mentions no Host, but in the *Elevatio* is the rubric "proferatur Sacramentum cum Imagine cum corona spinea." Young, p. 98; BARKING, XV, the *Depositio*, attached directly to the *Adoratio*, mentions "*Ymago Crucifixi*" but no Host and has a rubric indicating that the *Ymago* is to be raised from the sepulchre on Easter after Matins; the *Elevatio* (after Matins) mentions the Host, but not the *Ymago*, Young, p. 119.

GERMANY. DIESSEN, XV, *Depositio* (at Vespers) mentions the '*Imago*' only but the *Elevatio* mentions the removal of the Host before the raising of the *Imago*, Young, p. 124; MAINZ, XV, the *Depositio* (after Vespers) mentions the *Corpus Domini* only, the *Elevatio* the *Crux Domini* only (*Corpus Domini* would seem not to have its usual meaning here but to be equivalent to *Crux Domini*), Young, p. 113, n. 78; REGENSBURG, 1491, the *Depositio* speaks of placing the crucifix only in the sepulchre (it seems to me that the "*honestus locus*" is not the sepulchre, and that the rubric mentioning it does not belong to the *Depositio*); the *Elevatio* speaks at the beginning of raising *Sacramentum seu Crucifixum*, but the subsequent rubrics mention the *Crux* only, Young, p. 125; WÜRZBURG, 1564, in *Depositio*, cross only; in *Elevatio* cross and Host, Young, p. 113, n. 78, Milchsack, p. 134; the EICHSTÄTT texts, although listed above under "Cross and Host," are doubtful; the *Depositio* of 1517 mentions Host and Cross, the *Elevatio* of XIV and the practically identical one of 1539 mention Host only (it is not evident why Young supplies for one the heading *Elevatio Hostiae* and for the other *Elevatio Crucis et Hostiae*); of the two MEISSEN texts mentioned above under "Cross and Host," the one of 1512 (*Depositio* only) is given by Young the heading *Depositio Crucis et Hostiae*, but contains mention of the cross only; the text of the *Agenda Numburgense*, which Young alludes to as a similar text, mentions also the cross only; the slightly later Meissen use of 1520 mentions both symbols in both *Depositio* and *Elevatio*; for doubt as to the earliest STRASSBURG text, see above under "Host only."

<sup>17</sup> "Deinde hostiis ecclesie diligenter seratis, omnibusque laicis exclusis, diaconi et subdiaconi et acoliti cum candelis et incenso pergant illuc ubi post salutationem crucem reposuerunt, et inde leuantes eam portant ad locum ubi sepulchrum parare uoluerint, ibique super scamna ponatur et thurificetur et diligenter linteamine et desuper pallio cooperiatur; sed interim dum crucem leuant et de loco ad locum portant, decantent silenter ista Responsoria: *Jerusalem luge, Ecce uidimus, Plange quasi, Recessit pastor, Ecce quomodo.* Nouissime corpus domini in unam ualde mundam pixidem mittant, sigilloque uel clauis ecclesie sigillent atque subter linteamen et pallium ad pectus sancte crucis collocetur, et dicant R. *Sepulto domino. A. In pace. A. Caro mea.* Hiis ita peractis et custodibus ordinatis qui hoc sacratissimum corpus custodiant cum psalmis et ceteris oracionibus ipse clerus antequam redeat dicat A. *Adoramus, v. Omnis terra, oracionem Respice quesumus.*

An examination of this classified summary shows a number of facts or probabilities of some interest. It shows for England no case of the burial of the Host only. The earlier practice there was the burial of the cross only, and this was generally replaced later by the burial of cross and Host, probably through the influence of the important and widespread use of Sarum. The summary reveals how few the texts from Italy are, where the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, as well as the *Visitatio*, seem to have been rare. The burial of the Host only is the usage in all the Italian texts, except Aquileia, which was probably under South German influence.<sup>18</sup> For France this summary shows all three usages, the burial of the cross only being slightly more frequent than the other two. For Germany, where by far the largest number of texts has been found, all three usages are shown, the burial of the cross only being found most frequently. The opinion has been expressed that the burial of the Host, either alone or with the cross, was not known in North Germany,<sup>19</sup> and indeed the three northernmost places in the classified summary, Lübeck, Havelberg, and Magdeburg, show the burial of the cross only.<sup>20</sup> Slightly farther south, however, at Halle, Fritzlar and Essen, the Host is used. The summary shows under "burial of cross only" an especially large number of texts from Southern Bavaria or adjacent parts of Austria. Most of these are practically identical in responsories and rubrics and form a well-defined South Bavarian type, in which the *Imago Crucifixi* is buried just after communion and a stone is placed on the sepulchre (*Deinde lapis supponatur*). On Easter before Matins the senior clergy arise secretly (*clam surgunt*) and raise the *Imago* from the sepulchre and in conclusion give each other the Kiss of Peace (*mutua caritate se invicem osculantes*).<sup>21</sup>

The meaning of this *Imago crucifixi*,<sup>22</sup> found thus frequently in South Bavaria and occasionally elsewhere, is discussed by Young,<sup>23</sup> who considers the term far from clear. He thinks it usually means merely the crucifix,

<sup>18</sup> There are various indications of South German influence in Northeast Italy. The two Cividale texts and the two Aquileia texts of the *Visitatio* which are given or described by Lange are of the second type (Lange's "Zweite Fassung") which is particularly characteristic of South Germany. One Cividale *Visitatio* has verse in the "Vagantenzeile," a German verse-form. The German *Ordinarium Benedictinum*, listed above as probably of Hirsau, found its way very early to Aquileia and may well have been used there.

<sup>19</sup> For this opinion see *Decreta authentica Congr. S. Rituum*, IV, 423, and an article on *Heilige Gräber in der Karwoche* in the *Mainzer Katholik* (1860), 576-7.

<sup>20</sup> It seems to have been true also of Paderborn and vicinity, as indicated by the following from an early Paderborn charter, quoted by Ducange, *Glossarium*, under "Sepultura Crucifixi": "Hae autem parochiae omnia jura parochialia habebunt, nisi quod . . . in Parasceve sepulturam Crucifixi non faciant."

<sup>21</sup> A good example of this type is Chiemsee, published by Young in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assc.* XXV, 343, 351.

<sup>22</sup> In a *Rheinau Processionale* of 1573 the term *Imago Salvatoris* is used (Lange, p. 68).

<sup>23</sup> P. 81, n. 38.

i.e. the cross with the *corpus* affixed, but adds that it may sometimes mean the *corpus* alone, detached from the cross, or even some sort of special representation of the Crucifixion—a painting or carving. There is evidence that a plastic representation of some sort, unattached to a cross, came to be used at times in various countries. A number of late medieval English church inventories make mention of an image of Christ, usually silvergilt, with a cavity in the breast, covered with glass or crystal, “for ye Sacrament for Easter day”; the image was not attached to a cross but bore a cross in its hand, doubtless the long slender cross which, usually with a banner attached, was characteristic of medieval Resurrection pictures.<sup>24</sup> In the description of the sixteenth century rites at Durham<sup>25</sup> we are told that such an image, with the Sacrament in its breast, was placed in the sepulchre on Good Friday, together with the crucifix of the Adoration ceremony, and doubtless the similar images of other churches were used in a similar way. The large recumbent figures of Christ which were usually a part of the permanent sepulchres of the continent had at times also such a breast cavity for the Host.<sup>26</sup> The present day Easter sepulchre of South Germany and Austria has usually a tomb with a figure of Christ, surmounted by a monstrance containing the Host. The burial of a graven image together with the Host seems to be the ceremony known to the South German anti-Catholic polemic poet Naogeorgus about the middle of the sixteenth century. The description of his *Regnum Papisticum* (1553), as translated quite closely by Barnabe Googe in 1579, is in part as follows:

An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade,  
With legges stretcht out at length and handes, upon his body  
spreade:

And him with pompe and sacred song, they beare unto his graue,  
His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and silkes and sarcenet braue,  
And least in graue he shoulde remaine, without some companie,  
The singing bread is layde with him, for more idolatrie.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> At. St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, was a silver-gilt image of our Saviour, “with his wounds bleeding,” with pix in the breast, diadem on the head and with a cross. (*Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, XIV, 165). For a similar description of one in the Lincoln Cathedral see Micklethwaite, *The Ornaments of the Rubric*, 3rd ed. p. 40, for one at St. Stephen Coleman Street, see p. 84 of this study.

<sup>25</sup> *Surtees Society*, CVII, 11–13. In the *Depositio* the image is called a “picture” and Young cites (p. 81, note 38) some other passages to justify an inference that “picture” refers merely to the ordinary crucifix, but in the *Elevatio* it is called “a marvelous beautiful Image of our Saviour, representing the resurrection, with a crosse in his hand,” thus resembling the image at Mancroft and at Lincoln. An image of Christ on a cross and with a cross in his hand would be improbable.

<sup>26</sup> See p. 88.

<sup>27</sup> Reprint of *The Popish Kingdom*, fol. 51<sup>v</sup>; Naogeorgus, *Regnum Papisticum*, Lib. IIII, p. 148 (edition of 1553).

There has been preserved an ancient Scandinavian sepulchre in which is a wooden image of Christ "with legges stretcht out at length and handes upon his body spreade."<sup>28</sup> There was a 'statua Christi' in the sepulchre at Freising, according to a ritual of 1673.<sup>29</sup> To return to the meaning of the term *Imago Crucifixi*, it is expressly stated in the new and interesting text of Prüfening<sup>30</sup> that it was the image detached from the cross ("ymaginem crucifixi coram populo de cruce deponunt"). This was also the case at Barking, England, as shown by this rubric of the *Depositio*: "deferant Crucem ad magnum altare, ibique in specie Ioseph et Nichodemi, de ligno deponentes Ymaginem vulnera Crucifixi uino abluant et aqua."<sup>31</sup> The plainly indicated meaning in these two cases, together with the evidence that the burial of such an unattached image was in use, seems to me to establish a strong probability that the *Imago Crucifixi* meant usually, if not always, an image of Christ not attached to a cross.<sup>32</sup>

The above mentioned Prüfening version throws some light also upon the term *Imago resurrectionis*, the meaning of which in the Meissen *Breviarius* of 1520 was puzzling to Young. At Prüfening the *custos* places the *Ymago dominice resurrectionis* in the sepulchre Easter morning just before the beginning of the *Elevatio*. This *Imago* was most probably an image of Christ bearing in his hand a Resurrection cross with a banner attached to it. At Freising, in a ritual of 1673, an *Imago Christi resurgentis cum vexillo* was to replace the Host after the *Elevatio*, if the sepulchre could not be removed at once.<sup>33</sup> At Hereford, in the course of the *Elevatio*, a banner was attached to the cross that had just been raised from the sepulchre.<sup>34</sup> At Prüfening, with Resurrection responsories and due honor, the *Imago resurrectionis* and the Host were raised from the sepulchre, while the *Imago crucifixi* was left in it, to be quietly removed by the *custos* after the ceremony and returned to its accustomed place. It is quite

<sup>28</sup> See Fig. 17.

<sup>29</sup> See p. 46.

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>31</sup> Young, p. 119.

<sup>32</sup> Such an image may be probably although not necessarily inferred from this rubric of an unpublished Augsburg *Elevatio* (Cod. lat. 4325 of Munich Staatsbibl.): "thurificatoque sacramento et imagine, reditur, portantibus quattuor imaginem et domino abbate sacramentum." In the *Depositio* of the Meissen *Breviarius* of 1520 (Young, p. 107) the *corpus* (here not the Host) borne upon a bier may have been such an image. For Klosterneuburg however Pfeiffer is surely wrong in interpreting the *corpus dominicum* as "eine plastische Darstellung des Heilandes in Holz" (*Jahrb. d. Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, I, 20). The *Elevatio* rubric "*corpus dominicum et crucem de sepulchro tollant*" means undoubtedly the usual Host and cross or crucifix.

<sup>33</sup> See p. 46 of this study. For another *Imago resurrectionis cum vexillo suo*, see Halle *Elevatio* in Appendix.

<sup>34</sup> Young, p. 112.

probable that the procedure at Meissen was similar to this, although the less detailed rubrics do not make it clear.

It is noteworthy that for the period up to the sixteenth century there are comparatively few known cases in which the Host alone was buried on Good Friday, not more than three or four of which we are quite certain.<sup>25</sup> Among the numerous versions of the *Depositio* in manuscripts of the fifteenth century, I have noted only one, that of Parma, which has the burial of the Host only. These facts seem to indicate that, although cross and Host were often buried, the Host alone was usually considered not to be a suitable symbol for the Entombment ceremony. The *Depositio* of a Zürich *Ordo* of 1260 speaks very plainly against its use:

Contra omnem rationem est, quod in quibusdam ecclesiis Eucharistia in huiusmodi archa sepulchrum repraesentante poni consuevit et claudi. Ibi enim Eucharistia, que est uerum et uiuum corpus Christi, ipsum Christi corpus mortuum repraesentat, quod est indecens penitus et absurdum.<sup>26</sup>

For the *Elevatio* the Host, the symbol of the living Christ, was more suitable. At Soissons, Laon, and St. Quentin the Host was put in the sepulchre on Easter morning without responsories and evidently not as a symbolic entombment but simply for use in the following *Elevatio*. At Moosburg and at Treves the Eucharist, not from the sepulchre but from the altar, was borne in the *Elevatio* procession but not in the *Depositio*.<sup>27</sup> Of the cases listed in the classified summary as "doubtful or irregular," five mention the Host, usually with the cross, in the *Elevatio* but only the cross in the *Depositio*,<sup>28</sup> while in no case is the reverse found.<sup>29</sup> This would seem to be more than an accident and to indicate at least that the Host in these cases was not featured in the *Depositio*. It may even be that at times the Host was not put in the sepulchre with the cross on Friday, but, like the *Imago resurrectionis* at Prüfening, placed there just before the *Elevatio*. This would not only fit in with any feeling of the inappropriateness of the use of the Host in the Entombment ceremony, but would also provide for keeping the Host in greater security.

There are various indications that the security of the Host during this period was a matter of especial concern. The locking and sealing of the sepulchre is not infrequently mentioned. At Essen the Host was securely

<sup>25</sup> Three certain ones are Augsburg (X), St. Blasien (XIV) and Parma (XV). St. Gall (XI) has no *Depositio*, Strassburg (XIII) mentions cross only, for Strassburg (XIV) Martene publishes no *Depositio*, nor does Dankó for the Budapest MS (XIV) or Coussemaker for Origny (XIII) at Soissons, Laon, and St. Quentin the Host was placed in the sepulchre on Easter morning, for use in the *Elevatio*.

<sup>26</sup> For the entire *Depositio* and *Elevatio* see Appendix.

<sup>27</sup> For both, see Appendix.

<sup>28</sup> These are York, Barking, Diessen, Regensburg, Würzburg.

<sup>29</sup> However at St. Emmeran, Regensburg, the Host, after the *Depositio*, is secretly returned to the tabernacle and does not reappear in the *Elevatio*, Young, p. 110.

locked in the sepulchre coffer, while the cross was laid upon it.<sup>40</sup> In the Augsburg ritual of 1487 there is a note that the Host is to be left these three days in the sepulchre only in case a strong guard is possible, otherwise it is to be borne back reverently "in suum solitum reseruatorium ubi bene clausum conseruetur,"<sup>41</sup> and in the use of St. Emmeran the Host was not left at the sepulchre, but was returned to the *sacrarium*, probably for greater safety. In the Bamberg *Depositio* of 1587 the sepulchre was to contain "unam archam, vel quid simile, quod claudi et obserari, atque in eo venerabile Sacramentum reponi, . . . possit," and another rubric indicates that the sepulchre lock was especially for the protection of the Host: "et sera diligenter muniat sepulchrum, ne Christi Corpus, per impios aut haereticos vel Iudaeos inde auferri, vel alia queuis contaminatio fieri queat."<sup>42</sup> In the Salzburg ritual of 1686 the Host is taken from the ostensory over the sepulchre in the evening and kept in safety during the night in the tabernacle, being placed again over the sepulchre in the morning.<sup>43</sup>

The classified summary shows the *Depositio* usually just after communion, or just after Vespers, but shows seven or eight cases where it comes just after the *Adoratio*. In these cases the cross only was buried, the reserved Sacrament not having been brought yet from the *repositor*.<sup>44</sup> The *Elevatio* was almost always before Matins on Easter morning. Matins being very early, the *Elevatio* took place usually about midnight.<sup>45</sup> The only other position of the *Elevatio* is just after Matins, before the *Te Deum*. This position, although rare, is found in various countries, in the eleventh-century St. Gall *Breviarium*, at Soissons and St. Quentin, at Lübeck, in the Hungarian uses of Erlau and Grau, and at Barking, England. Young conjectures, without wholly convincing reasons, that it may have been the original position of the *Elevatio*.<sup>46</sup> The fifteenth-century ordinal of the Nunnery of Barking mentions that the venerable Abbess Katherine of Sutton changed the ceremony there from before Matins to after Matins,

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>41</sup> Milchsack, p. 127.

<sup>42</sup> Young, p. 115. In a London church in 1554 the crucifix and pyx were missing from the sepulchre, when the priests came for the *Elevatio*, Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 24.

<sup>43</sup> Young, p. 36.

<sup>44</sup> The sixteenth-century rite of Durham was an exception, possibly also Barking.

<sup>45</sup> John of Avranches says "decima hora"; a St. Gall *Directorium*, Lange, p. 69, has "pulsantur matutine circa undecimam," and the Bamberg *Agende* of 1587 gives the same hour; a Bamberg *Directorium* (Appendix) has "hora duodecima"; Molanus, in his *De Historia SS. Imaginum et Picturarum*, Lib. IV, Cap. XVIII, has "post medium noctis"; in the *Catechism* of Frederic Nausea (Thiers, *Traité*, II, 686) it was "après minuit vers le point au jour"; at Durham, "between three and four of the clocke in the morninge"; at Laon, according to Bellotte, it was "hora vero quarta," Young, p. 53. The present day ceremony in Germany and Austria is at Vespers on Holy Saturday.

<sup>46</sup> Young, p. 31.

"quoniam populorum concursus temporibus illis videbatur deuocione frigessere."<sup>47</sup>

The ceremony of the *Elevatio* was at first very simple and done privately, with the exclusion of the laity, and this practice was continued in many places throughout the middle ages, even with a much enlarged ceremony. There was a synodal decree of Worms of the year 1316 that the ceremony should take place before the admission of the public owing to the fact that great crowds would otherwise throng the church, there being a belief that any one who saw the image raised would escape death that year, "opinantes erronee, quod si viderent crucifixi imaginem sustolli, evaderent hoc anno inevitabilem mortis horam."<sup>48</sup> A more probable reason, however, for the private nature of the ceremony, namely, to suggest the fact that Christ arose before the Maries, or disciples, or others came to the tomb, is found expressed in a Hungarian ordinal, "Sicut enim certum est Christum antequam Mulieres et Discipuli ad sepulchrum venirent resurrexisse, ita conuenit hanc ceremoniam peragi priusquam populus in templum conueniat."<sup>49</sup>

The *Elevatio* seems occasionally to have conflicted with the vigil of Easter eve, a very early custom mentioned by several of the church fathers.<sup>50</sup> As late as the fifteenth century an *Ordo* of Moosburg, Bavaria, shows the custom still observed and interfering with the desired exclusion of the laity from the *Elevatio*. The *Ordo* states: "et excludantur layci, si commodum fieri potest, nam nobiscum viri et mulieres in ecclesia sacras vigilias obseruant et veniente tempore matutinarum clerici eos sine scandalo repellere nequeunt propter antiquam consuetudinem" . . . .<sup>51</sup>

In the development of the *Elevatio* the most interesting enlargement, especially from the dramatic point of view, was the introduction into it of the theme of the Descent into Hell by means of the antiphon, *Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini portae externae, et introibit rex gloriae*, accompanied by three blows with the cross upon the door, and the query from within, *Quis est iste rex glorie* and the response *Dominus fortis et potens, dominus potens in prelio*. The liturgical ceremony developed thus into dramatic dialogue, at times even with a suggestion of real impersonation and mimesis, as in the Augsburg rubric, "Leuita iunior vel alius in figura diaboli grossa voce querat, *Quis est iste rex glorie?*"<sup>52</sup> All of

<sup>47</sup> Young, p. 120.

<sup>48</sup> Milchsack, p. 119; Young, p. 34.

<sup>49</sup> Young, p. 33, *Zt. f. d. Allertum*, XLI, 87.

<sup>50</sup> Feasey, *Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 240.

<sup>51</sup> For the complete *Elevatio* and *Depositio*, see Appendix.

<sup>52</sup> Milchsack, p. 128. A good study of this subject, with valuable texts, is Karl Young's "Harrowing of Hell," published in the *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, P. II, 889 f.



these dramatico-liturgical versions of the *Elevatio*, which have thus far come to light are comparatively late, much later than the first occurrence of the same scene in the non-liturgical religious drama of the vernacular. The interesting question thus presents itself as to whether we have here, as Wilhelm Meyer<sup>53</sup> thinks, a case of the Latin liturgico-dramatic office being based upon the vernacular drama, which would be a reversal of the usual process, or whether this dramatic office developed much earlier than the known versions and was the basis of the scene in the vernacular. Creizenach holds this latter view and cites quite convincing evidence, in the vision of Wilbirgis,<sup>54</sup> that the scene was presented in the churches as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. The earliest known version is that of Barking, England, from the period 1363-1376.<sup>55</sup> Aside from this version and the less dramatic ones of Hereford and Dublin, it has been found only in South Germany. It was introduced at Augsburg by Bishop Peter in 1453,<sup>56</sup> and may well have spread from here to the neighboring Würzburg and Bamberg, where it is found somewhat later. It was in use, earlier than at Augsburg but in less dramatic form, at St. Gall, Mainz, and Regensburg.<sup>57</sup>

Another way in which dramatic character was occasionally given to the *Elevatio* was to combine with it the dialogue of the *Visitatio*. This use of the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue, with its *Non est hic, surrexit*, before the buried symbol or symbols have been raised from the sepulchre, is distinctly illogical. It has been found only in two very limited regions, though at widely separated times, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the

<sup>53</sup> *Fragmenta Burana*, 64.

<sup>54</sup> *Das neuere Drama*, 2nd ed., I, 52.

<sup>55</sup> Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 924 f., also *Dram. Assc.* 120.

<sup>56</sup> In Placidus Braun's *Gesch. der Bischöfe von Augsburg*, 1814, III, 61, we read, among things done by Bishop Peter, "Schon im Jahre 1453 hatte er folgende fromme Stiftungen gemacht . . . (4) Verordnete er die feyerliche Prozeßion bey der Auferstehung Christi, schrieb alle zu beobachtenden Ceremonien und Riten vor, sorgte für die Präsenzgelde und ertheilte den dabey Gegenwärtigen einen Ablass. (5) Legte er bey dem Kapital 48 lb. nieder zu Stipendien für die Scholaren, welche zu Ehren des Leidens und Todes unseres Heilandes bey dem heiligen Grabe vom Charfreitage bis zum Osterfeste beständig das Psalterium beten sollten."

<sup>57</sup> Würzburg *Agenda* of 1564, Milchsack, p. 135; Bamberg *Agenda* of 1587, *Zi. f. d. Altertum*, XXIX, 249, Young, p. 116. For St. Gall and Regensburg, see Young, p. 90 and p. 126, for Mainz, Young, *Wisc. Acad.*, XVI, P. II, 914. In De Moleon's *Voyages Liturgiques* there is a sort of supplement entitled "Questions sur la Liturgie de l'Église d'Orient, proposées 1704 par le Sieur de Moleon à M. Philippe Guailan, prêtre Syrien, etc.," in which occurs (pp. 481-2): "Y-a-t-il quelque chose de singulier le jour de Pâques? R.-Oui, si le Patriarche y est, tous sont dehors l'Église, & le Patriarche frappe à la porte avec le bâton de la Croix; & le Diacre audedans de l'Église repond (comme en France le Dimanche des Rameaux) trois fois, *Quis est iste &c, l'Atolite portas: & tout le peuple entre en chantant Christos anesti.*"

neighboring places of Soissons, Laon, and St. Quentin, in the sixteenth century in the neighboring places of Constance, Rheinau, and St. Gall.<sup>58</sup>

In the later middle ages there was a remarkable development of the feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>59</sup> As this feast came to be observed with ever greater processional pomp, there was a growing fondness for elaborate Eucharistic processions on other occasions also. Such developed in various places, especially in large churches, in connection with the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The Sacrament borne was usually the Host that was buried, and hence it was borne *to* the sepulchre on Friday and *from* it on Easter Sunday. However, in the *Elevatio* of Moosburg and of Treves, where the cross only was buried, the Eucharist was taken from the altar and borne to the Sepulchre and then back again.<sup>60</sup> The laity was not excluded from these more elaborate ceremonies.

In keeping with this increasing glorification of the Eucharist was the occasional practice of exposing the Host a short time for adoration in the course of the *Elevatio*. A Strassburg *Ordinarius* has in its *Elevatio* the following:

Tunc sacerdos accipiat Corpus Christi de pyxide et levans in altum ostendat illud populo coram sepulchro, post ostensionem et adorationem populi, reponat in pyxidem et sic tollentes inde Corpus Domini, recedunt cum antiphona *Cum Rex glorie* . . . Cum autem pervenerint in chorum cum Corpore Domini, sacerdos stet in altari et ostendat clero et populo Corpus Christi, levando ipsum sicut solet levare in missa; deinde reponat in pyxidem Corpus Christi et portet ad altare S. Laurentii, et ibidem similiter ostendat.<sup>61</sup>

An Augsburg ritual of 1487 has, at the end of the *Elevatio*: "Postea dominus episcopus vel officiator monstret sacramentum in capsula, vel, si super hoc habeatur licentia, in monstrantia, se vertendo ad populum,"<sup>62</sup> indicat-

<sup>58</sup> For Soissons and Laon, see Young, p. 46 and p. 49, for St. Quentin, Thiers, *Traité*, II, 691 (the date of the St. Quentin version, not given by Thiers, is presumably about the same as that of Soissons and Laon), for Constance, Rheinau, and St. Gall, Lange, pp. 47, 68, and 69. Young's statement (p. 31, n. 10) that the Constance *Agenda* of 1570 has no *Elevatio* is not quite correct, since Lange's text is a combined *Elevatio-Visitatio*. This is shown a little more clearly by the introductory rubric of the *Benedictionale* of 1597: "Ad matutinum ante compulsionem fit processio ad tollendum venerabile sacramentum in sepulchro positum, cum luminibus, thuribulo, et aqua benedicta." (Copy of *Benedictionale* in the British Museum, p. 183).

<sup>59</sup> Established by Urban IV in 1264, its real development did not begin until Urban's bull was confirmed by Clement V in 1311.

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix for Moosburg and Treves. In the *Depositio* of the fifteenth century version of Prüfening (Appendix), the *Imago crucifixi* is placed in the sepulchre at the close of the *Adoratio* and quite without ceremony; the real *Depositio* comes after Mass and concerns itself with the burial of the Host.

<sup>61</sup> Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXV. If Martene is correct in assigning this *Ordinarius* to the year 1364, it is a comparatively early occurrence in this practice. A Strassburg *Agenda* of 1590 has "ostenso Sacramento in altari sicut fit in Missa," (Young, p. 42).

<sup>62</sup> Milchsack, p. 129.

ing the need of special permission for showing the Host in a monstrance, i.e. a receptacle especially used for its exposition. In the Bayeux Missal of 1642, as described by Thiers, the bishop or celebrant, after the *Elevatio*, holds the ciborium containing the Sacrament in his hands while giving the benediction; afterwards he takes the Host from the ciborium and exposes it for a short time to the faithful for veneration.<sup>63</sup>

In the treatise of Jean Baptiste Thiers, *Traité de l'Exposition du St. Sacrament de l'Autel*, which appeared in Paris in 1679 and to which several references have already been made, the distinct purpose of the two chapters dealing with Passiontide and Easter was to combat a tendency to expose the Sacrament during this period. The author puts as chapter headings the theses he wishes to prove: "Chapitre XX. Qu'on ne doit exposer la sainte Eucharistie en évidence le Jeudy, le Vendredy, ny le Samedy Saint . . . ." "Chapitre XXI, Que le saint Sacrement ne doit point estre exposé en évidence ny sur les Autels, ni dans les Processions le jour de Pasques, si ce n'est peut-estre pour un moment." From these last words it appears that he does not disapprove of the above-mentioned practice of a brief exposition at the end of the Resurrection ceremony but he condemns severely the exposition of the Host during the preceding days of grief and gloom. Thiers wrote chiefly of France and his condemnation of the usage furnishes indirect evidence of a tendency to expose the Host on these days in French churches. The same usage arose in the sixteenth century in Germany and took such firm root that it continues there to the present day. Its introduction has been brought into connection with the Reformation and explained as due to a desire to strengthen the faith in the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Its origin as given by the Congregation of Sacred Rites is as follows:

Usque ad saeculum decimum quintum SS. Sacramentum in Sepulchro inclusum fidelium adorationi expositum est. Cum autem tempore reformationis haeretici contra realem et essentialem praesentiam Christi in SS. Eucharistia absconditi vehementer praedicarent, eamque exprobrarent et omnino negarent, ac diem Parasceves pro sua confessione festum solemnissimum totius anni elevarent, factum est, ut, ad fideles in confessione verae fidei in Christum in SS. Sacramento vere, realiter et substantialiter praesentem conservandos et confirmandos et ad opponendam luthericae solemnitati die Parasceves aliam catholicam festivitatem, SS. Sacramentum in Sepulchro non amplius includeretur, sed super Sepulchrum sive in calice sive in ostensorio velato Feria VI in Parasceve adorationi palam exponeretur.<sup>64</sup>

This "Exposition rite" was introduced into Bavaria in 1577 but was not prescribed and seems not to have come into general use until the seventeenth century. The Congregation of Sacred Rites, in its discussion of the subject, gives a list of rituals from the middle of the seventeenth to

<sup>63</sup> Thiers, II, p. 692; practically the same ceremonies in the older Bayeux *Ordinarius*, used by Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXV, p. 172.

<sup>64</sup> *Decreta authentica*, IV, 433.

the nineteenth century that contain it, and publishes the text from one, a Salzburg ritual of 1686.<sup>65</sup> Another ritual of the list, and one which I have examined, is a Freising ritual of 1673. Under the heading "Sepulchrum Christi Domini Feria VI Majoris Hebdomedae et Vespertina per plateas processio," is a full description of the sepulchre, the preparation of the Host in the ostensory, or monstrance, the procession bearing it to the sepulchre, then "cum ad locum sepulchri ventum fuerit, remoto velo, Monstrantia cum sanctissima Hostia in destinatum locum, corporali mundo stratum, reverenter per manus assistantis Diaconi deponitur, ad publicum populi conspectum et adorationem." The *Ritual* contains the *Elevatio* but has no *Visitatio Sepulchri*. As soon as the Host has been borne away, the sepulchre is to be quietly removed, if not too heavy, "quod si ob molem suam hac nocte sancta sepulchrum transferri aut amoveri non possit, tum vel pannis obtegatur, vel eo loco, ubi sacra Hostia pro adoratione fuit exposita, Imago Christi resurgentis cum vexillo ponatur, amota tamen statua Christi in sepulchro, extinctis luminibus."<sup>66</sup>

The sepulchres, or "heilige Gräber," therefore, as they are at present set up at Passiontide in many Catholic churches of Germany and Austria, differ from those of the middle ages in having the Eucharist, in a pyx or a veiled monstrance, exposed for adoration throughout the period. The gloom of this period has been from the earliest times and still is symbolically expressed by stripping all the altars after mass on Maundy Thursday, removing altar cloths, antependia, candles, crucifix, reliquaries, in fact all adornment, and extinguishing all candles except before the reserved Sacrament and later about the sepulchre. There is an obvious incongruity between this symbolic expression of grief and the exposition of the Host, always a token of joy. This objectionable contrast is commented upon by most of the modern German writers on the subject,<sup>67</sup> who do not however recommend, as Thiers did, the abolishing of the exposition, but advise reducing the contrast to a minimum by using a chapel or side altar for the sepulchre, instead of the high altar. The Congregation of Sacred Rites, in answer to a question some years ago as to whether these German and Austrian sepulchres were to be condemned or tolerated, gave a lengthy historical review of the custom and decided that, in view of its antiquity and the difficulty of abolishing a long established custom to which the people cling, the sepulchres were to be tolerated in these dioceses.

## 2. *Visitatio Sepulchri*

The *Visitatio Sepulchri*, commemorating the visit of the Maries to the empty tomb, represented thus in the liturgy the moment about which in a

<sup>65</sup> *Decreta authentica*, IV, 429, reprinted in Young, pp. 35 f.

<sup>66</sup> *Rituale Frisingense* (Munich, 1673), 582.

<sup>67</sup> Besides those in works of reference, I have noted the following articles: *Die heiligen Gräber in der Charwoche* by an unnamed author in the *Mainzer Katholik* (1860), 568 f.; *Die*

previous chapter our study of the sepulchre in Christian art was centered. In the church ritual it followed naturally but by no means inevitably the ceremonies of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. When all three occurred the *Visitatio* was connected with the earlier two, not only by taking place at the same sepulchre, but also by using as evidence of the Resurrection the linen cloths with which the cross or Host had been wrapt, these being left in the sepulchre after the *Elevatio*.<sup>68</sup>

Owing to the fact that the *Visitatio* is usually dramatic in form<sup>69</sup> and that its beginnings mark the very birth of liturgic drama, it has been more carefully studied than the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* and need not be treated here at length. Its origin in the well-known *Quem quaeritis* trope of the Introit of Easter Mass, in the late ninth or the tenth century, its early change to its usual position after Matins, before the *Te Deum*, its textual growth and dramatic development, are known in large outline to all interested in the liturgic drama.

Young discusses the inter-relations of the offices at the sepulchre, and presents convincing reasons for believing that the *Visitatio* developed somewhat later than the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, reasons based upon differences in liturgical content and tone and in degree of dramatic development.<sup>70</sup> Although all three ceremonies were extra-liturgical, yet the *Visitatio* seems in various ways to have been considered less a part of the regular liturgy than the other two. Quite frequently, and even as early as John of Avranches of the eleventh-century, its occurrence after Matins is mentioned, without the text being given. At Besançon there is mention of an "interval" in which it took place.<sup>71</sup> The words of Durandus in

*heiligen Gräber in der Karwoche* by an unnamed author in *Kirchenschmuck* (1862), Heft 5; *Heilige Grabkapellen oder Nachbildungen des Grabes des Erlösers, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Tyrol*, by Th. H. in *Kunstfreund* (1899) 81 f.; *Das heilige Grab in der Karwoche* by Karl Atz in *Kunstfreund* (1906), 40-41.

<sup>68</sup> Probably this was usually done, although it is only occasionally specifically mentioned; for two instances, see pp. 69-70.

<sup>69</sup> Not infrequently however it seems to have consisted merely of a procession to the sepulchre with the singing of one or more antiphons. One example is in the Regensburg *Obsequiale* of 1492 (Young, p. 126), and to this I could add several others from my notes.

<sup>70</sup> Young, pp. 128-9.

<sup>71</sup> Bibl. de la Ville de Besançon, MS 103. *Ordinarium Bisuntinum* fol. 56<sup>r</sup>: "Responsorium *Dum transisset*. Antequam dicatur *Te deum*, fit quoddam intervallum in aliquibus ecclesiis et fiunt tres Marie que cantant *Quis revolvit*, Postea dicitur *Te deum laudamus*." Another unpublished instance of its mention without text is the following from an *Ordinarium* of the Church of the Holy Virgin, Maastricht (MS 71 A 13, Royal Library at the Hague), fol. 43<sup>v</sup>: "(*Dum transisset*) Quibus finitis persone constitute et ordinate per cantorem facient visitationem sepulchri sicut consuetum est in ecclesia. Et post visitationem peregrini recipient sudarium a Maria Magdalena et ante chorum stantes et in altum leuantes ostendent eum populo in signum resurrectionis Christi, Tunc cantor incipiet *Antiphona* uoce vel in organo *Te deum laudamus*."

speaking of the *Visitatio*, "Si qui autem habent versus de hac representatione compositos, licet non authenticos non improbamus,"<sup>73</sup> indicate a distinction between authentic and non-authentic elements, doubtless between simple prose texts predominantly liturgical in character, and more elaborate texts with freely composed verses. And in several manuscripts there are directions or provisions for either simple or elaborate texts.<sup>74</sup> Occasionally others than the clergy took part in the *Visitatio*. This is specifically provided for in the following Augsburg rubric: "Permittitur tamen aliis, qui forsan huiusmodi personas non habent, ut cum aliis personis et etiam moribus honestis et discretis, huiusmodi visitationem sepulchri exequantur."<sup>75</sup> According to a Cologne *Diurnale* of 1508 the Maries might be represented by women.<sup>76</sup>

Mention has been made of the illogical use, in a few places, of the *Visitatio* dialogue in the *Elevatio*. In a few other places the *Visitatio* comes immediately after the *Elevatio* without being thus combined with it. Both come before Matins in the *Liber Sacerdotalis* of Castellani,<sup>78</sup> as they do apparently also in the *Ordinarium* of Parma,<sup>77</sup> although here the

<sup>73</sup> *Rationale*, Ed. of 1486, fol. CCI<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> A Nürnberg *Antiphonarium* gives a full version and then adds a simple one, "alius ordo minor" (*Zt. f. d. Alt.* 28, pp. 123 f.). A Herzogenberg MS directs the simple form of the *antiphonarium* to be used, "cum non habetur ludus," the *ludus* being probably very elaborate like that of the neighboring Klosterneuburg. Directions for simplifying the *Elevatio* are found in connection with the elaborate version of the Bamberg *Agenda* of 1587: "Et haec quoque Dominicae Resurrectionis commemoratio celebrioribus servit Ecclesiis. Unde aliarum Ecclesiarum, utpote minorum et ruralium Rectores et Parochi, ex ordine hic descripto, aliquid saltem desumere possunt, quod pro loci et personarum illic convenientium qualitate commodum fore iudicaverint," *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, 29, p. 247.

<sup>75</sup> Milchsack, p. 129. The prank of Till Eulenspiegel may be mentioned in which he and the priest's housekeeper and some peasants took part in a *Visitatio*, see p. 65.

<sup>76</sup> Dankó, *Feier des Osterfestes*, p. 45: "Cantato in matutino responsorio *Dum transisset*, tunc post *Gloria patri* et ejus repetitionem, sequitur visitatio sepulchri hac die tantum et hoc modo. Mulieres vel loco mulierum Pastor cum suo capellano sive vicario una cum campanario et aliis procedentes ad sepulchrum et submissa voce cantant responsorium *Dum transisset* usque ad versum. Deinde ante sepulchrum cantant eadem mulieres sive alii loco mulierum *Quis revolvat*. Angeli in sepulchro respondent *Quem quaeritis*. Respondent mulieres *Jesus Nazarenum*. Angeli *Non est hic*. Idem angeli debent hic aperire sepulchrum cantando *Venite et videte*. Tunc angeli ostendentes sudarium cantant *Surrexit*. Respondit chorus *Qui pro nobis*. Sequitur immediate solemniter *Te Deum laudamus*."

<sup>77</sup> Young, pp. 61 f. In this book (first edition, Venice, 1523) the anthem *Attollite portas* of the Descent into Hell is used in the beginning of the *Visitatio*. This anthem had long been used in the ritual for the dedication of a church, and was used in certain places in the procession of Palm Sunday, in commemoration of the entry into Jerusalem (Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 4). Its occurrence here in the *Visitatio* does not seem to me to be an amalgamation of the *Descensus ad inferos* with the *Visitatio*, but simply the use of this anthem with the accompanying striking of the church door, already found effective for various processional purposes, to increase here the effectiveness of the processional introduction of the *Visitatio*.

<sup>78</sup> Young, p. 44.

*Elevatio* is barely mentioned. This exceptional position of the *Visitatio* before Matins was known to Durandus, who however designates the position between Matins and the following *Te Deum* as "proprior locus"—"eo quod *Te deum laudamus* exprimit horam qua dominus resurrexit."<sup>78</sup> At Barking, England, both *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* came after Matins.

The ceremony of the *Visitatio* seems to have passed out of use largely in the latter half of the sixteenth century, although there are a few cases of its survival throughout the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. It was practically completely a ceremony of the past to the great liturgical writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. De Moleon says "On a sagement aboli ces sortes de representations, qui ne seroient pas du goût de notre siècle,"<sup>79</sup> although he knows of its exceptional occurrence in his day at Angers. Martene seems to know of its continued use only at Narbonne.<sup>80</sup> Grancolas says, "Verum curiositate et risu populi factum est, ut hujusmodi spectaculum ac caeremonia supprimeretur."<sup>81</sup> Eighteenth century texts have been preserved for Cologne, Angers, and St. Marks at Venice. A new late instance of its occurrence, without preservation however of the text, is the rubric "Tertio Responsorio percantato visitatur Sepulchrum ut moris est" in an *Ordinarius* of the church of St. Pharaïlde, Gand, of the year 1741.<sup>82</sup>

### 3. *The Place of Repose*

The Place of Repose, or *repositoir* in which the Sacrament is reserved from Thursday to Friday of Holy Week, has often been given the designation of sepulchre, although evidently quite different from the "true" sepulchre about which the ceremonies that we have been discussing took place.

The present day rubrics of the Roman church provide that for the reservation a suitable place, a *locus aptus*,<sup>83</sup> be prepared in some chapel or at some secondary altar and adorned with lights and cloths. This place is entirely distinct and remote from the tabernacle in which the Host for the sick is regularly kept. After Mass on Thursday the Host to be reserved is placed in a chalice covered with a pall and a paten, and borne in procession to the *locus aptus*, where it is deposited in a capsula and kept under lock and key, amid lighted candles, and, if possible, constantly

<sup>78</sup> *Rationale*, Ed. of 1486, fol. CCI.

<sup>79</sup> *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 305.

<sup>80</sup> Lib. IV, Cap. XXV, p. 173.

<sup>81</sup> *Commentarius Historicus in Breviarium Romanum*, Lib. II, Cap. LXXI.

<sup>82</sup> MS 18127 of Royal Liberty at Brussels, p. 51.

<sup>83</sup> "Hodie paretur locus aptus in aliqua capella vel altari ecclesiae et decenter quoad fieri potest ornetur cum velis et luminibus, ubi calix cum Hostia, ut supra reservata, reponatur."

watched. On Friday it is brought in procession back to the high altar, for the Mass of the Presanctified.<sup>84</sup>

Gavantus states that before Pius V (who died in 1571) there was in the missals no mention of the procession in connection with the reservation on Thursday,<sup>85</sup> thus implying that Pius inaugurated it. The facts, however, seem to be that Pius originated the details of the present ritual but that a procession in connection with the ceremony, at least in some places, is much older. It is found as early as the eleventh century in John of Avranches.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless it is true that up to the sixteenth century there is no evidence of special pomp in connection with the reservation of the Host. In the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century, however, there was a change upon which Martene comments as follows: "Obiter hic observabis quam simplices fuerint veterum ritus in recondenda sacra Eucharistia. Nostris vero temporibus pia fidelium devotio ad resarciendas aliquo modo illatas a nefandissimis haereticis sanctissimo Sacramento injurias, cum summa rituum pompa ad praeparatum quam ornate fieri potest oratorium illud deducit: ita variant pro diversis rationibus ecclesiastici ritus."<sup>87</sup>

Thus the processional pomp of the reservation developed in the period in which the ceremonies at the "true" sepulchre were passing out of use. There is undoubtedly a relation between these two facts. Maundy Thursday, sometimes called the Birthday of the Eucharist, was a most fitting time for a great Eucharistic procession. Its development, accompanied as it naturally was with a similarly elaborate procession on Friday to bring the reserved Sacrament back to the altar, may well have made the older sepulchre ceremonies seem unnecessary and undesirable.

There is no evidence and no reason to think that the term "sepulchre" was ever given to the *repositor* of Thursday's reservation in any place where the "true" sepulchre was set up on Friday. With the disappearance, however, of the true sepulchre, or in places where it had never been in use, there developed a tendency, which still prevails, of assigning to the Place of Repose the name and symbolic significance of the sepulchre. The earliest instance of this that I have found is in the Mozarabic missal of Toledo, as revised by Ximenes at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Here the Place of Repose is called "sepulchrum" and "monumentum," it is locked and sealed, and the Entombment responsory *Sepulto Domino*

<sup>84</sup> Just as formerly in places where the practice of burying the Host in the *Deposito* existed, so at present in Germany and Austria where the exposition rite prevails, three Hosts are consecrated on Thursday, two being reserved in the *repositor* and brought to the high altar on Friday, the one still unconsumed after Mass being then used for the sepulchre rite.

<sup>85</sup> *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Vol. I, Pars, IV, Tit. VIII, (page 419 of Augsburg edition of 1763).

<sup>86</sup> For some further data about early uses see Young, pp. 11-13.

<sup>87</sup> Lib. IV, Cap. XXII, p. 98. It will be observed that he gives the same "anti-heretical" explanation that is given for the exposition rite of the "true" sepulchre. See page 45.



is sung.<sup>88</sup> In many places, especially in Spain, images of Mary and John, of Mary Magdalene, of the soldier guards, etc., came to be placed about the *repositor* in definite imitation of Christ's tomb. In some dioceses, particularly in Belgium, the popularization of the rite went so far as to make of it a "rite of exposition," similar to the development of the sepulchre ceremony in Germany.<sup>89</sup>

In 1896 the Congregation of Sacred Rites, in answer to a question as to whether the *repositor* represented the sepulture of Christ or the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, answered "Both one and the other." A little later, in a fuller discussion, the Congregation admitted that from one point of view the designation of Sepulchre was very inappropriate, as on Thursday Christ is not yet dead, that is, his death has not yet been expressed and commemorated by the Good Friday liturgy; in a broader sense, however, they justified the designation, citing earlier mystical interpretations by which the chalice was the *novum sepulchrum*, the Sacrament being the body within it, the pall the stone at its door, and the paten its seal.<sup>90</sup> On the whole, however, the decrees of the Congregation aim to discourage making of the Place of Repose a Sepulchre. In 1662 a decree was issued against using black in its adornment, in 1844 one against singing the Entombment responsory *Sepulto domino*, and against closing the *repositor* with a seal, in 1868 one against the use of Entombment statues and images about the *repositor* (modified in 1896 to admit them where the custom is firmly rooted, which is especially true of Spain).

There is found among modern writers on the subject a rather surprising number of inaccuracies due to a confusion of the true and false sepulchres. Of these the following are a few in well-known and generally reliable works. Dr. Rock states incorrectly that "from the early part of Maundy Thursday till Easter morning, the Blessed Eucharist was kept in what was called 'the sepulchre.'"<sup>91</sup> Guéranger gives as the usual ceremony, found "in most of the churches in the West during the middle ages," the illogical combination of *Elevatio* and *Visitatio*, as found at Soissons, which, as we have seen, was very exceptional, and he speaks of the Sacrament having been kept in the *Chapel of the Sepulchre* from Maundy Thursday until after Matins on Easter Sunday.<sup>92</sup> Thalhofer also speaks of the Host reposing in the sepulchre from Maundy Thursday to the time of the *Elevatio*. He is further inaccurate in referring the decree of the Congregation of

<sup>88</sup> Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXII.

<sup>89</sup> *Decreta authentica* IV, 427; Wetzler and Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, 1st Ed. (under 'Grab, das heilige'); Thiers, *Trasé*, II, 680.

<sup>90</sup> *Decreta authentica* IV, 419 f.

<sup>91</sup> *The Church of Our Fathers*, III, 77 (new ed. 1905).

<sup>92</sup> *The Liturgical Year, Paschal Time*, I, 138 (Engl. transl., 3rd ed.)

Sacred Rites against the use of black to the true sepulchre instead of the Place of Repose.<sup>85</sup> Feasey confuses the two repositories when he says in discussing the true Easter sepulchre: "It would appear that minor altars themselves were occasionally hollowed out as Easter Sepulchres (v. Wilkins, *Concilia*, i 497), and Martene tells us that the Host was to be deposited on Good Friday *in una parte altaris* and the Roman rubric directs: *Hodie paretur locus aptus in aliqua capella ecclesiae, vel altari*."<sup>86</sup> As we know, the *locus aptus* of the Roman rubric was not the true sepulchre, but the Altar of Repose, the *Hodie* being Thursday. In another place (p. 176) Feasey says: "Then by way of simplification (?) they began to combine this (i.e. the Place of Repose) with the Sepulchre, as did the *Benedictines* of *St. Maur*"; if this means the combining of the two repositories, it is inaccurate, for the *Ceremoniale* of *St. Maur*, as cited by Thiers, shows that they had only one repository and reserved only one Host, namely for the Mass on Friday, reserving this in a chalice in a small coffer made in the form of a sepulchre.<sup>87</sup> There is no evidence that the two repositories were ever combined. There is a slight confusion by Chambers, who in discussing the true sepulchre states that the Cistercians and the Carthusians are said never to have adopted it, considering it incompatible with the austerity of their rule.<sup>88</sup> What they never adopted was a special *repositor* or "sepulchrum" for the reservation on Thursday, using instead the regular tabernacle or ciborium.<sup>89</sup> I have noted no such confusion among the earlier liturgical writers. Gavantus, for example, is well aware of the distinction and says of the Altar of Repose, "Quamquam improprie Sepulchrum Domini hoc appellatur" and again "abusively a vulgo sepulchrum Christi appellatur."<sup>90</sup> Nor was there apparently any real confusion in the minds of the people. There was simply, in many places where there was no "true" Easter sepulchre, a strong tendency to give to the Altar of Repose and its rites the character of a sepulchre with rites suggesting the Entombment.

<sup>85</sup> In Wetzer and Welte *Kirchenlexikon* (2nd ed. under "Grab, das heilige"). The *Elevatio* in the present day rite of Germany and Austria is at Vespers on Holy Saturday. The corresponding article in the first edition of the *Kirchenlexikon*, by Fr. X. Schmid, is free from inaccuracies.

<sup>86</sup> *Holy Week Ceremonial*, 131. Incidentally Martene's "*in una parte altaris*" is apparently from the *Concordia Regularis*, where the Host was not to be deposited on Good Friday but only the cross.

<sup>87</sup> Thiers, *Traité*, II, 674.

<sup>88</sup> *Medieval Stage*, II, 19.

<sup>89</sup> See Thiers, *Traité*, II, 670 and 672. Feasey is similarly inaccurate in saying (p. 177) that the Carthusian *Ordinarium* expressly forbids both *Repositor* and Sepulchre.

<sup>90</sup> *Thesaurus S. Rit.*, Pars. IV, Tit. VIII.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE LOCATION OF THE SEPULCHRE IN THE CHURCH

A short study of the location of the sepulchre has been published by Anton Glock.<sup>1</sup> Although appearing in *Analecta Germanica*, a volume in honor of such a careful scholar as Hermann Paul, this study is extremely inadequate. It is based upon only a very small part of the available evidence,<sup>2</sup> and reaches the quite false conclusion that the choir, or chancel, was never the scene of the *Visitatio* when there was a specially prepared sepulchre—"dass Chor und Hochaltar nicht mehr den Aufführungsort, bildeten, sobald man sich der Szenerie eines Grabes bediente." An examination into the facts will not only demonstrate the incorrectness of this conclusion, but will reveal rather interesting differences in the position of the sepulchre in the three countries chiefly concerned, England, France, and Germany.

For England the question of the position of the sepulchre is quite simple and in direct conflict with Glock's conclusion, for the English sepulchre, often an elaborate structure, seems to have been always in the north side of the chancel. This is the position of the permanent stone "Easter Sepulchres" still found in many churches and also of the temporary sepulchres, whenever the preserved records indicate their position at all.<sup>3</sup> This uniformity of position does not extend to the continent, although English writers upon the subject seem often to assume that it does.

In France the action of the *Visitatio* is usually in the choir, or chancel, either at a specially prepared sepulchre or about the altar serving as a sepulchre. Examples of the former, the sepulchre set up in the choir, are the following:

*Fécamp, 14th century.* Postquam omnes adorauerint . . . procedat Abbas et reuestiti ad Crucifixum, atque portant illum in Sepulchrum retro altare ad hoc honorifice preparatum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Zur Mysterienbühne.* Published in *Analecta Germanica*. Hermann Paul sum 7. August, 1906, dargebracht.

<sup>2</sup> Lange's fundamental collection of 223 texts of the *Visitatio*, which appeared in 1887, is not used, Glock basing his study upon the 28 texts of Milchsack's work and a few secondary sources, in all about 40 texts only.

<sup>3</sup> Feasey (*Ecclesiastical Review*, 1905, 346), mentions a permanent sepulchre in the form of a walled recess at Brokenhurst, Hants, which is in the south chancel wall. It seems to me doubtful, however, whether this was used as an Easter sepulchre. There were similar recesses for other purposes, such as the piscina, the normal position of which was in a wall to the south of an altar.

<sup>4</sup> From the *Depositio*, Young's *Harrowing of Hell*, 902.

*Mont St. Michel, 14th century.* Mulieres ... venientes per inferiorem partem chori versus altare cantent *Quis revolvit* ... duo fratres in sepulchrum, qui erunt duo angeli, dicant ... intrent mulieres in sepulchrum ... exeant et eant circa altare ...<sup>6</sup>

*Bayeux.* Hodie paretur sepulchrum versus cornu altaris sinistrum.<sup>6</sup>

*Orleans, 13th century.* Cum autem (Marie) venerint in chorum, eant ad monumentum quasi quaerentes et cantantes omnes ... Quibus respondeat angelus sedens foris ad caput sepulchri ...<sup>7</sup>

Other examples are Beauvais, Rouen, and Sainte Chapelle (Paris).<sup>8</sup>

In a rather surprising number of cases, even late cases, in France the high altar still continues to represent the sepulchre. The following rubrical excerpts will illustrate this.

*Le Mans.* Finito vero tercio responsorio veniant illi tres clerici ante magnum altare, quibus semel altare circumeantibus, duo predicti pueri qui juxta sederint dicant submissa voce: *Quem queritis* ...<sup>9</sup>

*Angers, 18th century.* Le Samedi-saint vers le soir l'enclos du grand Autel est couvert pardessus et pardevant d'un grand drap blanc, ... les deux Maires-Chapelains du Choeur (i. e., the angels) ... vont a l'Autel et y étant cachez derriere le drap, deux Corbeliers (i. e. the Maries) ... se présentent a l'Autel ...<sup>10</sup>

*Sens, 13th century.* Clerici uero procedunt ... donec ueniant ante principale altare. Cantatis uersibus a clericulis, duo clericuli induti albis stantes retro altare respondeant: *Quem queritis*.<sup>11</sup>

Further examples might be given, as the altar seems to have been the sepulchre at Tours, Chalons s/M, Senlis, Clermont, Amiens, Troyes and Besançon.<sup>12</sup> At Metz and at Narbonne the sepulchre was on the altar, being at Metz a silver capsa, at Narbonne an arrangement of silver books with hangings. Feasey mentions,<sup>13</sup> without giving his source, that at Tours on Good Friday the Canons recited the Hours standing round a tomb of marble, and he states that this is one of the earliest references to an Easter sepulchre. His statement is repeated by Chambers and others. The texts of the Tours *Visitatio* indicate, however, that the action was about the high altar as sepulchre; in one text we have the typical situation, one angel to the right and one to the left of the high altar, while the Maries are in front of it; in the other text the angels are in front of the tomb of St. Martin (i.e. behind the high altar) while the Maries are near the

<sup>6</sup> From the *Visitatio*, Lange, 157 f.

<sup>6</sup> Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII.

<sup>7</sup> From the *Visitatio*, Lange, 160 f.

<sup>8</sup> For Beauvais, see Thiers, *Traité*, II 688. For Rouen, Lange, p. 155. For Sainte Chapelle, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, VIII, 471.

<sup>9</sup> Lange, p. 66.

<sup>10</sup> De Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques de France*, 97-98.

<sup>11</sup> Lange, p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> For the first four see Lange, pp. 24, 25, 33, and 35; for Amiens, *Cahier's Vitraux de Bourges*, Text, 168; for Troyes and Besançon, see Appendix.

<sup>13</sup> *Holy Week Ceremonial*, 130-131.

door of the choir, i.e. in front of the altar. Feasey's source was doubtless Martene, who gives from an old *antiphonarium* of St. Martins of Tours the following concerning Good Friday: "Hac die post praedicationem, quae hora nona finiri debet, recitantur horae Prima, Tertia, Sexta et Nona submissa voce, non in stallis sedendo, sed prope tumulum marmoreum in medio chori stando."<sup>14</sup> Martene says nothing to indicate an Easter sepulchre and uses the term "tumulum" which, so far as I have observed, was practically never used of the sepulchre of the Easter ceremonies. I feel quite sure, therefore, that this "tomb of marble" was not an Easter sepulchre, but the tomb of some one buried in the church, possibly of St. Martin, about whose tomb of black marble, we learn from De Moleon, certain services were held at times throughout the year.<sup>15</sup>

In only a few French churches does the sepulchre appear to have been outside of the choir. This was the case at Laon, where in the *Elevatio* the Sacrament is borne in procession from the sepulchre to the middle of the nave and thence into the choir and to the high altar,<sup>16</sup> also at Coutances,<sup>17</sup> where the procession was to return to the choir at the close of the *Visitatio*. At Soissons, at St. Quentin, and at Vienne, the sepulchre was in a chapel,<sup>18</sup> at Clermont-Ferrand in the "sacrarium"<sup>19</sup> and at Verdun "in subterraneis specubus."<sup>20</sup>

Glock's conclusion that the specially prepared sepulchre was never in the choir comes nearer being true for Germany than for any other country. Of over fifty German versions of the *Visitatio* in which there is some indication of the location of the sepulchre, there are not more than four or five in which it is in the choir. One of these, that of St. Blasien,<sup>21</sup> was known to Glock. It has the plain unmistakable rubric "Duo sacerdotes (i.e., the Maries) . . . intrantes chorum, paulatim euntes versus sepulchrum, cantantes *Quis revolvat.*" Later, when the angel directs them to go and announce that Christ has risen, there is the rubric "vertent se ad chorum, remanentes super gradum, et cantent *Surrexit dominus.*" By ignoring the first of these two rubrics and misinterpreting the second, Glock has quite wrongly located the St. Blasien sepulchre in the nave. 'Super gradum' does not refer, as Glock says, to the steps between nave and

<sup>14</sup> Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII, p. 126, of Antwerp Ed. of 1763-4.

<sup>15</sup> *Voyages Liturgiques*, 121 and 126. The position of St. Martin's tomb behind the high altar does not, to be sure, quite agree with Martene's 'in medio chori stando.'

<sup>16</sup> Thiers, *Traité*, II 690, also Chevalier, *Ordinaires de Laon*, 118.

<sup>17</sup> Lange, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> Thiers, II *Traité*, 691; for Vienne, De Moleon, *Voy. Liturg.*, 28.

<sup>19</sup> *Dublin Review* (1897), 363.

<sup>20</sup> Martene, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus* (appendix), p. 299 of ed. of 1763-4.

<sup>21</sup> Lange, p. 30, Young, pp. 5-7.

choir, but refers to those between choir and presbytery.<sup>23</sup> In either case, however, the sepulchre would not be in the nave, for a Good Friday rubric states that the sepulchre was prepared "super gradum." The following excerpts from the *Visitatio* of the St. Gall Ms. 448 indicate a sepulchre in the choir, or rather in the presbytery near the high altar, representing probably the custom prevailing at Hersfeld and for a time at St. Gall:<sup>24</sup> "Accedentes ante chorum . . . . Deinde intrantes chorum accedentes ad sepulchrum. . . . Peregrini stantes in medio chori ante primos gradus . . . . Interea ascendunt peregrini ad Sepulchrum accipientes sudarium, descendentes ad chorum ostendentes sudarium et cantent: *Cernitis o socii.*" The sepulchre was in the choir at Basel and at Fritzlar, or at least in a manuscript formerly in Fritzlar.<sup>24</sup> At Bamberg it was in the choir of St. George, the east choir of the double-choired Cathedral of Bamberg.<sup>25</sup>

The German sepulchre was usually in the nave. Here it was sometimes at or near the Altar of the Holy Cross, which was just in front of the choir midway between the two entrances that usually led from the nave to the choir. The *Depositio* in a Prüfening manuscript has the heading, "De corpore dominico in sarcophago in altaris sancte crucis loco dominici sepulchri preparato recondendo."<sup>26</sup>

In Erlangen and Regensburg (St. Emmeran) and several other places the *altare sancte crucis* was the point of departure to or return from the sepulchre, without the exact location of the sepulchre or its distance from the altar being clear. It seems not to have been far away and was probably somewhere near the middle of the church; the Erlangen *Visitatio* has the rubric "Mulieres revertentes et stantes inter sepulchrum et altare S. Crucis."<sup>27</sup> In some places, as Freising, Moosburg and Speyer, the middle

<sup>23</sup> In this chapter I have been using "choir" in the wide sense of chancel, "chorus" being often so used in the texts. This would include in the larger churches the choir of the singers and clergy, raised usually one or more steps above the nave, and the presbytery, i. e. the sanctuary of the high altar, which in turn was raised at least one step above the choir. The St. Blasien sepulchre was "super gradum," i. e. in the presbytery, as the sepulchre was generally, if not always, when it was in the chancel at all.

<sup>24</sup> Karl Young has published this *Visitatio* as of St. Gall (*Publ. of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1909, pp. 319 f. and more recently in his *Drom. Assoc.* p. 90). I have published it as of Hersfeld (*Zt. f. d. Alt.*, 1908, pp. 310 f.). The MS seems to have been written in St. Gall and for St. Gall, but during a time, a short time, in which the Hersfeld use was followed at St. Gall. When the Hersfeld use was given up there, and the MS no longer represented the St. Gall use, the *S. Galli* in the title seems to have been crossed out and *Hysfeldensium* substituted. In a later St. Gall *Visitatio* the procession goes "ad sepulchrum domini in Sacello S. Sebastiani." Lange, p. 69.

<sup>25</sup> Now in Cassel (see Appendix). For Basel, see Lange, p. 35.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>28</sup> Lange, p. 125. For St. Emmeran, *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, vol. 50, p. 300.

of the church is expressly mentioned as the location of the sepulchre.<sup>28</sup> In a few places the sepulchre was in a chapel. In Würzburg and in Treves it was in the crypt.<sup>29</sup> In at least the first and third of the Zwickau versions of the *Visitatio* the three Mariæ go from the choir to the *altare sancte crucis*, from there to the middle of the church and thence to the sepulchre, which was thus clearly not in the choir as Stötzner states.<sup>30</sup>

The following are further rubrics of interest in connection with the location of the sepulchre in German churches:

*Passau.* Deinde sepulchro preparato et ordinato sub turri ante altare sancti Petri (*Breviarium*, 1490, fol. 245<sup>v</sup>).

*Rheinau.* "Ingressa Processione in S. Findani sacellum canitur ab angelo primo: *Quem quaeritis*" (Lange, p. 68).

*Hildesheim.* "... tres sacerdotes ... visitent sepulchrum in parte aquilonari...." (*Journ. Engl. and Ger. Phil.*, VIII, p. 468). This "north part" suggests the English location in the north part of the choir, although this was apparently in the nave, to which they descended ("statim descendatur").

*Polling.* "... itur processionaliter ad altare apostolorum. Et ibidem peragatur visitatio sepulchri secundum consuetudinem" (*Zt. f. d. Alt.*, 50, p. 304).

*Halle.* "... tunc processio exhibit ad sepulchrum.... Hi stabunt circa baptisterium vel sepulchrum.... Tunc mulieres thurificato sepulchro stantes inter sepulchrum et altare sancte crucis" (*Zt. f. d. Alt.*, 55, p. 56)

*Treves.* "... egrediatur processio ante tumbam sancti Symeonis" (*Journ. Engl. and Ger. Philol.*, VIII, 470).

*Zürich.* (anno 1260) "... interim canonicus (i. e. the angel) ... per hostium altaris sancte Marie in choro transiens ponit se super sedem ad dextrum latus altaris sanctorum martyrum.... clericus processionaliter descendit per hostium cancellorum stans inter et ante altaria Karoli et Marie Magdalene .... duo de canonicis.... representaturi mulieres Marias.... progrediantur ad altare martyrum et stantes quasi in opposito angeli...." (See Appendix.)

*Magdeburg.* "... parabunt eciam ymaginarium sepulchrum domini ante altare sancti Laurentii...." (See Appendix.) This rubric is from the *Depositio*."

*Meissen.* "Fitque processio ex choro. .... usque ad locum ubi Sepulchrum paratum est in Capella Simonis et Iude." (Young, *Dram. Assoc.*, p. 107).

*Essen.* "Deinde fit processio ad sepulchrum.... et apud altare sancti Petri per colatram versus ianuam funerum ascenditur superius ad sepulchrum, quod ante altare sancti Michaelis preparatum erit." (*Liber ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche*, Franz Arens, 1908, p. 57; reprinted in Appendix.)

*Constance, Freiburg, Strassburg.* "*Constantiae* in ecclesia cathedrali vidi ad hoc editum ac sculptum ex lapide monumentum in sacello S. Blasii, ut *Friburgi Brisgoiae* in maiori ecclesia, *Argentorati* autem in fornice subtus ecclesiam." (Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, II, III, p. 858.)

<sup>28</sup> An unpublished *Breviarium Frisingense* (Cod. Lat. 11768 of the Munich Staatsbibliothek) has after the third responsory of Easter matins the rubric "Et cum eo fiat processio ad medium ecclesie ad sepulchrum." A Moosburg *Visitatio* has "et statione facta in medio monasterio visitatio sepulchri fiat in hunc modum." *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, L, 307. A Speyer *Visitatio* has "chorus cum processione descendit in medium monasterium."

<sup>29</sup> For Würzburg, see Lange, p. 53; for Treves, Young, *Dram. Assoc.*, p. 83.

<sup>30</sup> Stötzner, *Osterfeiern nach einer Zwickauer Handschrift*, p. 20.

Of the few known versions of the *Visitatio* for Italian churches, one, that of Parma, had the sepulchre in a structure called *Paradisus* in the choir behind the high altar.<sup>31</sup> The versions of Cividale and Aquileja<sup>32</sup> seem to stand in close relation to the versions of South Germany and, like them, to have the sepulchre outside the choir. This is also the position in the *Liber Sacerdotalis* and apparently also at St. Marks, Venice.<sup>33</sup> Of interest in connection with Italy is the description of the *Visitatio* given by Guillaumus Durandus in his well-known *Rationale*,<sup>34</sup> indicating a sepulchre outside of the choir: "de choro ad aliquem locum tendimus ubi sepulchrum imaginarium coaptatur . . . . redeunt ad chorum." This work of Durandus was written while he lived in Italy, before he became bishop of Mende.

We have seen thus that the Easter sepulchre was regularly in the choir in England and was usually in the choir in France, being either the high altar or a separate structure, but was occasionally in the nave or in a side room such as chapel, crypt or sacristy. In Germany it was usually in the nave of the church, but occasionally in the choir or in a side room. In Italy it seems also to have been usually in the nave.

<sup>31</sup> "Corpus Christi . . . in Paradiso post altare maius reverenter recondatur," Young, *Dram. Assoc.*, 43.

<sup>32</sup> Lange, pp. 58, 81, 105.

<sup>33</sup> Young, *Dram. Assoc.* 56 f. and 67 f.

<sup>34</sup> Ed. Strassburg, 1486, fol. CCI.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE NATURE OF THE SEPULCHRE IN CONTINENTAL CHURCHES

It seems advisable to consider the nature of the sepulchre on the continent and in England in separate chapters. The chief evidence in the two cases is so different in character that a joint treatment is difficult, the continental evidence being mostly from the rubrics of liturgical manuscripts giving directions for the Easter ceremonies, while the English evidence is mostly from archival sources, itemizing objects, materials and labor.

The sepulchre, both on the continent and in England, varied greatly in different churches. As there would be all degrees of splendor of Easter ceremonies from the great cathedral church or wealthy monastery down to the humble parish church, so there would be various degrees of size and splendor of sepulchre. And there were not only such differences of degree but also fundamental differences of kind between various localities or between different periods in the long development of the Easter sepulchre. An examination of the information available for the continent will reveal some evidence for the following general types of sepulchre:

1. The high altar, either merely suggestive of the sepulchre, where, as in the *Resurrexi* tropes, there was no real action, or actually representing it in the *Visitatio*.
2. Some vessel or small structure on the high altar, generally or always with a veil or cloth either covering it or hanging down around it.
3. Coffin-shaped sepulchre, generally or always with a cloth or cloths over it.
4. Coffin or altar surrounded by curtains.
5. Temporary wooden structure that could be entered.
6. Chapel with receptacle for cross or Host on or before its altar.
7. The sepulchre of the present-day exposition rite, usually a tomb-like structure with a recumbent image of Christ, surmounted by a veiled monstrance in which the Host is exposed.

A classification based chiefly upon the incomplete and more or less accidental information derived from liturgical rubrics cannot be very definite. The rubrics may mention features that put the sepulchre into one class, without excluding the possibility of other additional features that would bring it under another of the above types. Common to all the types were undoubtedly candles and rich sepulchre cloths.

#### 1. *The Altar as Sepulchre*

The well known *Quem quaeritis* trope of the *Resurrexi* introit was at times sung antiphonally by two choruses. When, however, with a slight approach toward impersonation, one or two of the clergy sang the *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o christicolae*, and two or three the *Jesum Nazarenum*

*crucifixum*, o *coelicolae*, the former stood usually behind the high altar, while the latter stood in front of it, generally in the middle of the choir, as if approaching the altar. These positions are definitely indicated in the versions of Monte Cassino, Novalesa and Brescia, and doubtless represent the simple *mise en scène* in other versions as well.<sup>1</sup> The *Rationale* of Durandus, which, as we have seen, placed the sepulchre of the *Visitatio* outside the choir, speaks as follows of the Resurrection tropes sung about the altar as sepulchre:

Nec est omittendum quod in quibusdam ecclesiis in his septem diebus duo cum albis superpelliciis incipiunt responsorium *Hec dies* et in aliis quosdam tropos post altare quod representat sepulchrum pro eo quod corpus Jesu in eo sacramentaliter collocatur et consecratur, gerentes typum duorum angelorum qui stantes in sepulcro Christum resurrexisse retulerunt.<sup>2</sup>

With one exception, that of Brescia, there was no clear attempt at impersonation or dramatic action in the thirty odd versions of the *Quem quaeritis* trope, and in them the high altar was doubtless suggestive rather than really representative of the sepulchre.

In certain versions of the *Visitatio*, however, the altar represents the sepulchre in the dramatic action of the ceremony, the angels or the Maries raising the altar cloth or cloths so that the Maries may look in or pretend to look in and convince themselves that the sepulchre is empty. All of these versions that I have found are of French churches, which fits in with what was said in discussing the location of the sepulchre in France. In most, if not all, of these cases there was no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*. Consequently no burial receptacle was needed and the altar could the more easily serve as an imaginary sepulchre. The following rubrical excerpts will illustrate this type of sepulchre.

*Besançon*. "ita procedunt...cantantes...usque ante maius altare. A dextris et a sinistris altaris sunt duo pueri...respondent mulieribus sic, *Quem queritis* cantando. Et mulieres *Ihesum nazarenum*. Et angeli *Non est hic surrexit*. Et discooperiunt altare angeli linteaminibus quibus erat altare velatum." (See Appendix.)

*Sens*. "Angelus autem sublevans tapetum altaris, tamquam respiciens in sepulchrum, cantat: *Non est hic, surrexit*." (Lange, p. 64.)

*Chalons, s.M.* "Pueri uero discooperientes altare de panno albo tamquam de sudario respondent: *Non est hic*." (Lange, p. 62.)

*Troyes*. "Angeli: *Non est hic, surrexit*, etc., quod dum cantant, amoveant albos pannos superpositos magno altari." (See Appendix.)

*Tours*. "Deinde illi tres (i.e. the Maries) accedentes ad altare et intro aspicientes, versi ad chorum dicunt alta voce: *Alleluia, surrexit Dominus*." (Lange, p. 24)

*Le Mans*. "Tunc tres clerici accedentes ad altare cum reverentia sublevant palium cum quo sepulchrum fuerit coopertum, et sic osculanto altari recedentes veniant ante chorum et verso dorso ad altare versus chorum vultu cantent alta voce: *Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus hodie*." (Lange, p. 66)

<sup>1</sup> The texts of these tropes may be found in Karl Young's excellent study, *The Origin of the Easter Play* (Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc., 1914). The *Quem quaeritis* trope of Vienne, sung at the Chapel of the Sepulchre in the procession before mass, is not mentioned in this study. (See Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXV, p. 180, and De Moleon, *Voy. Liturg.*, 28.)

<sup>2</sup> Edition of Strassburg, 1486, fol. CCIII<sup>v</sup>.

The Christian altar was early associated with the tomb of a martyr or a saint and either the entire remains or some relic of martyr or saint came to be considered essential to the altar. A small cavity was often made in the stone altar table to hold the relics, a cavity to which the name *sepulchrum* was regularly given. Occasionally the holy Sacrament, the Body of Christ, was used in lieu of such a relic. This fact, together with the abundant evidence that in the patristic writings the altar symbolized the sepulchre of Christ, gives an appropriateness to this use of the altar in the *Quem quaeritis* trope and the *Visitatio*.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Small Structure or Receptacle on Altar as Sepulchre

The earliest temporary Easter sepulchre of which a description has been preserved, that of the *Concordia Regularis*, seems to belong to this type. Although the *Concordia* was prepared for Benedictine use in England, its sepulchre may be considered here, since its sepulchre ceremonies probably rest upon continental usage.<sup>4</sup> The direction in its *Depositio* reads: "Sit autem in una parte altaris qua vacuum fuerit quaedam assimilatio sepulchri velamenque quoddam in gyro tensum quod dum sancta crux adorata fuerit deponatur hoc ordine." This has been variously interpreted. I believe Chambers is right in thinking that the sepulchre was made on the altar, probably the high altar, and not in the hollow of it, and that it was covered from sight until wanted by a veil let down all around it from a circular support above.<sup>5</sup> Somewhat similar must have been the sepulchre at Narbonne, where the two choir boys, who as angels are upon the altar and wish to show the Maries the empty sepulchre, "levant cum filo pannum qui est super libros argenti super altare in figura sepulchri."<sup>6</sup> A third sepulchre of this general type is that of Metz, in which the angels sing their *Non est hic* and "interim discooperiant capsam argenteam qua est super altare sublevando velamen cum duobus baculis,"<sup>7</sup> thus a silver capsula or pyx covered with a cloth which at the right moment could be raised in some way with two staves. This use of mechanical means, rather than the hand, in disclosing the empty sepulchre at Metz and Narbonne and possibly in the *Concordia* may have been a little theatrical coup to add to the dramatic effect of the moment. Some of the sepulchres considered under Type 1 may possibly belong here, i.e., there may

<sup>3</sup> A good brief discussion of this aspect of the altar may be found in the above mentioned study of Karl Young, pp. 42-46. See also Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, 69.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 32 of this study, including footnote 7.

<sup>5</sup> Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, II, 17, Note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Martene, *Lib. IV*, Cap. XXV.

<sup>7</sup> *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, VIII, 464. For "velamen" the MS has "levamen," but this is doubtless a copyist's error.

have been some small unmentioned receptacle for cross or Host under the cloth which the angels raise.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. *Coffer-Shaped Sepulchre*

If there was a *Visitatio* without *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, as was not infrequently the case, especially in France, there would be no great need of a receptacle. The altar with a cloth over it would make an acceptable imaginary sepulchre. If there was a *Depositio* of Host or crucifix, the Host may at first have been placed, in its chalice, on the altar, and the crucifix may have been merely wrapped and laid upon the altar; however, there would doubtless be felt very soon the desirability of some receptacle. The *Depositio* being a symbolic burial, a very natural shape for the receptacle would be that of a coffer or coffin. It will be recalled from the first part of this study that the coffer-shaped tomb of Christ, without edifice, became the prevailing type in Christian art from the eleventh century on.

It is altogether probable that some sort of a coffer was the real burial receptacle of most continental sepulchres, as we shall see it was of English sepulchres. There is mention of an *archa* or *scrineum* at Bamberg, Essen, Prüfening and Zürich, but in all these cases apparently also with surrounding curtains—a type that will be discussed a little later. The present type is the coffer, either unconcealed or with one or more cloths laid over it. At St. Gall the *custos* in preparing the sepulchre places a *sanctuarium*, i.e. a shrine or tabernacle, on a bench in the choir and covers it with a pall—"portat sanctuarium in medio chori ponens super scampnum velato panno."<sup>9</sup> At Pressburg the cross seems to have been laid directly upon a bench while the Host was locked and sealed in a pyx, possibly coffer-shaped, and laid "subter linteamen et pallium ad pectus sancte crucis."<sup>10</sup> Despite the probable frequency of the coffer as a part of the sepulchre, there is not very frequent evidence of it in the rubrical directions. In addition to the cases mentioned, it is perhaps indicated in the following from the *Elevatio* of St. Blasien: "Sacerdotes . . . eant ad sepulchrum ac illud incensent exterius, deinde levato tegimento iterum incensent interius,"<sup>11</sup> and the sepulchre may have been a coffer in the fairly frequent

<sup>8</sup> In the following excerpts from a *Visitatio* of Amiens the sepulchre seems to be a receptacle on the altar, although possibly it is immediately in front of it. ". . . deux chapelains . . . entraient dans le choer . . . et marchaient droit a l'autel. . . . Alors les anges decouvraient le sepulchre en disant *Non est hic*. Les Maries montaient à l'autel, feignaient de chercher partout et regardaient dans le sepulchre. . . . Puis l'évêque entonnait le *Te Deum*, baisait le sepulchre et donnait le baiser de paix au préchantre . . ." (Cahier, *Vitraux de Bourges*, Text, 168, n. 1)

<sup>9</sup> MS 448, p. 101-2. See p. 56, footnote 23.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 36, footnote 17. At Essen and Prüfening the cross was placed outside of the coffer that contained the Host.

<sup>11</sup> Gerbert *Mon. Vet. Liturg. Alem.*, II, 236; Young, p. 6.

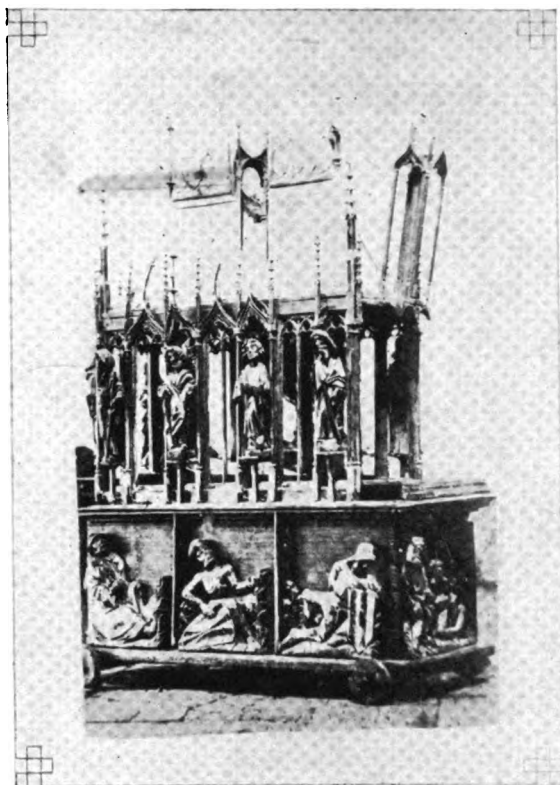


FIG. 16. EARLY SEPULCHRE, PRESERVED IN HUNGARY

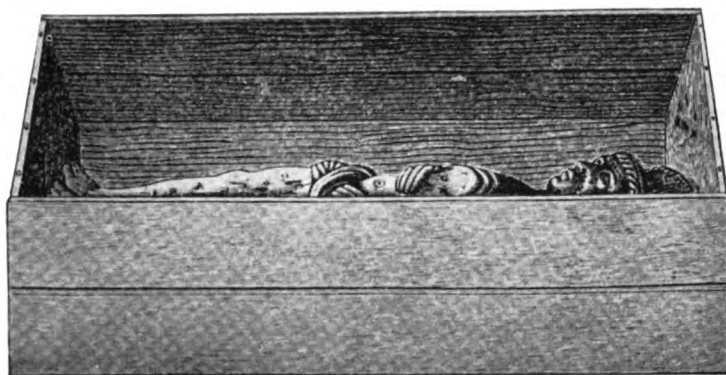


FIG. 17. EARLY SWEDISH SEPULCHRE, NOW IN THE NORSE MUSEUM IN UPSALA



other cases where mention is made of covering the sepulchre with a cloth or uncovering it by raising the cloth.

An early coffer-shaped wooden sepulchre in which is a recumbent image of Christ has been preserved in Sweden.<sup>12</sup> A sepulchre in the form of a richly carved coffer mounted on small wheels was preserved in Hungary in 1872, and reproduced by Dankó in that year in his *Die Feier des Osterfestes*.<sup>13</sup> He thinks it may have been as old as the fifteenth century. E. A. Stüchelberg, after stating that these wooden sepulchres of the middle ages have almost all disappeared, says that the oldest well preserved one known to him is at Baar in the canton of Zug, Switzerland, a coffer about five feet long, with gable-shaped top, and with suitable scenes painted on various surfaces.<sup>14</sup> It is probable, as we shall see later, that one or two old sepulchre coffers have been preserved in England.<sup>15</sup> A coffin-shaped box is part of the permanent sepulchre at Mittelzell.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4. *Curtain-Enclosed Sepulchre*

This type seems to have been quite common, in fact to have been one of the most characteristic forms of the continental Easter sepulchre. Within the curtained enclosure there would doubtless be a coffer or an altar or both. The term *sepulchrum* is sometimes applied to the whole enclosure, sometimes in a narrower sense to the receptacle within. The following rubrical excerpts, with an occasional comment, will give the best idea of this type.

*Bayeux.* Martene's "*Vetus Ordinarium Bajocense*" has under Good Friday "Hodie paretur sepulchrum versus cornu altaris sinistrum, lintheaminibus mundis et paliis pretiosis . . ." and under Easter Sunday, "Sacerdos . . . accedit ad sepulchrum ex utraque parte expansum." (Lib. IV, cap. XXIII and XXV) The Bayeux Missal of 1642, which I have not seen, appears to mention a canopy, for Thiers gives this description of the Bayeux sepulchre, based apparently on this Missal: "(Le Sepulcre) est un lieu préparé proche le grand Autel en forme d'Autel ou de Sepulcre, environné de rideaux de toutes parts et couverte d'un espèce de dais." (*Traité*, II, 689)

*Soissons.* "Sabbato sancto hora matutinale provideant custodes quod tota ecclesia et palliis vestiatur. Sepulchrum vero munda cortina a foris circumdetur." (Martene, Lib. IV, cap. XXIV) Thiers says of Soissons "L'on prepare un Sepulchre dans une Chapelle sur l'autel de la quelle l'on met le saint Sacrement." (*Traité*, II, 691)

<sup>12</sup> See Fig. 17. Original in the *Nordiska Museet*, Upsala. H. Hildebrand says in *Sveriges Medeltid*, III, 648: "Both in earlier and in later times the sepulchre of Christ was represented, not as it was in reality, hewn in the rock, but in the form of a coffer with a roof-like cover, of which both the long sides could be folded down, so that the inside could be seen."

<sup>13</sup> See Fig. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Stüchelberg, *Die Verehrung des heiligen Grabes*, in the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, I, 112. On the front and ends are sepulchre guards, on the cover the risen Christ with the Resurrection banner, on the inside surface of the cover the Maries and the angel at the tomb.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 75.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 89.

*Angers.* "Le Samedi-saint vers le soir l'enclos du grand Autel est couvert pardessus & pardevant d'un grand drap blanc & reste ainsi jusqu'à ce que la Resurrection ait été annoncée. Et voici comment cela se fait." (De Moleon, *Voy. liturg.*, p. 98) Then follows the *Visitatio* as reprinted by Lange, in which the angels are concealed behind the cloth and the Maries present themselves at the altar and then enter; hence it would appear that "the large white cloth above and before the altar" curtained off the enclosure.

*Prüfening.* The Prüfening manuscript (Cod. Lat. 12018 of the Munich *Staatsbibl.*) has among its Easter ceremonies the following rubrics: "De corpore dominico in sarcofago in altari sancte crucis loco dominici sepulchri preparato recondendo . . . dominus abbas vero et ministri nec non capellanus hoc sepulchrum, id est intra velum ante altare sancte crucis circumtensum, ingrediuntur . . . et fit stacio ante altare sancte crucis quod antea a custode loco dominici sepulchri lintheo magno specialiter ad hoc apto velatum existit." At Prüfening there was thus a coffer or sacrophagus on or before the Altar of the Holy Cross with a surrounding curtain. (See Appendix.)

*Bamberg.* "Alius quoque deligatur locus pro Sepulchro Domini erigendo, qui inter caetera contineat unam arcam, vel quid simile, quod claudi et obserari, atque in eo venerabile Sacramentum reponi, tutoque relinqui possit, usque ad tempus et horam Dominicae resurrectionis" (Young, p. 115) In the *Visitatio*: "Ubi notandum est quod in templo designari, atque tapete, vel antependio claudi debet locus quidam ad representandum Christi Sepulchrum conueniens, in quo inter caetera stratum iaceat linteum, seu sudarium album et subtile, designans syndonem, quo Christi corpus mortuum inuolutum fuit." (Lange, p. 93) The occurrence of this rubric in the *Visitatio* has led Chambers to infer wrongly that the *Agenda* contained no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*. The elaborate *Elevatio* is given in *Zi. f. d. A.*, XXXIX, 247 f., and both it and the *Depositio* are in Young, pp. 114 f.

*Essen.* "Apud altare sancti Petri per volatram versus ianuam funerum ascenditur superius ad sepulchrum, quod ante altare sancti Michaelis preparatum erit . . . Ceroferarii manebunt extra tentorium quod est supra sepulchrum prope tentorii introitum . . . Tunc aperto sepulchro scilicet archa in tentorio posita . . ." (See Appendix). Thus at Essen the sepulchre was a coffer within a tent erected in front of the Altar of St. Michael in the loft of the west choir.

*Zürich.* "Sed interim dum legitur predictus psalmus . . . , sacerdotes predictam paruum crucem ponunt et signando claudunt in archam que intra testudinem retro altare martyrum candido uelo circumpendente posita sepulchrum dominicum representat." (See Appendix).

*Moosburg.* Expleta communione corpus Christi quod superfuerit diligenter et reuerenter in corporale involuto et super altari mobili posito portatur ad locum in quo crucifixus est adoretus et ibi sepulchrum pro sepultura crucifixi debet esse positum et circumductis pannis decenter preparatum. (See Appendix.) It is doubtful whether the "circumductis pannis" means enclosing curtains or only cloths 'drawn' or placed about the sepulchre receptacle.

*Strassburg.* (*Depositio*) Et condatur corpus domini in sepulchro . . . Sacerdote nectente fila cantetur hec antiphona, *Sepulto domino*. . . . (*Visitatio*) Celicole leuantes velamen sepulcro superpositum . . . (Milchsack, 122-3) It would seem that the "Sacerdote nectente fila" refers to something different from the "velamen sepulchro superpositum" and may possibly have been curtain-like hangings that could be tied with cords.

*Fritslar.* (*Depositio*) ". . . postea sacerdotes exeant sepulchrum et tegentes sepulchrum cantent responsorium *Sepulto domino* . . . (*Visitatio*) . . . *Non est hic*. Et statim surgentes in sepulchrum exeuntes sepulchrum discooperiant in parte illa ubi exeunt et habentes cooperimentum sepulchri in manibus cantent *Venite et videte* . . ." (See Appendix). These rubrics seem to indicate an enclosure of hangings, which could be entered and could also be removed in part.



# Von vlenspiegel



FIG. 18. SEPULCHRE IN TILL EULENSPIEGEL. FROM THE UNIQUE COPY OF THE 1515 EDITION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



### 5. *Temporary Wooden Sepulchre with Entrance*

A door or entrance to the sepulchre, an "*ostium*," is frequently mentioned. Occasionally there is mention of two. In a few cases the rubrics speak of a window.<sup>17</sup> The *ostium* may, to be sure, have been a curtain-door, or an uncurtained opening into the curtain-enclosed sepulchre of type 4, or at times a chapel entrance. The *fenestra* may even have been a window-like opening in the curtains, although this is perhaps less probable. It is, however, highly probable that in at least a number of cases the temporary sepulchre with a door was of rigid material, most naturally of wood. This may be reasonably assumed for Rouen, if the text is correct, for in one Rouen *Depositio* the archbishop or priest is directed to lave the door of the sepulchre: "Postea archiepiscopus aut sacerdos lavet ostium sepulchri, et humili voce incipiat responsorium *Sepulto Domino*."<sup>18</sup> The most interesting evidence for this type of sepulchre is a wood cut in the 1515 edition of Till Eulenspiegel. This is, so far as I know, the only illustration of the temporary Easter sepulchre of the *Visitatio*, and it dates from the time when the ceremony was still in vogue. It shows a small house-shaped structure with saddle roof. There is an opening in front, within which the one impersonating the angel sits.<sup>19</sup>

### 6. *Chapel as Sepulchre*

A number of churches had Sepulchre Chapels, sometimes round or polygonal in real or supposed imitation of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. On the continent these usually contained some form of stone monument with figures, representing Christ's tomb;<sup>20</sup> about this would naturally take place such sepulchre ceremonies as the church may have had. Sometimes chapels other than Sepulchre Chapels were used for these ceremonies, as the Chapel of St. Sebastian at St. Gall, of St. Fintan at Rheinau, and of Simon and Judas at Meissen.<sup>21</sup>

In the case of a fairly large chapel, it would probably be merely the location for the sepulchre, in which a sepulchre of any type might be set up.

<sup>17</sup> The rubrics mentioning doors and windows may be found conveniently collected in Bonnell's article, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1916, p. 675f.

<sup>18</sup> Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 147, p. 130. It seems probable however that in this text of Prevost "ex Ms. Bigot," the source of which cannot be located, the "lavet" is an error for "claudat."

<sup>19</sup> See Fig. 18. The particular prank of Till Eulenspiegel to which the wood cut belongs (XIII Histori) is referred to by Karl Pearson in his study of the Passion Plays (See *Chances of Death and Other Essays*, II, 309), but the wood cut, which is not reproduced in the modern reprint of the early edition, has not hitherto been considered in the study of the Easter sepulchre.

<sup>20</sup> For these permanent sepulchres, see p. 88. According to Feasey (*Ecc. Rev.*, 1905, p. 350) the so-called sepulchre chapels in England obtained this name from the mere fact that their walls had formerly Passion and Resurrection frescoes, without other evidence to associate them with the Easter ceremonies.

<sup>21</sup> For St. Gall, Lange, p. 69; for Rheinau, Lange, p. 68; for Meissen, Young, *Dram. Assoc.* p. 107.

Strictly speaking the chapel itself can be considered a type of sepulchre only in the case of a small chapel which would form the sepulchre enclosure, analogous to the curtain enclosure in other places. This was doubtless the case at times, although it is usually difficult to determine whether a chapel was so used or not.

#### 7. *The Sepulchre of the Exposition Rite*

We have seen that in some places, from the sixteenth century on, the burial of the Host developed into a rite of exposition of the Host. This development would naturally lead to some change in the sepulchre. The most essential part of the sepulchre, as now seen in Southern Germany and Austria, is the Host exposed in a pyx or veiled monstrance. Below, however, there is usually a graven figure of the buried Christ. The whole is surrounded by many candles and flowers, and at times with images. This type goes back to the very beginning of the exposition rite in the sixteenth century. In Munich the Jesuits had in 1580 such a figure of Christ in the tomb, "and above him the most blessed Sacrament, exposed in clouds and surrounded by worshipping angels, and about stood images representing the sufferings of the World-Redeemer. Mournful music alternated with spiritual addresses to the piously assembled people."<sup>22</sup> In Freising in 1673 there was a "statua Christi in sepulchro."<sup>23</sup> Most of the modern German articles on the subject of "heilige Gräber" contain suggestions for the design and location of the sepulchre, and agree in recommending a side altar or a chapel, and not the high altar.<sup>24</sup>

#### 8. *Some Details Concerning the Continental Sepulchre*

*Time of Setting up the Sepulchre.* The following rubrics, all of Good Friday, give information as to the time that the sepulchre was set up.

*Bayeux.* Hodie paretur sepulcrum versus cornu altaris sinistrum (Martene, Lib. IV, Chap. XXIII).

*Cathedral Church of Magdeburg.* Quando hora nona reddibit parabunt etiam ymaginarium sepulchrum domini ante altare sancti Laurentii (Appendix).

*St. Gall.* Sequitur nona . . . Collecta: *Respice.* Deinde prebendarii in monasterio preparant chorum cum pannis et sepulchrum, vice quoque custos portat sanctuarium in medio chori ponens super scampnum velato panno. (Cod. 448, Stiftsbibl. pp. 101-2. See p. 56, footnote 23).

*St. Blasien.* Post Primam legantur VII Psalmi poenitentiales cum Letania. Dicta Letania incipiat Dominus Abbas Psalterium . . . Cum legitur Psalmus *Dixit Dominus* exeat Secretarius cum suis coadiutoribus et praeparet sepulchrum super gradum. (Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae*, II, 234)

At Soissons, where there was no *Depositio* and the Host was put in the Sepulchre before Matins on Easter morning, the curtains were placed about

<sup>22</sup> F. J. Lipowsky, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Baiern*, 1816, II, 200.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 46.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 46, including footnote 67.

the sepulchre early on Holy Saturday.<sup>26</sup> The passage cited above from the Bayeux *Ordinarium* known to Martene has the sepulchre prepared on Good Friday. The *Ordinarium* published by Chevalier, which seems generally to agree exactly in wording with that of Martene, has here instead of *Hodie* the reading "*In crastino mane paratur sepulchrum*,"<sup>27</sup> thus on Holy Saturday, although the *Depositio* is on Friday. This agrees with the following from a Bayeux Customary: "Et est sciendum quod in sabbato Pasche in mane . . . paratur etiam sepulchrum, quod est juxta altare in parte sinistra, duobus pannis sericis exterius, et albis ac mundissimis lintheis interius, in quo Corpus dominicum cum cruce et calice ibidem est repositum a die veneris precedente."<sup>27</sup> It would seem thus that at Bayeux the bare sepulchre receptacle was used on Friday but that the adornment of it here, as at Soissons, was on Saturday in connection with the general re-adorning of the church and its altars which had been denuded since Thursday.

*Contents of the Sepulchre.* The most essential contents, the Host and the cross, or crucifix, or carved image, have already been discussed. These were wrapped or covered with one or more fine cloths. At Rouen and at Essen the head of the crucifix was to be placed to the west.<sup>28</sup> At Bayeux a cushion was to be placed under the cross. In several South German versions of the *Depositio*, including Freising and Moosburg, I have found this rubric: "Collocatur crucifixus in sepulchrum et lintheaminibus cooperiatur. Deinde lapis videlicet altare mobile sub capite seu sub dextro latere ponatur."<sup>29</sup> The cloths covering or enveloping the crucifix symbolize naturally the wrappings of the body of Christ. The Magdeburg *Depositio* says: "Et substernetur cruci ab episcopo mundissimum lintheum et alio lintheo mundissimo operietur, quia, ut super dictum est, Ioseph inuoluit corpus domini syndone munda."<sup>30</sup> Very frequently it is specifically directed that *two* priests place the cross or Host in the sepulchre, representing thus Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. Of interest in this connection is the following rubric of the *Depositio* of Barking: "Ibique in specie Joseph et Nichodemi de ligno deponentes Ymaginem uulnera Crucifixi uino abluant et aqua,"<sup>31</sup> a passage which probably indicates symbolism rather than impersonation.

<sup>26</sup> Reprint of *Rituale*, p. 90, also in Martene. See above, p. 63.

<sup>27</sup> Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de Bayeux*, p. 130.

<sup>27</sup> Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de Bayeux*, p. 402. This same customary however gives on Friday the *Depositio* with a certain amount of adorning with "mundis et albis lintheaminibus" (p. 389).

<sup>28</sup> Essen, "capite crucis verso ad occidentem (Arens, p. 58); Rouen, "pedibus versis ad orientem" (*Le Graduel de l'Église Cathédrale de Rouen*, Rouen (1917), 257).

<sup>29</sup> For Freising and Moosburg, see Appendix.

<sup>30</sup> Appendix.

<sup>31</sup> Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 925.

Other objects were occasionally placed in the sepulchre with the Host or cross. At Indersdorf the church relics were so deposited.<sup>32</sup> At Origny three reliquaries, apparently with the relics in them, were borne by the Maries on Sunday in the *Visitatio* and placed on the altar in the sepulchre, where the people later did reverence to them.<sup>33</sup> At Essen the relics were deposited with the Host in the "archa," as was also the "pleonarius," a richly bound evangeliary belonging to the convent.<sup>34</sup> At Soissons an evangeliary was placed on the altar of the sepulchre on Friday,<sup>35</sup> whereas the Host, as we know, was not deposited here until Easter. At Bayeux a pyx with the Host was placed on one side of the crucifix, while an empty chalice, covered with a paten, was placed on the other side. In several South German versions of the *Depositio*, including Augsburg, the chalice with the Host was placed "sub dextro crucifixi humero."<sup>36</sup> Feasey mentions that at Albi (Aquitaine) a chalice with wine was buried with the Host.<sup>37</sup> At Magdeburg, after the burial of the cross, there were placed by the archbishop "duo lapides, unus ad caput crucis, alius ad pedes."<sup>38</sup>

*Closing of the Sepulchre, Its Lights, Guards, etc.* When the objects had been placed in the sepulchre receptacle, it was closed. Definite mention is made at times of its being locked and in some cases sealed. It is rather frequently directed, in South German versions, that a stone be placed over the sepulchre.<sup>39</sup> At Strassburg the sepulchre was closed in some way by the tying of cords, "sacerdote fila nectente." Where the rubrics mention specifically the number of candles that are to burn about the sepulchre, the number is usually not large and is probably to be considered as a minimum. Sometimes there is general mention of "many candles." In the Soissons *Rituale* there is the following interesting rubric:

Et unus funiculus insuper a capite usque ad pedes pretendatur, in quo circulus quidam

<sup>32</sup> "Sacrista aquam benedictam cum incensu procuret et reliquias sanctorum accipiat a ministris et ponat in sepulchrum coram imaginem salvatoris" (From the *Depositio* of Cod. lat. 7691 of Munich Staatsbibliothek, the *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* of this MS have been published by Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 905 f.)

<sup>33</sup> Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen Age*, p. 340.

<sup>34</sup> See Appendix. The cross, as already mentioned, was laid upon the 'archa' and covered with a cloth.

<sup>35</sup> "Finito evangelio, subdiaconus accipiat illud et, quasi in occulto sub infula sua velut in sinu suo, deferat ad sepulchrum, clericulo cum thure precedente, impositoque super altare quod est in sepulcro, ambo revertantur." Martene, Lib. IV, Cap. XXIII.

<sup>36</sup> *Directorium Augustanum*, Cod. lat., 3912, Munich Staatsbibliothek, fol. 29v.

<sup>37</sup> *Eccles. Review*, XXXII, 1905, p. 342.

<sup>38</sup> Appendix.

<sup>39</sup> For Diessen, see Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 907; the *Agenda Numburgense* has "paruus lapis superponitur" (*Liturgische Bibliothek*, I, 69); other cases are numerous in South German versions.

ferreus habens VII Cereos super ostium Sepulchri in altum dependeat. Circulus autem iste, qui et stella a nobis nuncupatur, uerum Luciferum qui mane resurrexit, designat.<sup>40</sup>

It is probable that there were usually guards about the sepulchre, although there is no such frequent mention of them on the continent as there is in England. In an Augsburg *Ordo* of 1487, a guard was made a requirement for leaving the Host in the sepulchre. There seems to have been usually reading of the psalter, often by boys or scholars. At the end of an Aquileia *Depositio* is the rubric, "scholares secundum morem patrie incipiunt legere Psalterium."<sup>41</sup> At Augsburg, as we have seen, Bishop Peter gave a sum for stipendia for young scholars who "bey dem heiligen Grabe vom Charfreytage bis zum Osterfeste beständig das Psalterium beten sollten."<sup>42</sup> At times the watchers were accoutred as soldiers. The following description in *The Bee-Hive of the Roman Church* is frequently quoted:

They made the graue in a hie place in the church, where men must goe up manie steppes, which are decked with blacke cloth from aboue to beneath, and upon everie steppe standeth a silver candlesticke with a waxe candle burning in it, and there doe walke souldiours in harnesse, as bright as Saint George, which keep the graue, till the Priests come and take him up.<sup>43</sup>

I have found in medieval rubrics no mention of flowers about the sepulchre. This is, however, a common custom at the present day in Germany and Austria, and was evidently in vogue as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, as seen in the following description from the *Regnum Papisiticum* of Naogeorgus:

Multa statim populus comportat lumina circum  
Cancellisque haeret, noctemque diemque; precatur  
Curuatis genibus, uiolisque et flore sepulchrum  
Omnigeno exornat, suaque affert munera large,  
Adsunt conducti quoque qui psalteria cantent.<sup>44</sup>

*Removal of the Objects Buried and of the Sepulchre.* The buried objects were removed on Easter morning. If the ceremony of the *Visitatio* was to follow the *Elevatio*, it was probably usual to leave in the sepulchre the cloths that had covered the cross and Host; these, as the grave linen left behind, would serve in the *Visitatio* as evidence of the Resurrection. A Prague manuscript has the rubric "relicto tamen lintheo usque dum ipsa nocte sepulchrum a sororibus uisitetur."<sup>45</sup> The sepulchre was, at least occasion-

<sup>40</sup> Reprint of *Rituale*, 108.

<sup>41</sup> Young, *Dram. Assoc.*, 94.

<sup>42</sup> See p. 43, footnote 56.

<sup>43</sup> *The Bee-Hive* appeared in English in 1579, being translated from Isaac Rabbotenu of Louvain, 1569, see Chambers' *Medieval Stage*, II, 23. At Orleans, Coutances, and Sainte Chapelle (Paris) there were soldiers in the ceremony of the *Visitatio*.

<sup>44</sup> Edition of 1553, pp. 148-9.

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix. Similarly in a South Germany *Elevatio* of Benedictine use, probably of Hirsau: "relicto tamen lintheo usque dum in ipsa nocte sepulchrum a fratribus uisitetur" (Young, p. 79).

ally, left open after the *Elevatio* to show its emptiness.<sup>46</sup> In some places, the sepulchre was taken down about a week after Easter; at Bayeux it is stated: "Et hec paratura sepulchri durat usque ad diem sabbati subsequentem." On these days after Easter, at Bayeux and at Soissons, and probably elsewhere, there were processions to the sepulchre daily at Vespers. Where there was a Chapel of the Sepulchre, processions to it took place often through a much longer period, as at Vienne, and at Origny. It seems to have been usual, where the rite of exposition had developed, to remove the sepulchre immediately after the *Elevatio*. In the Freising Ritual, it is directed that this be done, if its weight be not too great.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> One of the several cases where this is mentioned is Hereford: "Sepulcrum vero stet ostio aperto vacuum usque post Vesperas hac die in testimonium Resurrectionis" (Young, p. 112).

<sup>47</sup> See p. 46.



## CHAPTER VIII

### EASTER SEPULCHRES IN ENGLAND

The Easter sepulchre was in wide use in England. However, of evidence similar to that chiefly used in studying the sepulchre of the continent there exists but little in England. Although the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* were regular ceremonies laid down in the ordinal of the church, yet there is no such abundance and variety of liturgical directions for them as we have found on the continent. This may be due in part to the destruction of liturgical manuscripts after the Reformation, but is doubtless due chiefly to the fact that the Sarum rite became so widely followed in England that the few other rites which continued to exist were influenced by it and did not differ very greatly from it.<sup>1</sup> The *Visitatio Sepulchri* seems to have been rather of a local nature. It is not in the regular Sarum rite, although it is found in a Sarum processional belonging to the church of St. John, Dublin. It is found also in an ordinal of the Benedictine Nunnery of Barking. These two are the only versions that are known, aside from the early one of the *Concordia Regularis* and the *Quem queritis* trope of Winchester. It is not possible to say how wide-spread the ceremony would have been found to be, if service books had not been destroyed, but it is certainly not justifiable to assume, as is sometimes done, that there was a *Visitatio* wherever there was an Easter sepulchre.

There is in England on the other hand a wealth of evidence about the sepulchre of a kind almost unknown on the continent. This is from archival sources, chiefly from early church wardens' accounts, medieval wills, and early church inventories. This evidence begins in the thirteenth century, remains very scant during the fourteenth, is quite abundant for about a century and a half, and ceases about 1560. The Easter sepulchre survived the church reforms of Henry VIII with their dissolution of the monasteries and abolition of the worship of shrines and relics, was abolished in the course of the further reforms under Edward VI, was restored by order of Queen Mary in 1554, and disappeared finally under Elizabeth. These religious changes around the middle of the sixteenth century, with the numerous church inventories taken under Edward VI, the reconstruction of sepulchres under Mary, and the disposal of them by sale, destruction, or otherwise, under Elizabeth, have left in the archives many interesting entries concerning Easter sepulchres.

<sup>1</sup> A comparative analysis of the Easter commemoration in the rites of Sarum, York, Hereford and Exeter may be found in the Appendix to J. D. Chambers' *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*.

That the Easter sepulchre made a strong popular appeal in England is evident from medieval wills. In these a desire is not infrequently expressed, to be buried near the sepulchre or to have a tomb so located and constructed that it could be used as a part of the sepulchre; thus Thomas Plowright (1546) desired to be buried "betwene ye sepulcre foytt (foot) and ye marble stone before ye autentecall aulter (high altar)"<sup>2</sup> and Lord Dacre (1531) directs his burial to be on the north side of the high altar and "that a tomb be there made for placing the sepulchre of our Lord, with all fitting furniture thereto in honor of the most blessed sacrament."<sup>3</sup> There are innumerable wills with bequests for the sepulchre (its construction and furnishings, its painting or gilding, its repair, etc.) and for sepulchre lights. The following are a few examples from Northamptonshire:<sup>4</sup>

1499. John Kyng, of Hanging Houghton. "Lego ad reparacionem sepulchri Domini iijs. iiijd."

1516. Thomas Hunt, of Cransley. "To the preparyng and furnyschyng of the sepulcur x hewe schype (ewe sheep) . . . and that the increase of them may be to the supportacion of the same."

1519. Sir John Pollard, parson of Luddington in the Brook. "I bequeth x bee hyves to meynteyn the sepulture light, which x bee hyves shall be in the custody of ye chyrch wardens."

1519. John Arnold, of Wold. "To the sepulcr every yer xijd. to be payd on Passyon Sunday as long as my father in lawe lyffs and after hys deyth I gyffe a kowgh (cow) to the meynthyng of the seyd sepulcr lyght."

1523. W. Jelyion, of Helmdon. "To the sepulchre light one quarter of barley to ye encreasyng ye stocks of ye forsaid lyght."

1528. Thomas Walter, of Cransley. "To the gyldyng of the sepulcre xxs."

A good many English churches still have, on the north side of the chancel, architectural structures in the form of walled recesses, vaulted enclosures, or flat top tombs, which were formerly used in the Easter ceremonies. It must be borne in mind, however, that these permanent structures constituted only a part of the sepulchre of Easter, a base or pedestal for the sepulchre coffer, and a certain architectural setting which was doubtless supplemented by "all fitting furniture thereto," as Lord Dacre's will says, consisting usually of a wooden frame with many lights and numerous rich cloths and draperies. A classification therefore in which the temporary sepulchre is one class and the various forms of permanent structure are the other classes is inaccurate.<sup>5</sup> A better classification is one that distinguishes two large classes, one the wholly temporary sepulchre and the other the largely temporary one with a permanent architectural base and

<sup>2</sup> See *Archaeological Journal* (1913), 228.

<sup>3</sup> Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, III, 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeological Journal* (1913), 228 f.

<sup>5</sup> Such a classification, found in Feasey's *Holy Week Ceremonial* and used by Bonnell but going back at least to Walcott's *Sacred Archaeology* (1868), gives five classes—walled recess, tomb, temporary structure, vaulted enclosure, and chapel.



FIG. 19. A MEDIEVAL HEARSE. FROM MS AUCT. D. INF. 2, 11, BODLEIAN LIBRARY



setting. Under this second class the various kinds of permanent settings would come as subdivisions. The discussion at present will take up the temporary features, leaving to a later chapter the permanent structures.

No picture of a temporary sepulchre seems to have been preserved. The archival data afford many scattered hints as to its appearance but it is difficult to combine and complete them. As the ceremony of the burial of the cross and Host seems to have been to some extent an imitation of the usual burial rites of the middle ages, the following description of the hearse, as set up in church burials, will serve as a basis for comparison in the course of this chapter.

The hearse appears to have been a foursquare framework of timber, from each corner upright post of which rose a rafter slanting, and all four rafters met at the top. This was covered with black cloth, and at funerals of persons of rank and note was set up for a time in the choir purposely for the reception of the body during the service; it was surrounded with rails and richly fringed and ornamented according to the rank of the deceased. Thus if the funeral was that of an earl, the hearse was fitted with a majesty and valance fringed; if of a knight banneret, with a valance fringed only, if of a bachelor knight, with neither majesty nor valance.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Rock, after giving a similar description of the frame of the hearse, with its upright posts, says:

From these uprights, as well as from the ribs which spanned the top and kept the whole together, sprouted out hundreds of gilt metal branches for wax tapers; and dotted all over amid them drooped a great many small flags or "pennoncels." The first story of the hearse was ceiled with an awning of silk, hung about with a scocheoned valance, and this tester-like covering was known as the "majesty."<sup>7</sup>

### 1. *Making the Sepulchre*

The following are some selected items concerning the making of the sepulchre:

1426-7. *St. Mary at Hill, London*. "Also payd to Thomas Joynour for makynge of the same sepulcre, iiij s."

1477. *Dunhaved, Cornwall*. "for making of ye sepulchre, ijd."

1490. *Patton*. "For makynge of the sepulture and the cafe, iijd."

1536. *St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*. "Inprimis payed for a peece of Tymber for the sepulcer, xd. Item payed for Sawynge of the same Tymber, ijd. Item payed to the joyner for workynge of the Tymber in the sepulcer, xiiij d."

1543-4. *Tavistock*. "Itm pd unto george ffisher for ix dayes worke makynge the Sepulcre & for mete & Drink. . . . Itm pd unto mr Servyngton for wenskot (wainscoting) for the Sepulcre, xx d. Itm pd unto peter Eggecomb for Deale bords for the same, xvjd. Itm pd unto Richard ffoster for bords, xiijd. Itm pd for nayles for the same, ijd."

1553. *Lydd*. "Item payde to Aton for 4 dayes worke he and his man makynge of ye sepulcre, ye Judas, and ye church style, eny day 2s, 6d, . . . 10s. Item paid to Aton for tymber to make ye sepulcre, 16d."

1558-9. *St. Helen's, Abingdon*, "Payde for making the sepulture, 10s."

<sup>6</sup> M. H. Bloxam, *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, 129. See Fig. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Church of Our Fathers*, II, 399 f.

The term "making the sepulchre" did not in all cases mean the same thing; it referred sometimes to the making of the sepulchre coffer only, at other times it included the frame or other appurtenances, and at times did not mean making or constructing at all, but meant the setting up and adorning of the sepulchre. This last seems clearly the case in this item of St. Mary, Devizes, of 1500, "For making of the Sepulchre and taking down, *ij* *d*." In the following itemized bill, apparently of the year 1422, from the records of All Saints, Bristol,<sup>8</sup> the 'making' includes material and labor for sepulchre and appurtenances, including frontel and fringe, as well as bread and ale for the workmen:

Payment for makyng of the Sepulkor

	£	s	d
Imprimis for 3 Easterlygge bordys.....		1	6
Item to 1 Kerver.....		10	9
Item to 1 Mason.....		.	9
Item Ryc Peynter.....	1	3	3
Item the procutorys of St. Nickolas.....			3
Item Iren gayr.....			8
Item 1 ffrontell and 1 ffrange.....		9	0
Item Lyme, nayles, and rekhokys.....			2
Item in bred and ayle.....			8

From some of the entries cited above, as well as from many others that might be cited, it is clear that the main part of the sepulchre was of wood. Doubtless the sepulchre varied much in elaborateness, as the variations in cost indicate and as would be expected from the natural differences between churches in wealth and fondness for display. Occasionally there are amounts indicating even a larger cost than at All Saints. At St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1512, is the item "payed to William Barton to the new Sepulcar *iiij* *li*, *xiijs*, *xd*." In the will of John Asten (1533) of Rolvenden, Kent, is the bequest "Also £6 to the making at my proper cost an honest Sepulchre for the Blessed Body of Our Lord to be laid in at Easter in the Church, and to the buying of one holy cloth there to hang on the Sepulchre at the holy time of Easter, and to do service in the church there at other times."<sup>9</sup> At St. Matthews, Friday Street, London, in 1547-8, is the item "Receuyed of Mr. Mounslo for a sepulker sold w'tin the tyme of this accompt *iiij* *li*, *iijs*, *iiij* *d*."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, I, 203. Noteworthy is the large payment to the painter; doubtless scenes were painted, probably both on the wood and the cloth. The "carver" did the carpentering. He probably received not more than 6d per day and the painter not much more, from which the amount of labor involved in making and adorning this sepulchre can be readily seen.

<sup>9</sup> Husey, *Testamenta Cantiana*, 389.

<sup>10</sup> *Archaeological Journ.*, XXV, 364.

## 2. *The Sepulchre Coffin*

The church ceremonies called for a receptacle into which the cross and Host were to be placed on Good Friday and out of which they were to be taken on Easter morning. In a temporarily erected sepulchre of wood such a receptacle would very naturally be a chest or coffin. And in fact a coffin seems to have been the central and most essential part of the sepulchre.

1491. *St. Dunstan's, Canterbury*. Item payde for nayles for the chest and to the sepulchre, ijd.

1507. *Holy Trinity, Cambridge*. To a warkeman for makynge of a Coffin to the Sepulchur, vjs., viijd. Item paid to Richard Rolfe for two waynskottes to the same Coffin, iijd. Item paid to George Foyster for nayles and claspys to the same Coffin, iijd.

1540. *Ludlow*. Item paid to Thomas Hunt for mendynge of the coffin for ye sepulchre, vjd. Item paid for borde nayle and lathe neale for the same coffin, ijd.

A sepulchre chest that stood "in the quere" of St. Mary Woolnoth Church, London, cost *xxd.*<sup>11</sup> At St. Martin's, New Romney, in 1550, the sepulchre frame was sold to one person for viijd, while another paid xijd for the "tombe of ye sepulchre"<sup>12</sup> this being probably a chest. Most writers on the Easter sepulchre in England quote a description of a sepulchre coffin which is or was in Snitterfield vicarage, Warwickshire, the front and two ends of which have carved panels with scenes from the Passion and Resurrection, but according to Francis Bond<sup>13</sup> this coffin belongs to the 17th century and hence has not served as a sepulchre. The panels, however, are older, belonging to the 14th or 15th century and may be from an early sepulchre chest. Bond mentions, however, another one, now in private hands, in the north of Derbyshire, saying that it is of the fifteenth century and of table form, with panelled and traceried sides and is 2 feet, 3 inches long, 2 feet broad and nearly 3 feet high.

A manuscript entitled *Inventarium monumentorum superstitionis* contains a list of goods of certain Lincolnshire churches destroyed or "put to prophane use" in or before the year 1566.<sup>14</sup> Among these many objects are about fifty Easter sepulchres; some of these were put to profane uses of such a nature as to suggest a coffin shape, one "whereof is made a shelf to set dishes on," another "sold to Johnne orson and he haith made a presse thereof to laie clothes therein," another "defaced whearof we made a bear (bier) to carie the dead corps and other things."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Feasey, *Ecd. Rev.*, XXXII, 355.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 354.

<sup>13</sup> *The Chancel of the English Church*, 234.

<sup>14</sup> Published by Edward Peacock under the title *Early Church Furniture*.

<sup>15</sup> It is of course possible in these cases that the sepulchre was taken entirely to pieces and rebuilt, as is specifically mentioned in one case "Itm one sepulchre broken in peces in Ao pmo Elizabeth and a coion (communion) table made thereof."

The sepulchre coffer, used for the "burial" of the cross and Host, is analogous to the coffin within the hearse, and the term "coffin" is sometimes used for it, as at St. Andrew Hubbard, East Cheap, in 1480-82, "a Coffyn to laye in the Crossis," and at St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, in 1466, a "Tabyll coffyn for the crosse."

The coffer was usually carved, gilded, or painted with scenes or emblems of the Passion or Resurrection, as at Yalding Church the woodwork of the sepulchre was "to be made according to good wurmanship and afterwarde to be gilded with the Resurrexion of our Lorde."<sup>16</sup> Father Feasey states positively that the coffer had the form of a gabled or coped chest. I know of no direct evidence of this and a coffer of table form, as mentioned above, seems to have been preserved. The coped form is, however, a very probable one, being the usual one of the coffin of ordinary burials, as well as of the very common portable shrine for relics. Such a shrine, or reliquary, was doubtless used at times for the Easter ceremonies in England, as it was on the continent.<sup>17</sup>

### 3. *The Sepulchre Frame*

The sepulchre seems usually to have had a frame that was set up about the coffer.

1513. *St. Lawrence, Reading*. It. payd to Harry Horthorne for setting upp of the frame aboute the sepulcre & for closyng of the dore in Seynt Johns chauncell to the quyre, vjd.

1553. *Wing, Buckingham*. It. payde to Edwarde Warde for makyng of the frame about the sepulcre, xd.

1554. *Lydd*. Item payde to Hever for makynge ye lent clothe and trymmynge the fframe aboute ye Sepulker, 18d.

The will of Wm. Cromer of Tunstall, Kent, contains the following bequest, a strikingly large sum:

For the making of a new frame for the Sepulchre, and a stone to lie upon it £6, 13s, 4d; and as many Estriche birdes (boards) as shall make it.<sup>18</sup>

In this item of St. Ewens, Bristol, "Item paid for a batylment to hang a clothe on ye sepulchre in ye chancel, ix<sup>d</sup>,"<sup>19</sup> the "battlement" was probably a sort of frame, as was probably also the "apparail" of wood and iron in another St. Ewens item: "The apparail of tre and Ire made for the Sepulcre with the cloths steyned ther to ordeyned."<sup>20</sup> The frequent items for

<sup>16</sup> *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, III, 248.

<sup>17</sup> The shrine, which held such an important and conspicuous place in the medieval church, often on a shelf above the high altar, may well have had some influence upon the Easter sepulchre. We have seen that on the continent relics were sometimes put in the sepulchre, and at High Wycombe there was "a sepulcur boxe wyth certain relykes." F. C. Eccles, *Edwardian Inventories for Buckinghamshire*, 137.

<sup>18</sup> *Hussey's Testamenta Cantiana*, 345.

<sup>19</sup> Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, II, 251.

<sup>20</sup> *Bristol and Gloucestershire, Archaeol. Trans.*, XV., 152.



the painting or gilding of the sepulchre may have been for the coffer alone or for it and the frame. In the following from St. Nicholas, Bristol, the frame seems to have been set up especially to be gilded, probably at some time other than Easter, "Item ffor setyng up & takeyng downe off the frame of the Sepulker when it was showyd ffor to be gyllt, iiijd."<sup>21</sup>

The sepulchre frame was usually of wood, and would most naturally be quadrangular in form with posts at the corners, as was the case with the hearse. Evidence of this for the sepulchre is an item of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, London. "Itm j sepulcure ouer gyldyd, wt j frame to be set onn with iiij posts and crysts ther to."<sup>22</sup>

The close analogy between sepulchre frame and hearse is obvious, and the frame is sometimes called 'herse.' Thus the parish accounts of St. Peter Cheap, London, mention "j hersse for the sepulchre and iiij aungels thereto."<sup>23</sup> The angels evidently stood on the four corner posts of the hearse, or frame, as we know they did at St. Stephens.<sup>24</sup> At St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, in 1537, there was "payed to John Capper ffor setting up the hyrse & kepyng of the sepulcre light, ijs." It is not clear whether the top of the sepulchre frame was like that which the hearse usually had, with its slanting rafters covered with black cloth. At Wandsworth, Surrey, is the item "payd ffor arafter ffor ye sepokkar, iijd."<sup>25</sup>

At St. Mary Cole Church, London, the frame seems to have been entirely of iron.<sup>26</sup> When of wood, the frame was probably at times strengthened or ornamented with iron. This may well be the meaning of the item of St. Edmunds, Salisbury, 1477-8, "Et sol' pro ferramento de novo empto pro firmacione et factura de la Sepultur' ibidem, xiijs, iiijd." At Ludlow payment was made in 1559 for a "claspe of iron set upon the frame of the sepulcur." A number of other items, including the above quoted "iron gear" at All Saints, Bristol, show the use of iron about the sepulchre, sometimes for rings, or staples, or hooks; at Eton payment was made "pro certis instrumentis ferreis ponderantibus xl<sup>i</sup>—pro sepulchro Domini erga diem Parasceve."<sup>27</sup> Iron may have been used, as Father Feasey suggests, for ornamental bands on the coffer, but I think it probable that it was used more frequently in connection with the frame, at times doubtless for pins or prickets for the tapers.

<sup>21</sup> *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, VI, 56.

<sup>22</sup> See p. 84. At St. Edmund, 1462-3, is the expenditure "Et carpentar' facienti postem sepulcri cum mearemio ad idem, vjd." (*Wills Record Society*, 1896, pp. 9-10)

<sup>23</sup> *Archaeolog. Journ.* (1868), 159.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 84.

<sup>25</sup> *Surrey Archaeol. Collection*, XV, 126.

<sup>26</sup> See Heales, *Archaeologia*, XLII, 303. Entirely of iron were the frames temporarily set up over tombs to support palls spread over them on anniversary occasions. See Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné d'Architecture*, IX, 64.

<sup>27</sup> Feasey, *Eccles. Rev.*, XXXII, 353. Feasey prints xl<sup>i</sup>, probably by mistake for x<sup>li</sup>.

In churches where there was no walled recess or flat top tomb to serve as a base for the sepulchre coffer at Easter time, there would probably be a temporary base, either a part of the frame or a support set within the frame, similar to a bier. Such a base is mentioned occasionally in continental texts; at Pressburg and at St. Gall it was a bench (*scamnum*).<sup>28</sup> At Ludlow for 1540 is the item "payd unto Croket for mendynge of a bare (bier) for the sepulcre, ijd."<sup>29</sup> This bier may have been such a base, although it may possibly have been used only to bear the cross or Host in the procession, as occasionally on the continent.<sup>30</sup> In this item of St. Benedict, London,<sup>31</sup> of 1553, "Pd for ye ffoote of ye sepulchre and for a desk for ye high aulter, 8s," it is possible that the "foot" was such a base. It is also possible that the 'stools' that are occasionally mentioned in connection with the sepulchre were used as a base for the coffer.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4. *Setting up the Sepulchre*

On or immediately before Good Friday each year the sepulchre with its frame would be set up in its regular position on the north side of the chancel.

1512-3. *St. Mary at Hill, London*. Paid for a Carpenter to set up the Sepulcre, iiijd.

1544-5. *St. Mary the Great, Cambridge*. Item to John Capper for setting up the sepulcre, ijs, viijd.

1554. *Eltham*. Item paid for setting up the sepulchre, iiijd.

1555. *St. James, Garlickhithe*. Setting the sepulture, iiijd.

1557-8. *St. Edmund, Salisbury*. Setting up of the Sepulker, ijd.

1557-8. *Ludlow*. Paid for setting up the cepulcre, viijd.

Most of the sums paid indicate that the setting up took from a quarter to a half day of a man's time. The sum at St. Mary the Great is strikingly large, representing probably at least three full days of a skilled workman's time. It would be rather large even if it included the "dressing" of the sepulchre.

#### 5. *Dressing the Sepulchre*

After the sepulchre was set up, it had to be dressed. This consisted chiefly in putting the rich cloths and hangings in position, although it probably included the placing in position of the tapers or any other adornments.

<sup>28</sup> See p. 62.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Wright, *Church Wardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*, 3.

<sup>30</sup> At Meissen, at St. Marks, and in the *Liber Sacerdotalis* of Castellani (Young, pp. 107, 68, and 56).

<sup>31</sup> J. P. Malcolm, *London Redivivum*, I, 314.

<sup>32</sup> Holy Trinity, Clapham, "Item dyvers stayned clothes and stools for the sepulchre"; High Wycombe "a sepulcur of Tymber wt a stole thereto." Nichols, in his *Illustrations*, 79, cites the item "paide to Thomas Smyth, wright, for mendyng of the kirke stoles by half a day and for nails, 4½d." and says that the stools were to support coffins during funerals, that is, to serve as a bier.

1545. *St. Michael's, Bedwardine.* Item for the dressyng of the sepulter, *iiijd.*

1553-4. *St. Edmund, Salisbury.* Robert Martyn for dressyng of the Sepulcer, *viiijd.*

1555-6. *Ludlow.* Paid to the sayd Thomas for dressynge of the sepulcre, *xijd.*

These sums of four, eight and twelve pence indicate an operation taking a considerable part of a day. A Bristol item seems to mean that the clerk and the suffragan took payment for a supper for dressing the sepulchre, "The Clerke and the suffrygann to Dress uppe the sepulcure takyng for a soper *vjd.*"<sup>23</sup> Instead of "dress," an item at Lydd speaks of "trymmyng the fframe about ye sepulker," while one at St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, uses the term "hang"—"Item payd for naylys, pynes and Thred to Heng the Sepulcur, *ijd.*"<sup>24</sup> At Maidstone, Kent, there were "ix peces of garnysching whyche served to the sepulchre."<sup>25</sup>

In 1555-6 at Ludlow there is mention of the purchase of one hundred "tackes to the sepulcur" as well as "pyns and whypcorde for the sepulcure." These purchases and the above cited *xijd* (a full day's wages) for dressing the sepulchre in this same year, indicate rather elaborate adornment. Among other things mentioned as used about the sepulchre, although it is not always clear whether they are used for dressing it or setting it up, are "divers naylis and wires and glu," "tentyr hookes," "hokes and staplis" at St. Mary at Hill, London; "sylk poynts" and "silver aglotts gilt" at St. Lawrence, Reading; "nayles, cordes and pyns," "small cordes," "viiij rynges and viiiij staples and a hoke of yron" at Ludlow; "wyer for the curteynes," and "tacketts, pynnes, and threydde to dress the sepulcer" at Bedwardine; "prigs (brads) and nayll" at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury; "hookis and buccalles (buckles)" at Worfield; "pynnes and packe thredde," at Minchinhampton. Pins, nails, and tacks are especially often mentioned.

#### 6. *Sepulchre Cloths*

There is a wealth of items about the cloths and hangings of the sepulchre. Various colors are mentioned, white, blue, green, black, and especially often red and crimson, and various materials, linen, silk, satin, velvet, buckram, dornick, cloth of gold, cloth of Baudekyn; on them were often scenes from the Passion, Burial, or Resurrection, embroidered or more frequently painted.

1395. *All Saints, Bristol, Inventory.* Item ij Steynyd cloths for ye Sepulchr wt *iiij* Knyghtys and Mary Magdalen.

1470. *St. Margaret Pattens, London.* Item a Grete Cloth of Tapestri werke for to hang upon the walle by hynde the Sepulcur.

1492-3. *St. Petrock.* For 8 yards of linen cloth "pro sepulchro," 4s. For "sawyng" (sewing) the same, 1d. For "stayning" the same, 20d. For making "le valance sepulcri & aris" for the same, 2s 6d.

<sup>23</sup> *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, V, 112.

<sup>24</sup> *History of the Church and Parish of St. Mary-on-the-Hill*, by J. P. Earmaker, 212.

<sup>25</sup> *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXII, 30.

1500. *St. Dunstan, Canterbury.* A clothe staynyd off the resurreccion for the sepulcre.

1518. *Church of Our Lady, Woodford Halse.* A charpett to the crose for to lye on the sepulcur.

1527-8. *St. Mary at Hill, London.* paid for an eln of fyne lynnyn cloth to amend the sepulture cloth wherat it was eiton (eaten) with rattes, xij*d.* paid to a bedmaker for mending & Sowing the same, xij*d.* paid to Mr. Wolf for payntyng & renewing the Images in the same cloth, vs.

*Maidstone, Kent.* It'm ix peces of garnyshing whyche served to the sepulchre, some be smale and all be narro.

*Wycombe.* A staynid clothe of gold powderid with gold & sylver for the sepulcur wt a lynnyn clothe thereto.

*Amersham.* Item a covyryng of silke for the sepulture, a valens of silke, a linen clothe to the sepulture, a valens for the same of peynted clothe.

*Synt Pollys, Exeter.* It. a cloth that hangeth before the Sepulchre.

*Salford Hundred, Dran.* xvj peces off olde Linnen used abowte ye Sepulcre.

*St. Leonard's Priory, Norwich.* Item diversi panni pro sepulcro steyned cum hystoria Resurrectionis.

*St. Paul's, London.* Item, two riche clothes for the garnishinge of the Sepulchre. Item two other smaller clothes for the Sepulchre of nedle worke one of them of the Sepulchre and thother of the resurrection.

Sepulchre cloths, one or more, doubtless covered the coffer itself, just as the coffin within the hearse was covered with a pall. This may well be meant by the mention at Bucklebury of "two payntid clothes wch wer wount to cover the Sepulchre"; this was in all probability the use made of a cloth inventoried at Yatendone, Berkshire, as "A sepulker clothe of blacke velvete wt a crose of Clothe of gold wroughte upon the same," corresponding thus to the "wide full pall of black velvet or cloth of gold, marked with a cross in the middle"<sup>26</sup> which was spread over the coffin within the hearse. At Durham the sepulchre was "sett vpp upon good friday after the passion all covered with redd ueluet and embrodered with gold."<sup>27</sup>

The sepulchre cloths seem, however, to have been used chiefly for hanging or trimming the frame. As we have seen, an item of St. Marys, Cambridge, mentions "a frame to the Sepulcar with clothes to the same" and one at Lydd speaks of "trymmynge the fframe aboute ye Sepulker." At St. Peter Cheap there was a payment "for pynnys & naylles and other necessaryes to hange up the clothe." The sepulchre, like the hearse, had at times its valance and fringe, which would doubtless be about the frame. At St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1554, after Queen Mary came to the throne there was this inquiry "It. to enquire for the valence & ffringe about the sepulcre." At St. Margaret's, Westminster, there was in 1560 "a brosclothe wt an Image of the Trynytie and a peace of vallance for the sepulchre wt a fringe of blak sylk and goold." The occasional "fronts" or "frontlets" were probably hung somewhat similarly about the frame. At Cranbrook,

<sup>26</sup> Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, II, 402.

<sup>27</sup> *Surtees Society*, CVII (1903), 12.

Kent, there were "ij paynted clothes for ye sepulker & a fronte to hang under ye taperrs," and at Henningham, Essex, "a cloth for the sepulchre, with the frontlett of redd sylke." At St. Peter Cheap in 1527 there was "payda Reward to Ambros Barkar's servante for lendynge of the clothe that henge abowte the sepulcre by consent was droppyd with candyll, ijs, iiij*d*."

While valance and "fronte" were probably tacked about the sepulchre in fixed positions, the sepulchre curtains, which are occasionally mentioned, seem to have been on wires or rods, so that they could be drawn. This is indicated by the first two of these three items of St. Margarets, Southwark, which Father Feasey cites, assigning them all to the year 1485. "Item ij blew Cortyns (to) draw afore the sepulture; iij Cortyns of launde to draw afore the sepulture on the ester holy days; Item a lytyll Cortyn of grene sylke for the hede of the sepulture."<sup>38</sup> In the accounts of St. Matthew, Friday Street, London, for 1547-48, is the item "Receyved of Mr. Beche for ij curtyns whiche hong about the sepulker, sold within the tyme of this accompt ix*s*."<sup>39</sup> At St. Michaels, Bedwardine, for 1547, is the item "for nayles and pynnes for the Sepulter on Palme Sondag and wyer for the Curteynes for the Sepulter at Easter, ijd," from which it would seem that here the sepulchre was adorned as early as Palm Sunday, probably to be borne in the procession of that day, but that the curtains were not put up until later. The following items of St. Michael Spurrier Gate, York, indicate a sepulchre that was a curtain-enclosed or cloth-enclosed 'house':

Pd for whyt Thred to the Parysh Clark for sewyng of Seynt Pulcure Howse & the Vestements, *id*.

Pd to John Carver for a Day & Di. mendyng of Seynt Pulcure Howse & for helping of ye Angells Wyngys & the Stawylls in the Church, & for di. Day helping of the Hamerrys [aumbries] in the Church, 1*s*.<sup>40</sup>

Curtains seem to be a feature of the sepulchre not shared by the hearse and may well have constituted the characteristic difference between them, a difference due perhaps to the needs of the Good Friday and Easter ceremonies about the sepulchre.

In addition to sepulchre cloths, mention is found of a number of other adornments made of cloth. Most frequent of these were probably small banners and pennons. These constitute another similarity between the sepulchre and the hearse. In the accounts of St. Mary at Hill for 1426-7, among Easter expenditures, are the items "also payd for bokeram for pennons & for makynge, xxij*d*" and "Also payd for betyng & steynyng of the

<sup>38</sup> *Ecd. Rev.*, XXXII, 476, 473.

<sup>39</sup> *Archaeolog. Journ.*, XXV, 365.

<sup>40</sup> John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Manners and Expences of Antient Times in England*, (1797), 316. The "angells Wyngys" may well have been for a sepulchre angel. The peculiar "Seynt Pulcure" for sepulchre, evidently a case of popular etymology, was quite common in parts of England. It indicates that 'sepulchre' was accented on the second syllable.

same penouns, vis."<sup>41</sup> At Faversham, Kent, in 1512, thirty-seven small banners of silk were provided for the sepulchre and the paschal.<sup>42</sup> At St. Nicholas, Bristol, in 1543-4 is the entry "Item pd to fyngall ffor his honyd worke to ley the gold apon viij Smale stremereys ffor the Sepulker, viijs."<sup>43</sup>

There was a girdle for the sepulchre at St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London and at Wing, Buckingham;<sup>44</sup> and in 1390 a parishioner bequeathed to the sepulchre in Blyth, York, "j zonam cum argento harnesatam."<sup>45</sup> At Minster-in-Sheppy there was a "stole of red sendall." Lady Bardolph, wife of the Chamberlain to Henry VI, left to Dennington Church, Suffolk, "a purple gown with small sleeves to adorn the easter Sepulchre there."<sup>46</sup> In 1500 Henry Willyams bequeathed to the church of Stanford, Northamptonshire, "my coverlet for the use of the sepulcre."<sup>47</sup> Occasionally beds were bequeathed, doubtless tester-beds with their hangings. Several examples are given by Father Feasey.<sup>48</sup> One case is particularly interesting in that it shows the close relationship between sepulchre and hearse: Elizabeth Hatfield, of Hedon, York, bequeathed to her parish church in 1509 her arras bed to be used to cover her tomb on the year's mind and to adorn the sepulchre at Easter: "Eccl. par. meae j ares-bed, ea intentione quod quolibet anno die obitus mei cooperuerit super sepulcrum meum et mariti mei, et ad ornamentum sepulcri Domini tempore Paschali et Sacramenti, dum valet et durabit."<sup>49</sup>

### 7. *Angels and Other Figures*

Several items and allusions are found to angels about the sepulchre. Father Feasey states:

From the inventories it would seem to have been customary in some places after the removal of the Sacred Host to set carven angels either within or at the door of the sepulchre.<sup>50</sup>

and then he gives a few items mentioning angels, two "of tre gilt" at St. Margaret Pattens, four at St. Peter Cheap, six at St. Margaret, Southwark. But the items cited afford no evidence for his statement that the angels were

<sup>41</sup> It will be seen that the beating with gold and the "staining," i.e. the painting, cost more than three times as much as the material and the making. The "banners and pendants" for the hearse of Thomas Savage, Archbishop of York, of sarcenet, painted, cost the large sum of vijli, ijs, ijd. *Surtees Society*, LIII, 321.

<sup>42</sup> Feasey, *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 476.

<sup>43</sup> *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, VI, 56.

<sup>44</sup> The date of the Wing item seems to be 1527 and not the rather improbably late 1565, which Feasey gives (*Eccl. Rev.*, 477), see *Archaeologia*, XXXVI, 222.

<sup>45</sup> *Surtees Society*, IV, 143.

<sup>46</sup> Feasey, *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 478.

<sup>47</sup> *Archaeolog. Journ.*, (1913), 229.

<sup>48</sup> *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 475.

<sup>49</sup> *Surtees Society*, V, 2. A note of the editor states that this use of ornamented beds was common in Hull and its neighborhood.

<sup>50</sup> *Eccl. Rev.*, XXXII, 495.

not set in position until after the removal of the Host on Easter morning, and I know of no evidence of this from the inventories and none from any other source except from the South German poet Naogeorgus, thus translated by Barnabe Googe in 1570:

The Image and the breade from out the grave (a worthie sight)  
They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white.

The angels had sometimes, but not always, the position stated by Father Feasey, within or at the door of the sepulchre. At St. Peter Cheap it is expressly mentioned that the four angels belonged to the "hersse" or frame; they were probably on posts at its four corners. St. Stephen, Coleman St., London, had a wealth of angels, "iiij Angell for to be set onn the posts," and "j angyll to be set in the dore," as well as "iiij grete angell to be set onn the sepulchre wt dyuers (diverse) smale angell." When, as at St. Stephens and doubtless at St. Peter Cheap, angels were set on the posts, they would in all probability be put in position when the sepulchre was set up on Good Friday. At St. Mary at Hill in 1518-9 was an expenditure "to a smyth for hokes and staplis for the iiij Angelles on ye sepulchre," and a Yarmouth item is for mending an angel standing at the sepulchre.<sup>51</sup> At St. Mary, Dover, in a joint payment for various Easter expenditures, there are included "Angelle tapers," and in the accounts of St. Nicholas, Bristol, there is mention once a year of two "angel-tapers" or "two tapers for the angels."<sup>52</sup> These tapers were probably held by images of angels about the sepulchre.

An occasional sepulchre was even more elaborately beset with figures. Often quoted is the description of the Sepulchre of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, of 1470, with its image of God Almighty, its "Heaven made of timber and stayned clothes," its hell with "Divils to the number of thirteen," its four knights, its Holy Ghost, etc.<sup>53</sup> It is, however, quite possible that all this was not, as generally assumed, for the regular Easter sepulchre, but was for a Resurrection play. It has not, I believe, been pointed out in support of this that the angels were apparently to be human beings and not figures, since the consignment delivered by "Master Canynges" included merely wings and wigs for the angels: "Item, four pair of angels' wings for four angels, made of timbre, well paynted, . . . Item, longeth to the four angels, four chevelers (wigs)." The above mentioned sepulchre of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, had in addition to its numerous angels, "iiij knyghts to be set onn the posts before the dore." It may be of interest to insert here all the items concerning the St. Stephens sepulchre and its

<sup>51</sup> Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 811.

<sup>52</sup> For St. Mary, see Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 167, for St. Nicholas, *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, VI, 54.

<sup>53</sup> For full description, see Feasey, *Holy Week Ceremonial*, 148; Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, II, 206.

appurtenances, as a type of an elaborate Easter sepulchre. The items are from an inventory of 1466.<sup>54</sup> Under the heading "Sepulchre" are grouped the following:

Itm j sepulchre ouer gyldyd, wt j frame to be set onn wt iiij posts and crysts ther to.  
 Itm iiij trestell to haue the sepulter downe wt iiij ironys to bere ht up wt.  
 Itm iiij Angell for to be set onn the posts wt iiij sences, ij gyldyd and ij not gyldyt.  
 Itm iiij grete angell to be set onn the sepulchre wt dyuers smale angell.  
 Itm ij steyned clothes wt the apostoll and the prophets bettyn wt golde wt the crede.  
 Itm viij bar'es bettyn wt golde to be set abowte the sepulchre wt dyuers smale pynons (pennons).

Itm iiij knyghts to be set onn the posts befor the dore. Itm j angyll to be set in the dore.

A few other items enumerating objects connected with the sepulchre are put under other headings; under "Canapeys" "Itm j canape steyned wt a sonn of golde to heng over the sepulchre at estire;" Under "Juelis" (jewels) "Itm the resurrecon of our lorde wt the avyse in hys bosum to put the sacrament ther in," evidently an image of Christ, with a hole in the breast for the Host, to be "buried" in the sepulchre, as at Durham and elsewhere; under "pevtur" (pewter) "Itm xxij disshes for the sepulchre and ij disshes for the pascalle wt Cordes that pertainis ther to," evidently hanging basins for the tapers.

#### 8. *The Sepulchre Canopy*

The canopy seems to have been a not infrequent feature of the sepulchre, although probably not so common as J. K. Bonnell's study assumes. I have found two references to a canopy *over* the sepulchre, viz. the one just cited "to heng over the sepulchre at estir" at St. Stephens, and an item of Christ Church, Bristol, "for a small corde to staye ye canabye over ye sepulchre"; two references to a canopy *for* the sepulchre, viz. a payment to John Pleyter at Pilton "for makyn of a canopy for ye sepulcor" and a payment at St. Stephens, Walbrook, London, for "paypur, nayles & paynt p' le sopokeyr canope";<sup>55</sup> and three references not mentioning the sepulchre but found along with sepulchre items, viz., one from an inventory of Dame Agnes Hungerford "Item a canabe, . . . with all sylke thynke (things) belonging to the sepulker"; one at St. Peter Cheap, "Item j canopy steyned with iiij staves and iiij boles of golde and iiij faynes and j cloth for the sepulchre staynede"; and one at Wandsworth "Item payd ffor iiij staffes ffor ye Canype xvid." It is probable in the last two of these cases (and possible in some of the others) that the canopy was not over the sepulchre but was the usual processional canopy, held by the "iiij staves" and carried over the Sacrament while it was being borne to or from the sepulchre.

Reference has been made several times to Bonnell's theory that both the Easter sepulchre and the sepulchre of Christian art stood in close rela-

<sup>54</sup> *Archaeologia* (1887), 34 f.

<sup>55</sup> Heales, *Archaeologia*, XLII, 298.



tion to the architecture of the high altar.<sup>56</sup> His argument rests to a large extent upon the assumption that the canopy was characteristic of all three structures, the canopy he assumes being of the ciborium type resting on pillars. In his conclusion<sup>57</sup> he states that the Easter sepulchre, if his theory is accepted, was characteristically a little structure comprising a canopy supported by pillars (usually four), and capable of being enclosed with curtains or rich hangings, and that about this little sepulchre-house there was sometimes placed a frame to support lights and keep back the devout. These conclusions present, I think, an incorrect picture; and the argument upon which they are based seems to me to involve two misapprehensions, one as to the nature of the altar canopy in the period in question and the other as to the nature of the sepulchre canopy. The type of altar which Bonnell discusses and upon which he builds up his argument is the early Christian type with its ciborium (i. e. its dome of masonry supported by pillars) and with its rods and curtains that could be drawn inclosing the space within the pillars, a type however which did not prevail in England, France or Germany during the period in which the Easter sepulchre developed. As Camille Enlart says:

L'église grecque et d'Italie ont conservé l'usage du ciborium durant tout le moyen âge. Dans d'autres contrées il est très exceptionnel après le X<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>58</sup>

Thus the canopy on pillars, while not unknown, was a very uncommon type, the more usual type of altar canopy being the flat tester canopy of wood or cloth, suspended by wires or chains from above or held by iron rods from the side wall.<sup>59</sup> This seems also to have been the type placed occasionally over the Easter sepulchre, as indicated by the canopy at St. Stephens "to heng over the sepulchre" and at Bristol the small cord "to staye ye canabye over ye sepulchre." At Great Yarmouth there were two pulleys over the sepulchre in the chancel roof<sup>60</sup> which may well have been for the canopy. There remain, however, the facts that altar and sepulchre had occasionally a canopy of the same type and each had lights and cloths upon or about it; but these are common means of adornment and of showing honor and do not seem to me to be convincing evidence that the sepulchre developed in imitation of the high altar. Certainly the resemblances between sepulchre and altar are not so close and specific as those between sepulchre and hearse, which are pointed out at various places in the course of this chapter. It seems to me that the English Easter sepulchre developed very largely in imitation of the church burial of persons of rank.

<sup>56</sup> I have attempted in chapter IV to show that the altar was without appreciable influence upon the sepulchre of Christian art.

<sup>57</sup> *Publications of Mod. Lang. Assoc.* (1916), 712.

<sup>58</sup> *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, I, 742.

<sup>59</sup> See Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric*, 25.

<sup>60</sup> Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 811.

### 9. *Sepulchre Lights*

Lights formed an important feature of the Easter sepulchre. They were mostly wax tapers. Although one was all that the rubric required, there were usually more. The use of Sarum provides for a light before the sepulchre, that of Hereford for one in it. Twelve tapers are mentioned a number of times, symbolizing the disciples, or thirteen, with one larger than the rest, for Christ and the disciples. At Heybridge, in the twenty-first year of Henry VIII, the bachelors provided nine tapers and the maidens nine for the sepulchre. At St. Edmunds, in 1468-9, there were ninety-seven, set on pins of beech and ash, "Joh'i Russhe Turner pro factura xlvij pynys de Beche & Asshe ad standum supra sepulcur' pro cera ibidem ardente, xvij*jd.*" At St. Stephens, as we have seen, there were twenty-two hanging basins for sepulchre lights. At St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in 1536-8, there was a payment of xvijs, ix*d* "for the makynge of the Sepulcre lights at Ester with great lights and midle lights wth dyverse tapers as it dothe appere by a bill there of maide." At St. Mary at Hill, in 1499, there was a payment for "a lampe and for tentyr hookes to the sepulcre." At St. Margarets, Southwark, four long cressets and four short ones were used "for to sett the lighte aboote the sepulture on good fryday, peynted rede with yrons to the same." The term "sepulchre light" was used in a collective sense for all the lights, as in the following items of St. Nicholas, Bristol:

1521-2. Item ffor a borde to worke the sepulcur light apon, iiij*s*, x*jd.*

1531-32. Item payd for pynys & the mendyng of that the sepulcre light hangyth on, ij*jd.*

1540-41. pd ffor vj yardes canwas to make a clothe to covyre the sepulkere lyght, xx*jd.*

There were often wardens of the "sepulchre light" and in various places guilds to care for the lights and collect the money to keep them up. Medieval wills contain innumerable bequests for the maintaining of sepulchre lights.

As in the church burial most of the tapers were set upon the hearse, so the sepulchre lights seem to have been mostly on the frame. At St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1549, there was "Rec'd of Mr. Bell for the sepulcre & frame for tapers thereto annexid, xxs." An early description of Long Melford Church tells of "a fair painted frame of timber to be set up about Maundy Thursday, with holes for a number of fair tapers to stand in before the sepulchre." Medieval pictures of hearses show candles in holes, as well as upright on crossbeams, evidently on pins, or prickets. Both of these methods were used about the sepulchre, as we see from Long Melford and from the above mentioned pins of beech and ash at St. Edwards.

It is probable that the lights usually burned, at least during the daytime, from Good Friday to Easter Sunday. In 1487 Richard Meryweather of Sibertswold left a bequest of two sheep "to the support of 8 tapers burning before the Sepulchre at Easter until the last Mass on Easter

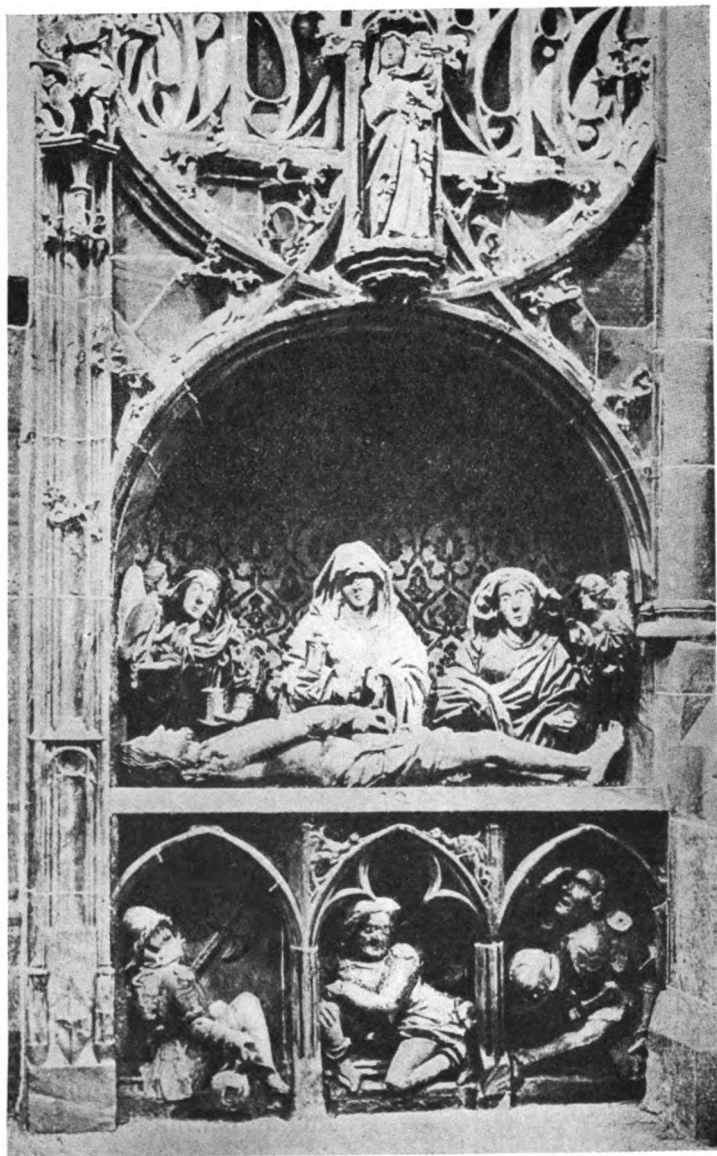


FIG. 20. PERMANENT SEPULCHRE IN THE CHURCH AT NEUWEILER, ALSACE.  
LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



day."<sup>61</sup> The will of Alice Bray of Chelsfield contains, however, the following: "I will a taper of iij*li* wax to bren before the sepulture of ouer lorde wt in the said church at the tyme of Easter that is to saye from Goodefridaye to Thursdaye in the Ester weke to be brennyng at tymes convenyant according as other lightes be wonte and used to be kept there about the sepulture."<sup>62</sup>

#### 10. *Watching the Sepulchre*

The sepulchre having been set up and dressed, the cross and Host buried in it, and the lights lit, it became doubtless during the daytime a place of prayer and devotion, while during the two nights from Friday to Sunday, it was watched, usually by paid watchers. The number seems to have varied from one to four; the sums paid range from ijd to ijs. Often it was the "Clarke"; at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, it was the "Clarke" and the "Fryer"; at St. Helen's Abington, the "sextin" in 1557, the "bellman" in 1558. Payment was usually recorded for bread and drink for the watchers and for coals to keep them warm. At Lichfield three persons are said to have kept unbroken vigil singing psalms, while at Eton College three or four of the elder scholars used to take the watch in turn, probably singing or reading the psalter, as did the scholars at Augsburg.

#### 11. *Taking Down the Sepulchre*

There are entries of payments for taking down the sepulchre ranging in amount from ijd at Worksop, in 1547, to xijd at St. Mary at Hill, in 1559. As nails were used largely in setting up the sepulchre, it is probable that it often suffered some damage in being taken down. This may well be the reason for its frequent need of repair. So well recognized was this need that bequests for it were frequently made.<sup>63</sup> The sepulchre, after being taken down, was stored away until the following year. According to Nichols<sup>64</sup> there was at St. Mary at Hill, London, in 1516, a payment of 13s 4d "in part for a chest to lay the sepulchre in." In an inventory of St. Mary at Hill in 1553 occurs "Item, more in the Roud loff, a long Chist with the fframe of the Sepvllev [r?] in yt."<sup>65</sup> At Yarmouth there is an item for a new house in the vestry to put the sepulchre.<sup>66</sup> The Sarum Customary gives the time of removal as follows: "Die ueneris in ebdomada pasche ante missam amou-eatur sepulchrum." This fits in quite well with the above cited bequest for a light to burn until Thursday of Easter week. The bequest cited for lights to burn only through Easter Sunday at Sibertswold suggests an earlier removal there.

<sup>61</sup> *Testamenta Cantiana*, 307.

<sup>62</sup> *St. Paul's Eccles. Society*, III, 248.

<sup>63</sup> See *Archaeol. Journ.*, N.S., 20 (1913), pp. 228, 308, 360.

<sup>64</sup> *Illustrations*, 107.

<sup>65</sup> See Littlehales, *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, *Early Engl. Text Soc.*, (1905), 53.

<sup>66</sup> Swinden, *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, 811.

## CHAPTER IX

### PERMANENT ARCHITECTURAL OR SCULPTURAL SEPULCHRES OF THE CONTINENT AND ENGLAND

Early in the middle ages circular or polygonal structures, built in imitation of the rotunda over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, became popular. These were churches, such as Neuvy-Saint-Sepulcre in France, dating from 1045, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre of Cambridge, England, or they were side chapels of churches, as the *Moritzkapelle* of the Cathedral of Constance, or small independent chapels, often in cemeteries,<sup>1</sup> such as the *Michaelskapelle* of Fulda, which dates back to 820. On the continent sculptural representations in stone of the sepulchre itself were generally placed in these circular chapels, and later in other side chapels, and often out in the churches themselves. Those that have been preserved are chiefly of the late middle ages, especially the fifteenth century. The moment usually represented is after the Entombment; the body of Christ lies stretched out on top of a sarcophagus, like the effigy on ordinary chest tombs of that time; behind are the Maries, at each end usually an angel, and in front, generally in relief on the front side of the sarcophagus, the sleeping guards (see Fig. 20). These "heilige Gräber" are especially common in South Germany, along the upper Rhine, in Alsace, and in Saxony, but are found occasionally elsewhere, both in Germany and France.<sup>2</sup> These monuments were doubtless adorned at Easter time with cloths and candles, and became the scene of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, where these ceremonies were in vogue. Occasionally the outstretched image of Christ has a hole in the breast in which the Host was doubtless placed in the *Depositio*. When there was no such hole, a temporary coffer was probably used, or, if the later exposition rite had developed, a monstrance. These "heilige Gräber," although representing a time after the burial, are very similar to the real Entombment scenes, which, sculptured in stone, are occasionally found in continental churches, especially in France. In these there is the same outstretched figure of Christ, lying upon or being lowered into a

<sup>1</sup> For Germany, see Bergner, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstdenkmäler in Deutschland* (1905), 69 and 361. For a list of French round or polygonal *chapelles funéraires* see C. Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, I, 792.

<sup>2</sup> For a considerable list, see an unsigned article "Die heiligen Gräber in der Karwoche" published in *Kirchenschmuck*, 1862; also Otte, *Kunst-Archaeologie*, I, 365; also "Heilige Grabkapellen oder Nachbildungen des Grabes des Erlösers, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Tyrol, in *Kunstfreund* (1899), 81-86 and 89-93. There were such monuments in the *Abbaye de la Prée*, near Issoudon, and at Bourges, France, (see *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictines*, I, 23 and 24) and in the church of St. Nicholas at Troyes, (*Ibid.*, I, 93) also in the crypt of the Jerusalem Church at Bruges (See *Notes and Queries*, March, 1918, p. 79).

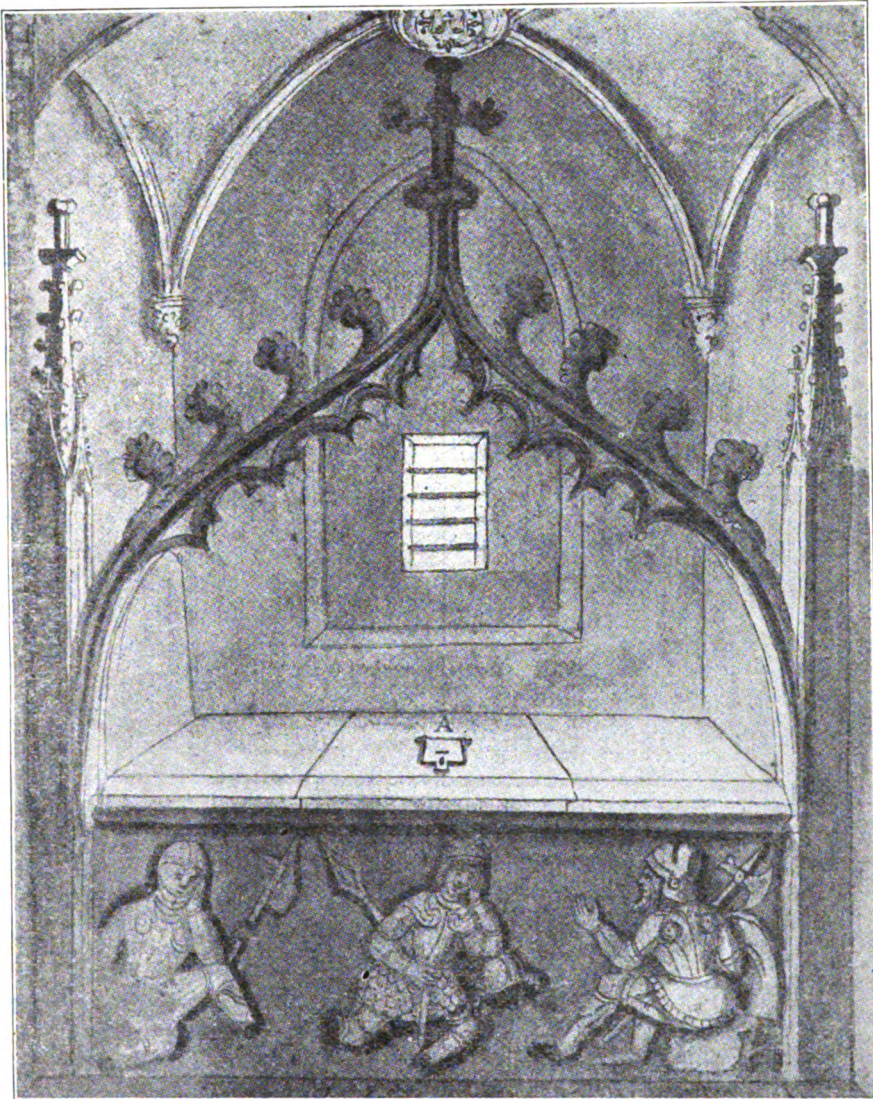


FIG. 21. SEPULCHRE IN A CHAPEL OF THE FORMER JOHANNITER KIRCHE,  
BASEL, SWITZERLAND





coffer-tomb and about the tomb are the sorrowing Maries and other figures. Here however the act of burial is represented, with Joseph of Arimathea at one end of the tomb and Nicodemus at the other.

In England, as stated below, the permanent Easter sepulchres are without images of Christ. They are usually arched recesses with plain level bases. I know of no continental sepulchres of this English type still preserved. However there was one in a chapel of the former *Johanniterkirche* in Basel, as may be seen from an eighteenth-century drawing that has been preserved (see Fig. 21). It had a small receptacle, hewn in the stone and provided with an iron lid and lock. This, called by Buchel, the eighteenth-century artist, the "Gotteskasten,"<sup>3</sup> was doubtless for the Host.

In a chapel of the church at Mittelzell, on the Island of Reichenau, there is a sort of Gothic grating enclosing a square space called "das heilige Grab." Down a few steps in this space is a coffin-like chest with wooden lid, too small for a life-size figure but large enough for a crucifix or a fairly large image.<sup>4</sup> In the circular *Moritzkapelle* of the Cathedral of Constance is a small octagonal Gothic structure enclosing a Holy Sepulchre.<sup>5</sup> The figures here include not only an angel, two guards and the three Maries, but also, in cap and gown and standing before a small table or counter, Doctor Ypocras, of whom the Maries buy their ointment. Of particular interest in view of the relation between altar and sepulchre of Christ, is a table-altar in the *Grossen Gasten Museum* in Dresden. This has below, between the corner pillars, the sepulchre, with outstretched body and the three Maries, while a sleeping soldier leans against each of the two pillars.<sup>6</sup> If used in the *Depositio*, the receptacle for the deposit of Host or crucifix would in this case probably be on the altar table above the sepulchre. As we have seen, "heilige Gräber," for the exposition, rather than the burial of the Host, are still arranged at Easter time in many parts of Germany and Austria. Use is doubtless made of the permanent sepulchre if there is one; otherwise a temporary imitation or suggestion of the tomb is used.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See E. A. Stückelberg, *Die Verehrung des heiligen Grabes*, in the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, I, 114. Buchel's description is as follows: "Abzeichnung des Heiligen Grabs in einer Kapelle der Johanniter Kirche. . . . A der auf dem Grab in Stein ausgehauene Gotteskasten, mit einem eisernen Deckel verschlossen, den man mit einem Malenschloss beschliessen kann, in geviert 5½ Zoll gross, das Grab ist über 6 Schuh lang, die Figuren daran sind erhaben in Stein und bey Alter sehr presthaft und verstossen."

<sup>4</sup> This resembles the previously mentioned Scandinavian sepulchre, (see Fig. 17).

<sup>5</sup> Often reproduced, among other places in Bergner, *Kunstaltertümer*, 361. The figures within it are reproduced in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, LX, 130, Tafel V. (Kinkel).

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced in Bergner, p. 260.

<sup>7</sup> Modern German discussions of the subject usually include suggestions for the design of the sepulchre; Karl Atz, in an article on *Das heilige Grab in der Karwoche*, in *Kunstfreund* (1906), 40, suggests a chest-shaped shrine, open in front, with a tabernacle built over it for the Host.

While the typical permanent sepulchre of the continent resembles thus a complete Entombment scene, that of England is only a base or pedestal formerly used for the temporary sepulchre coffer but very often without any sculptured figures. These so-called Easter sepulchres are of two types, the one being built solely for Easter purposes, the other being also the tomb of the donor. The former might be subdivided into: (1) the simple walled recess; (2) the richly carved vaulted enclosure (the difference between these two being, however, only in the degree of architectural elaborateness); and (3) carved stone chest-tomb serving only Easter purposes.

The earliest kind is the simple walled recess, although none of these are earlier than the thirteenth century.<sup>8</sup> They are of various sizes and shapes, often rather low and broad, and not infrequently on the floor level. An example of the thirteenth century is at Twywell, Northants.<sup>9</sup> Among other examples are those at Middleton, Lancashire;<sup>10</sup> St. Martin's, Canterbury; Bottesford, Lincolnshire; and Orpington, Kent.

The richly carved vaulted Easter sepulchres are of the so-called Decorated period of Gothic, which developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of these the finest are those at Hawton, Sibthorpe, and Arnold, in Nottinghamshire; at Heckington, Lincoln Cathedral, Navenby, and Horbling, in Lincolnshire; at Northwold, Norfolk; at Bampton, Oxfordshire; at Patrington, Yorkshire; and at Withybrook, Warwickshire.<sup>11</sup>

The carved stone chest-tomb is a type that has usually been overlooked.<sup>12</sup> The known examples, which are not numerous, are all of the fifteenth century and are in West Somerset churches. It was made to stand in the northeast corner of the chancel and hence only the south and west sides were ornamented.<sup>13</sup>

In the course of the fifteenth century arose the practice of making a tomb for the burial of the donor, with the object also of serving as a base for the Easter sepulchre. Its Easter purpose is sometimes indicated by a sculptured Resurrection and soldier guards at the back of the canopy arch that usually covered it. Interesting directions for these are found in early wills, as for instance in that of John Pympe (1496), of Nettlestead, Kent, who desires to be buried in the parish church "before the Image of oure

<sup>8</sup> Feasey, *Ecc. Rev.*, XXXII, 346, states that this type is found on the continent, for instance at Subiaco, Italy.

<sup>9</sup> Reproduced in Francis Bond's *The Chancel of the English Churches* (1916), 226. This work contains excellent illustrations of Easter sepulchres, sixteen in number.

<sup>10</sup> Reproduced, *ibid.*, 228.

<sup>11</sup> Of these Bampton, Lincoln Cathedral, Navenby, Hawton, Heckington, Patrington and Northwold are reproduced by Bond; Sibthorpe and Arnold by Cox and Harvey (*Engl. Church Furniture*, 76 and 77).

<sup>12</sup> *English Church Furniture*, p. 76.

<sup>13</sup> For examples see Cox and Harvey, *ibid.*, 76. One at Porlock is reproduced by Bond, p. 230.

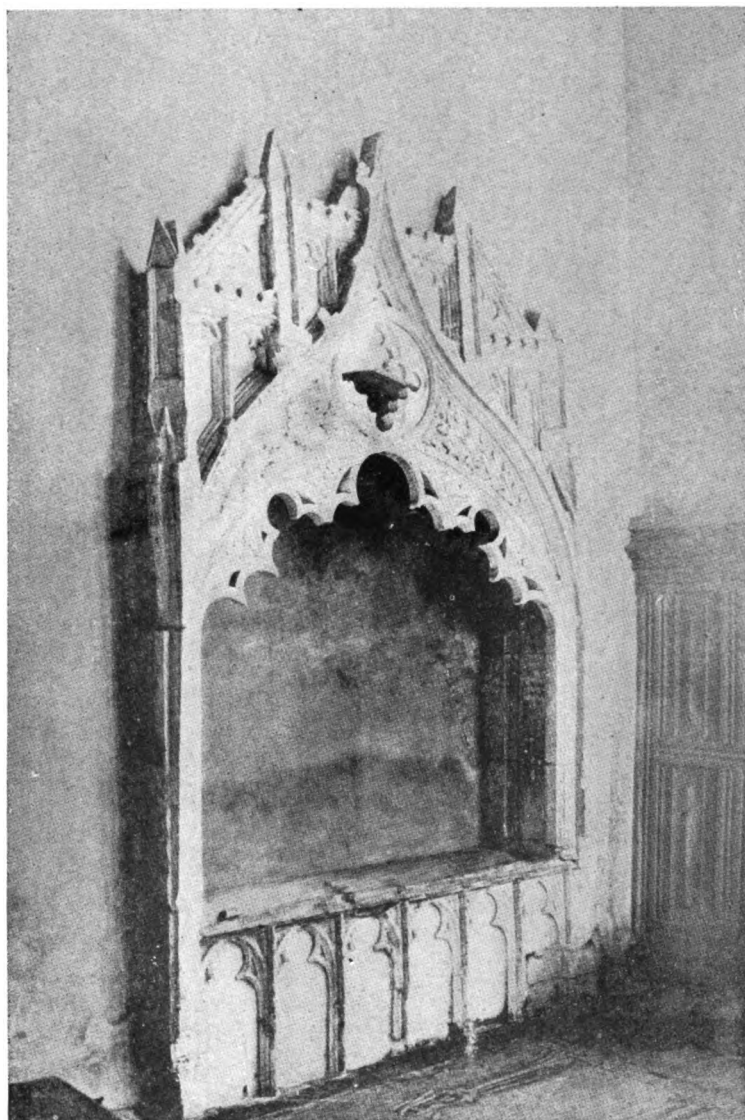


FIG. 22. PERMANENT SEPULCHRE AT CRANLEY, ENGLAND



blessed lady in the place where as the sepulture of oure lorde is wounte to stonde at the Fest of Ester and to be leyde there in a tombe of stone, made under such fourme as the blessed sacrement and the holy crosse may be leide upon the stone of the said tombe in the maner of sepulture at the Feest abovesaide."<sup>14</sup>

As we have seen before, the English Easter sepulchres have a uniform location in the north side of the chancel. Although many of these architectural structures have carved figures of soldiers, Maries, angels, Resurrection scenes, or symbols of the Passion, to establish their connection with the Easter ceremonies, yet in the case of structures of a similar character, but without such figures, this location may be considered sufficient evidence of their use for Easter purposes.

Some of the stone Easter sepulchres still show traces of original coloring. This is true of the one from Cranley, reproduced here.<sup>15</sup> A list of eight sepulchres showing traces of coloring (in which list Cranley is omitted) is given by C. D. Keyser,<sup>16</sup> who does not hesitate to assert that the mouldings and the sculptures of practically all were formerly enriched with decorative coloring. It is thus necessary to include, in one's mental picture of many of the more elaborate Easter sepulchres, the brightly colored Gothic ornament and stone figures, in addition to the wealth of candles and richly painted or embroidered palls.

<sup>14</sup> This and several other instances may be found in Feasey, *Ecd. Rev.*, 346 f, also in Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, III, 79. Of this type of tomb Major Heales says: "The fashion of erecting such structures to answer at once the purpose of an Easter sepulchre and a monument set in towards the end of the 15th century (though somewhat earlier instances may be found), and continued until the middle of the 16th century; it necessitated the horizontal surface on the top of the tomb being flat, and the monumental effigy is usually set in the wall-face above, all being generally covered by a stone canopy. (*Surrey Archaeol. Collections*, VII, 36.)

<sup>15</sup> See Fig. 22. This is also true of some on the continent, including the one reproduced in Fig. 20.

<sup>16</sup> *A List of Buildings Having Mural and other Painted Decorations*, p. 356, also p. LXIV.

## APPENDIX

### TEXTS OF THE *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, AND *Visitatio*

This selection is limited to new or little known texts that have some features of interest. All but three or four of them are published here for the first time. For convenient reference the texts are arranged alphabetically by places. Most of them are based upon photographs of the manuscripts; a few are transcriptions made more or less hurriedly some years ago. Where the latter is the case, introductory mention of the fact is made.

#### BAMBERG

MS lit. 118 (Ed. I, 19) of the Bamberg Library (formerly the Royal Library), *Directorium Breviarum et Missalis Bambergensis*, of the sixteenth century, contains the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* has been published in the *Zt. f. d. Alt.* LV, 55-56. The MS has a few marginal additions in later hands. These will be indicated either parenthetically in the text or in footnotes, although I have not been able to read some of them.

##### < *Depositio*. >

(f. 62<sup>v</sup>) Quibus peractis (i.e. communion) subcustos ferat calicem magnam cum sacramento ("scilicet paruis hostiis que superfuerunt" has been crossed out) ad chorum sancti Petri ad sacristiam, precedentibus duobus candelis videlicet wandelkerzen. Deinde fiet processio ad chorum sancti Georgii per ianuam decani ordine tali: primo due magne candelae dicte wandelkerzen, deinde chorales vicarii et domini canonici, deinde duo candelabra argentea, deinde duo canonici subdiaconi ferentes thurribulum et aspersorium, deinde ferentur quatuor particule reliquiarum supra nominate, deinde quatuor ministrantes ("ad officium," crossed out), (f. 63<sup>r</sup>) deinde sacerdos officians ferens sacramentum in monstrancia magna velata, ultimo duo summissarii ("supra nominati," crossed out) ferentes crucem eburneam cum casula sua ("deinde omnis populus," crossed out). Et incipitur per succentorem responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, versus *In pace*. Sacramentum in monstrancia cum quatuor particulis reliquiarum<sup>1</sup> ponatur in altari sancti Georgii, ut moris est,<sup>2</sup> et thurificetur et aspergetur. Et ponantur due candelae ardentes et diligenter serentur. Et crux eburnea mittatur foris ante capsam sancte Kunegundis. Post hoc cantetur responsorium *Sepulto domino*, versus *Ne forte*. Et hiis completis singuli dicant versus videlicet psalmos feriales submissa voce sine inceptione et sine *Gloria patri*.

##### < *Elevatio*. >

(f. 66<sup>r</sup>) In die sancto pasce post undecimam horam noctis excitentur domini per edituos. Et convenient hora duodecima (changed to read "citra horam duodecimam") ante sacristiam

<sup>1</sup> "Supra dictis" is crossed out, and a marginal note is added enumerating the "particule reliquiarum," of which I have only been able to read a part ("... cruce cum digito ... et plenariis").

<sup>2</sup> A marginal addition reads: "Introgressus subtus altare subcustos recipiat monstranciam cum venerabili sacramento ex manibus domini officiantis, et post (?) officians pariter (?) introgressus per eundem." The two words followed by question marks are somewhat doubtful.

sancti Viti. Episcopus aut officians cum ministrantibus induat se ornamentis sacerdotalibus albis. Et ordo processionis erit talis: primo duo scolares ferentes duo vexilla, deinde duo scolares ferentes duas magnas candelas, wandelkerzen, deinde duo scolares ferentes duas cruces argenteas, deinde duo ceroferarii cum candelabris argenteis et candelis ardentibus, omnes induti cappis, deinde quatuor domini canonici capitulares subdiaconi, duo ferentes (f. 66<sup>v</sup>) thurribulum et caldare, et alii duo plenaria optima, induti cappis rubeis melioribus, deinde ministrantes, deinde officians, deinde chorales vicarii et domini canonici. Et si episcopus fuerit officians, tunc ipse sequitur processionem cum infula et baculo ("episcopali," crossed out). Et tunc cruces, ceroferarii, thurribula, plenaria, et ministrantes antecedant episcopum. Et processio procedit in absida ascendendo chorum sancti Georgii per ianuam decani vsque ad sepulchrum domini. Et episcopus vel officians intret sepulchrum et recipiet sacramentum cum summa reuerencia.<sup>3</sup> Et tunc processio ordinetur tali modo: primo duo vexilla, deinde due candelae ("dicte wandelkerzen" has been added), deinde ("scolares," crossed out) chorales vicarii et domini canonici, deinde cruces argenteae, deinde duo ceroferarii cum candelis ardentibus, deinde duo thurribula, deinde duo plenaria, deinde ministri, deinde ("duo," crossed out) quatuor canonici seniores in religione sua videlicet vehen ("hauben," crossed out) cappem induti ferentes reliquias videlicet clauem domini saluatoris ante sacramentum.<sup>4</sup> Deinde episcopus vel sacerdos ferens sacramentum Eucharistie in magna monstrancia velata, vltimo duo summissarii portantes crucem eburneam cum stolis. Et crux ponatur ad locum consuetum.<sup>5</sup> Et cantor incipiet submissa voce antiphonam *Cum rex glorie Christus* et cantetur vsque ad finem. Et processio exeat de choro sancti Georgii per ianuam prepositi et ascendat chorum (f. 67<sup>r</sup>) sancti Petri per ianuam prepositi. Et vexilla et candelae ascendant vsque ad summum altare. Et postquam officians ascendat ad altare, due cruces argenteae, duo ceroferarii et domini ferentes reliquias maneat stare apud officiantem in quolibet latere diuisum. Et finita antiphona *Cum rex glorie* sacerdos ponat sacramentum supra altare et descendet ante altare dicendo *Confiteor deo patri*, ceteris respondentibus. Et quando sacerdos dixerit orationem videlicet indulgentiam et remissionem, ascendet ad altare<sup>6</sup> et recipiat sacramentum cantando tribus vicibus versum<sup>7</sup> *O vere digna hostia*. Chorus finiet versum. Deinde chorus cantet alios versus scilicet *Cum surgit Christus tumulto* cum sequentibus. Et tunc presbiter ferat sacramentum venerabiliter ad sacristiam ponendo ad locum suum. Tunc cantor incipiet *Christi isti erstanden* ter resumendo.<sup>8</sup> Deinde pulsentur matutine hora prima post medium noctis.

#### BESANÇON

I. MS 97 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Besançon is a recueil from various medieval manuscripts, made by Abbé Jean-Baptiste Fleury in the eighteenth century. Pages 1 to 97 are a copy of an *Ordinarium antiquum*

<sup>3</sup> A marginal addition reads: "Post thurificationem per dominum episcopum aut officiantem factam, idem exeat. Et subcustos porrigat eidem venerabile sacramentum velatum."

<sup>4</sup> A marginal note adds "paruam crucem" before the words "clauem domini saluatoris"; after them the words "in monstrancia et pacem" have been crossed out and a marginal note adds "pretiosum plenarium et pacem . . . (?)" After "pacem" three or four indistinct words.

<sup>5</sup> Marginal addition: "Ante altare in gradibus in choro S. Petri."

<sup>6</sup> A marginal addition reads: "Subcustos detegat velamen seu subtrahat, et . . . (?). . . episcopus vel officians discoopertum (MS has quite clearly "discoopertā") sacramentum eleuatum." Before episcopus is a doubtful word, presumably a verb.

<sup>7</sup> "ympni" on margin, to follow "versum."

<sup>8</sup> A marginal addition reads: "Subcustos iterum exponat sacramentum, et ponat ad alias particulas seu super patena super corporali, et reponat reliquias in monstranciam."

*Ecclesiae Bisuntinae S. Joannis Evangelistae*, the so-called Ritual of St. Prothade, written probably in the early twelfth century. It has been published but not in any easily accessible work. The following is the *Visitatio* from Fleury's copy.

< *Visitatio Sepulchri* >

(p. 59) Incipit Ordo In Die S. Paschae. Antequam pulsantur Matutinae decoretur Ecclesia lumine, veniantque duo Acholyti cum cereis ante Cameram Archiepiscopi, et stantes ad ostium dicant Ant. *Surrexit Dominus*. Qua finita, pulsantur Matutinae et cantentur cum summa veneratione. Hoc enim praevideant Aeditui, ut ita temperate surgant, ut in nocte incipiantur, et in nocte finiantur.

Archidiaconus qui debet Evangelium pronunciare indutus Dalmatica festivo more veniat et duo Acolyti praecedant cum Caereis; duo cum turibulis; finita Lectione, Diaconus ad Sacrum redeat, duo Sacerdotes in albis cappis induti accipiant turribula et offerant incensum super altare. Similiter fiat ad unumquodque Responsorium. Finito tertio Responso, non statim incipitur *Te Deum*, sed fit quoddam intervallum, et statim Diaconi duo induti Dalmaticis sedent juxta altare et veniunt tres clerici é Sacrario induti capis albis tenentes turribula, et venientibus illis statim illi Duo incipiunt *Quem quaeritis in Sepulchro, o Christicolae*, et illi tres (p. 60) *Jesum Nasarenum quaerimus crucifixum, o Coelicolae*. Tunc illi duo *Surrexit, non est hic, sicut praedixerat, ite nunciate quia surrexit*. Et illi tres jungant se ad Chorum et dicant Antifon *Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro qui pro nobis pendit in ligno, alleluia, allel.* Tunc Episcopus intonat *Te Deum laudamus*, et finiuntur Matutinae ordine suo.

II. MS 98 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Besançon, *Ordinarium ecclesiae Sancti Stephani Bisuntini*, of the middle of thirteenth century, has the following *Visitatio Sepulchri*. It has no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*. Under the description of the manuscript in the catalog is the following: "Fol. 40 l'office dramatique du matin de Pâques . . . tres Maries se rendaient au tombeau et en rapportaient un suaire comme témoignage de la résurrection de Jésus. Ce suaire où figurait l'image du Christ mort, devint, au XVI siècle, une relique dont l'ostension amenait, deux fois par an, jusqu'à 30,000 personnes à Besançon."

< *Visitatio Sepulchri* >

(f. 40<sup>r</sup>) In die sancto pasche ad matutinas fit sicut est consuetum. Quando tertia lectio dicitur, debent esse parati tres canonici in sacrario ad (f. 40)<sup>v</sup> faciendum Marias et in modum hunc ornari. Primo debent habere amictos paratos super capita ita quod cooperiant frontes et dalmaticas albas et in manibus portantes fialas aureas uel argenteas et ita procedunt de sacrario post III responso, precedente cantore cum capa rubea et baculo, precedentibus cereis et turibulo, cantantes usque ad tympanarium et usque in choro bis aut ter: *Quis revolvat*. Cum uenerint in medio choro, incipiunt ultimam uicem *Quis revolvat nobis*, usque ante maius altare. A dextris et a sinistris altaris sunt duo pueri induti admictis albis paratis, et super humeros alas habentes et capas plicas rubeas super humeros circumdantes alas in modum quo ponunt diaconi stolas, respondent mulieribus sic: *Quem queritis* cantando. Et mulieres: *Jhesum nazarenum*. Et angeli: *Non est hic, surrexit*. Et discooperiunt altare angeli linteaminibus quibus erat altare uelatum. Et mulieres statim offerunt super altare fialas suas genu flexo, cantantes *Alleluia, surrexit dominus hodie* usque in choro in introitu. Tunc uenit cantor ad eas et dicit ad primam Mariam cantando *Dic nobis Maria quid uidisti in uia*; respondet prima: *Sepulchrum Christi*. Et altera que portat amictum sudarii sola dicit:



*Angelicos testes, ostendens sudarium et uestes et angelos. Et tertia Maria dicit: Surrexit Christus spes nostra. Et cantor respiciendo chorum cantat: Credendum est magis soli Marie. Et chorus alta uoce: Scimus Christum. Interim redeunt Marie per uiam per quam uenerunt in sacrario cum omnibus suis adiunctis, et statim incipitur Te deum alta uoce, et choriales deuestiunt rubeas capas et uestiunt albas capas. Et chorus deponit capas nigras usquequo cantatum fuerit Te deum.*

III. MS 99 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Besançon, *Liber ceremonialium ecclesiae Bisuntinae Sancti Johannis Evangelistae*, of the middle of the fifteenth century, has the following *Visitatio Sepulchri*. It has no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*.

< *Visitatio Sepulchri* >

(f. 29<sup>v</sup>) In die sancto pasche. Ad matutinas fit sicut est consuetum. Primum responso-rium debent dicere pueri, secundum responso-rium duo canonici in medio chori sine capis nigris, et tercium responso-rium III famuliares ante maius altare. Quando tertia lectio dicitur, debent esse parati tres canonici seu tres famuliares in capella sancti Eugendi ad faciendum Marias et in hunc modum ornari. Primo (f. 30<sup>r</sup>) debent habere capitagia super capita ita quod cooperiant frontes et dalmaticas albas et in manibus portantes fialas aureas uel argenteas et ita procedunt de capella sancti Eugendi post III responso-rium, precedente cantore cum capa et baculo, precedentibus cereis et turibulo cum IIII torchiis, euntes usque ad altare sancte crucis et ibi uertant versus maius altare cantando in simul: *Quis reuoluet*, et in medio ecclesie et ad introitum chori incipiunt ultimam uicem. Interim sint parati duo pueri ad dextris et a sinistris altaris inducti admictis albis paratis et super humeros alas habentes et stolas rubeas super humeros circumdantes alas in modum quo ponunt diaconi, respondentes mulieribus sic: *Quem queritis* cantando. Et mulieres: *Ihesum nazarenum*. Et angeli: *Non est hic, surrexit*. Et discooperiunt altare angeli lintheaminibus quibus erat altare uelatum. Et mulieres statim cantant *Alleluia, surrexit dominus hodie* usque ad maius altare et super altare offerunt fialas suas genu flexo. Post veniunt super gradus quelibet in loco suo, tunc uenit cantor ad eas et dicit ad primam Mariam cantando *Dic nobis Maria quid uidisti in uia*. Respondet prima: *Sepulchrum Christi*. Et altera que portat sudarium loco suo dicit: *Angelicos testes sudarium et uestes*. Et tertia Maria dicit: *Surrexit Christus spes nostra*. Et cantor respiciendo chorum cantat: *Credendum est magis* totum. Et chorus alta uoce: *Scimus Christum* totum. Et statim incipitur *Te deum* ab illo qui regit chorum et Marie redeunt in capella ut supra. Et chorus deponit capas nigras usquequo cantatum fuerit *Te deum*.

BIBERACH

The following is not a text, but a contemporary description of the Easter ceremonies at Biberach in the years just before 1531, when the city went over to the Reformation. The description is from a detailed account of the pre-Reformation Biberach church and its services, written evidently just after the Reformation (probably between 1531 and 1540) by an unknown writer, doubtless one who had belonged to the Catholic clergy of the city. It has been published by A. Schilling in the *Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv*, XIX, 127 f., under the title *Die religiösen und kirchlichen Zustände der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Biberach unmittelbar vor der Reformation, geschildert von einem Zeitgenossen*.

*Vom Grab, da Vnser Herrgott in ist gelegen.*

Item. Neben dem Creüz bein Frawenstüehlin da ist gestanden ein hüpschs, gemahlets, vergulds Grab. Da ist ein andechtiger Herrgott gelegen, verdeckht mit ainem Tünnen

Thuech, das man Vnnsern Herrgott darduch hat mögen sehen, den das grab ist vergöttert gesein. Sendt auch gewapnet Iuden daran gemahlet gesein; neben dem Grab sendt von Burgern vnd von Zünfft grossen Kerzen gesteckt, Tag vnd Nacht Brunnen, bis vnnser Herrgott erstanden ist.

Item. Zu beeden Orthen vnden vnd oben sendt schuoler, gesessen, haben Lötner vor Ihnen gehabt vnd psalter bücher, daraus sie Tag vnd Nacht den psalter wider einander gesungen vnd Nimmer aufgehört, man habe dann sonst etwas in der Kirchen Thon, bis Vnnser Herrgott erstanden ist.

Item. Es ist auch ein beckhet beim Grab gestanden, darein hat man gelt gelegt; das gelt hat den Armen Schuoler vmb Gottes willen gehört, die da gesungen haben. Was auch reich Leüth vnd Burger sendt gesein, die haben Ihnen etwas zue essen vnd Trincken bracht vmb Gottes willen zue Ihrer Vnderhaltung.

Item. Man hat auch das recht Sacrament in das Grab gehenckht, dasselbig Ahnzubetten, bis Vnnser Herrgott erstanden ist. So hat man es den wider in das Sacramenthaus Thon.

Item. Die Leüth haben vil Liechtlin vor dem grab brenndt, nider Kniet, mit andacht vil da bettet.

*Wie Vnnser Herrgott Erstanden Ist.*

Item. Ahm Osterabendt zue Mitternacht so hat man mit allen glocken geleüth, das Vnnser Herrgott erstanden ist. Es haben auch die Blaser vff dem Kirchenthurn zue Mitternacht blaesen vnd pfeiffet "Christ ist erstanden."

Item. So es Zwölfe hat geschlagen, so ist der helffer Knommen vnd hat das Sacrament wider vs dem grab thon vnd in das Sacramenthaus Tragen.

Item. So haben den die Schuoler, die beim grab haben gesungen, Vnnsern Herrgott vs dem grab genommen vnd In Drey Mahl vmb die Kirchen Tragen vnd Tetisch vnd Lateinisch gesungen: "Christ ist erstanden."

Item. Darnach so haben In ander Laiisch gesellen genommen vnd haben durch alle Gassen in der Statt vmbher Tragen vnd gesungen "Christ ist erstanden" vnd den wider in die Kirchen Tragen.

Item. Nach sollichem vmb Zway so hat man Möttin geleüth nach dem brauch, vnd ist den vnder der Mettin vs dem Chor heraus Gangen zue dem Grab mit der process mit dem Creutz, Fahnen vnd Stönglin. Da ist Vnnser Herrgott nimer da gesein, aber das Seide tuech, des ob Vnnsern Herrgott ist gelegen, das ist da gesein, da ist ahn eim Ieglichen orth ein schuollerin in eim Chorbembtlin gestanden vnd haben das Seide Tuech vff gehebt, das man sehe, das Vnnser Herrgott nit mehr da seüe, vnd Lateinisch gesungen vnd die ander schuoller auch wider einander; hat bedetüth, Alls die Marien Vnnsern herrgott bey dem Grab gesuocht haben. Vnd sendt den anders in den Chor Gangen vnd das Te deum Laudamus gesungen oder Loss Mettin nach dem brauch.

## BRUSSELS

MS 4860 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique at Brussels, called in the catalogue a "Processional Romain" of the sixteenth century, has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. It has no *Visitatio*. I do not know the provenience of the manuscript. The texts are from a transcription made some years ago.

### <Depositio Crucis>

(f. 93) Isto modo fit sepelitio domini in die sancto parasceves hora quarta post prandium ante matutinas. Primo dominis in stallis manentibus et responsorium *Recessit pastor* incipientibus, sacerdos descendet, precedentibus duobus iuuenibus cum tedis, et ponet crucem in

sepulchro. Quo finito et cruce in sepulchro posita, sacerdos incipiet responsorium *Sepulto domino*, ter cum thuribulo sepulchrum circumiens. Et post hoc iuvenes tenentes tedas cantabunt versum *In pace factus est locus eius* etc. Et sacerdos iuxta sepulchrum cantabit collectam sequentem *Oremus Respice quesumus domine super hanc familiam tuam pro qua dominus noster Iesus Christus non dubitavit manibus tradi nocentium et crucis subire tormentum.*

<Elevatio Crucis>

Isto modo celebrabitur resurrectio domini. Compulsatione facta, dominis et scholaribus circumstantibus sepulchrum, tedis crucibus et vexillis paratis, sacerdos accedet sepulchrum et ter illud circumibit thurificando et cantando hanc antiphonam. Antiphona, *O mors, ero mors tua, morsus tuus ero, inferne.* Quo facto denudabit crucem in sepulchro cantando quod sequitur scilicet *Exurge, quare obdormis, domine, exurge et ne repellas in finem.* Post hoc capiet crucem ex sepulchro cantando *Surrexit dominus.* Et fiet processio in ecclesiam more solito cum *Cum rex glorie*, ter ambiendo. Et post processionem in choro cantabitur *Victime paschali* more solito.

ESSEN

A *Liber Ordinarius* of Essen has interesting versions of the *Depositio*, *Elevatio* and *Visitatio*, to which several references have been made. This MS of the fourteenth century has been published by Franz Arens (*Liber Ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche*, Paderborn, 1908), but, as it is not easily accessible, the versions, slightly abridged, are reprinted here.

*De processione ad sepulchrum*<sup>9</sup>

Deinde fit processio ad sepulchrum cum scholaribus, qui ibi tunc presentes erunt, sic. Dyaconus cum cruce precedet, deinde scolares, deinde canonici cum reliquiis, deinde ceroferarii ante sacramentum, deinde sacerdos cum sacramento et subdyaconus cum pleonario iuxta eum, deinde conventus, ultimo populus. (62) Via. Et recedentibus inde itur per medium monasterii, exeundo per ianuam, que ducit ad scholas domicellarum et circuitur per ambitum circa pasculum, et reintratur monasterium per ianuam sub thronulo, et iterum per medium monasterii transitur ad modum crucis et apud altare sancti Petri per volatram versus ianuam funerum ascenditur superius ad sepulchrum, quod ante altare sancti Michaelis preparatum erit. Cantus. In hoc processione cantabit conventus in exeundo Responsorium: *Ecce, quomodo moritur justus* etc. Quo finito clerici Responsorium: *Agnus Dei*, quod sequitur. (Complete words follow.)

*Statio apud sepulchrum*

Cum autem superius pervenitur ad sepulchrum, fit iterum statio talis. Ceroferarii manebunt extra tentorium, quod est supra (63) sepulchrum, prope tentorii introitum, dorsis positus versus sanctum Johannem facie versa ad altare. Scolares, transeuntes tentorium, manebunt ad partem aquilonarem, conventus ante altare facie versa ad sepulchrum, sacerdos vero cum ministris et omnibus aliis canonicis, qui reliquias portant, intrabunt intus in tentorium. Tunc aperto sepulchro scilicet archa in tentorio posita, in qua munda palla erit strata seu expansa, sacerdos flexis genibus ponat intus sacramentum, reliquias et pleonarium, et replicata palla desuper et thurificatione facta et reverenti inclinatione recludat archam clave assignando clavem thesaurarie ad reservandum postea. Qua clausa ponat seu expandat unam cortinam super sepulchrum scilicet archam, ponendo crucem super eam, capite crucis verso ad occidentem et desuper unam aliam cortinam, thurificatione sequente et inclinatione reverenti. Quo facto exhibunt ad alios clericos. Cantus: Et interim, quod hec intus aguntur, conventus canta-

<sup>9</sup> Preceded immediately by directions for a procession "ad altare sancte Crucis," with which the ceremony of the *Depositio* really began.

bit responsorium: *Tenebre facte sunt* etc., quo finito clerici responsorium: *Sepulto Domino* . . . (complete)

Deinde sacerdos collectam: *Respice*, ut supra. Quo facto per aliam volatram versus aquilonem descendunt scolares, presbiter autem cum ministris et conventu per viam altam.

#### *In nocte sancta Pasche*

In nocte sancta Pasche circa mediam noctem convenientibus canonicis in monasterio omnes induuntur cappis et ascendentes gradus prope summum altare transibunt per altum transitum, qui est versus meridiem usque ad sepulchrum, quod est apud altare sancti Michaelis, occurrente eis ibidem conventu, qui adveniet per alium altum transitum, qui est versus aquilonem. Statio. Et cum sic ad sepulchrum convenerint, conventus manebit foris extra tentorium, quod est supra sepulchrum. Canonici omnes intrabunt cum luminibus, ut videre possint, et thuribulo, et, flexis genibus et thurificatione facta, levabunt crucem, dyacono ipsam recipiente (79) et tenente; deinde, sepulcro aperto scilicet archa et iterum thurificatione facta et amota palla de sacramento et aliis reliquiis intus positis, presbiter recipiat sacramentum, subdyaconus pleonarium, alii alias reliquias, singuli singulas.

Cantus. Interim autem quod hec intus in tentorio peraguntur, conventus stans foris cantabit antiphonam: *Exsurge, Domine* etc.

#### *De septem stationibus et processione*

Tunc exeuntibus canonicis fit processio absque scolaribus et septies statio, ut infra dicitur. Et iste erit ordo eundi: . . . (There follow quite full directions for the procession and the first station, "ad altare sancti Petri") . . . Secunda statio in cimiterio domicellarum. Cum autem ad cimiterium domicellarum pervenitur, ibi fit secunda statio juxta sepulchra domicellarum et fit sic: Conventus stabit apud murum monasterii, canonici apud murum abbacie ex opposito, se invicem respicientes. Tunc finito psalmo et orationibus conventus, abbatissa, si presens fuerit, sin autem, una alia canonica pro ea, ascendet libram seu asserem, in cujus una parte jacebit una perna et unus agnus et in alia parte stabit ipsa abbatissa seu vicaria ejus legens cum capellano suo canonico pro fidelibus defunctis psalmum: *De profundis*, sicut superius plenius notatum est in nocte Nativitatis Domini; ibi require. Tertia statio. Deinde itur ad summum altare, ibi erit tertia statio. Quarta statio. Quarta in choro domicellarum ante altare. Quinta. Quinta in cripta ad medium altare. Sexta. Sexta ad sanctum Stephanum ante criptam. Septima. Septima et ultima ad altare sancte Crucis. Qua statione ibi finita, dyaconus deponet crucem ante altare super pallam. Sacerdos reportabit sacramentum ad sacrarium, alii canonici reliquias cum pleonario ad summum altare. Processio. Quo facto canonici omnes exutis cappis redibunt in processione ad adorandum crucem, sicut fecerunt in Parasceve, offerentes ibidem. His omnibus finitis cantabuntur matutine.

#### *De visitatione sepulchri*

Finito autem tertio responsorio ante *Te Deum laudamus*, fit iterum statio communis per conventum, canonicos et scolares in medio monasterii ante candelabrum in sedilibus ibidem. Et nota, quod, quotiescunque in hoc loco fit communis statio, ut hodie, conventus semper manebit ad partem aquilonarem, canonici vero et scolares ad australem. (81) In hac autem statione omnes canonici erunt induti cappis preter duos, qui erunt angeli. Isti erunt induti dalmaticis albis super superpeliciis suis, ipsi etiam non ibunt cum aliis ad stationem nisi in fine, ut infra dicitur; sed statione se congregante, dicti angeli ibunt ad sepulchrum per chorum domicellarum et per tronulum et altum transitum, qui est versus aquilonem, et intrantes tentorium sedeant super sepulchrum, scilicet archam supradictam et habeant librum, in quo contineatur cantus, quem cantaturi erunt, si exterius nesciunt, et lumen, ut videre possint, expectantes tres Marias ad sepulchrum venturas, que Marie, scilicet tres canonice, per alium altum transitum, qui est versus meridiem, advenient.

Interim autem quod ipse Marie ad sepulchrum vadunt, conventus cantabit in statione antiphonam: *Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata, Dominum querentes*

*in monumento.* Et cum Marie omnes tres conveniant, stabunt apud sepulchrum a longe, cantantes per iter hanc antiphonam: *Quis revolvat nobis ab hostio lapidem, quem legere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum?* Tunc angeli in sepulchro respondentes cantabunt hanc antiphonam: *Quem queritis, o tremule mulieres, in hoc tumultu plorantes?* Tunc iterum Marie cantabunt hanc antiphonam: *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum querimus.* (82) Tunc angeli iterum respondendo cantent: *Non est hic, quem queritis, sed cito euntes nuntiate discipulis ejus et Petro, quia resurrexit Jesus.* Tunc quilibet Mariarum singulariter accedet ad tentorium respiciendo in tentorium una post aliam et dicendo ad angelos sic: *Ubi est Ihesus* vel similia verba. Angeli respondebunt sic: *Surrexit, non est hic* vel etiam similia verba. Quo facto Marie ascendentes per iter ad organa cantabunt hanc antiphonam: *Ad monumentum venimus trementes, angelum Domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem, quia surrexit Ihesus.*

Tunc statim duo alii canonici de statione unus senior et alius junior, loco duorum apostolorum Petri et Johannis, ibunt velociter ad sepulchrum per chorum domicellarum et altum transitum, per quem angeli iverant; sed junior vadat citius seniore et veniat prior ad monumentum. Interim istis apostolis sic euntibus clerici in statione cantabunt antiphonam: *Currebant duo simul et ille alius discipulus precucurrit citius Petro et venit prior ad monumentum.* Cum autem senior advenit ad juniorem apud sepulchrum, tunc ambo intrabunt in tento-(83)-rium et senior intrabit prior, licet posterior advenerit, tunc angeli tenentes et levantes aliquantulum pallam seu sudarium cantant hanc antiphonam: *Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina et sudarium et corpus non est inventum.* Tunc unus apostolorum ascendet ad organa et versus ad stationem clamabit sic: *Christus Dominus surrexit.* Conventus respondebit: *Deo gratias!* Sic clamabit tribus vicibus primo in gravibus, secundo altius et tertio bene alte, et conventus respondebit ei toties in simili tono.

Quo facto populus cantat cantionem teutonicam de resurrectione. Tunc hac cantione finita cantrix incipiet: *Te deum laudamus* et conventus complebit primum versum, clerici secundum et sic de aliis usque ad finem vel, quod tamen hic prius non vidi, organa incipient et cantabunt primum versum, conventus secundum, clerici tertium, et sic de aliis. (Directions follow for the return of the apostles and the angels.)

#### FREISING

A *Breviarium Frisingense* from the monastery at Polling, now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (Cod. lat. 11768), has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. It has no *Visitatio* except the following rubric after the third responsory of Matins: "Et cum eo fiat processio ad medium ecclesie ad sepulchrum.

##### <Depositio Crucis>

(Fol. 73<sup>v</sup>) Expleta communione corpus Christi reportetur ad locum priorem cum reuerencia et deuotione, deinde sepulcro preparato more solito tollatur crux et deferatur ad sepulchrum et cantetur responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*. Finito responsorio collocetur crucifixus in sepulchrum et lintheaminibus cooperiatur. Deinde lapis videlicet altare mobile sub capite seu sub dextro latere ponatur et sepulchrum claudatur et cantetur remisse responsorium *Sepulcro domino, versus Ne forte veniant*, responsorium *Recessit pastor noster*, versus *Ante cuius*, et aspergatur et thurificetur sepulchrum et sequitur *In pace factus est*. Deinde incipiatur circa sepulchrum vespera subpressa voce.

##### <Elevatio Crucis>

(Fol. 75<sup>v</sup>) In ipsa sancta nocte ante pulsacionem matutine custodes ecclesie surgant et ipsi uel eorum famuli vadant et excitant presbyteros et decanum ut veniant ad ecclesiam et, cum sic fuerint congregati, induantur cappis choralibus cum stolis more solito, sintque parata thuribula cum thure et mirra et aspersorio et sic presbyteri descendant de choro ad altare

sancte crucis et, cum sic ibidem existant, decanus uel quicumque alius maior, si decanus non sit ibi, dicat *Confiteor* et alii prespiteri dicant *Misereatur vestri*, et similiter ministri. Hoc finito ministri dicant *Confiteor*. Et ipse decanus dicat eis absolucionem sic *Misereatur vestri* (f. 76<sup>r</sup>) more sacerdotis volentis dicere missam. Deinde decanus et ~~seniores~~ seniores cum summa reuerencia et deuocione simul accedant ad sepulchrum et dicant psalmos stantes, psalmum *Domini quid multiplicati*, psalmum *Miserere mei deus*, psalmum *Deus misereatur*, psalmum *Domini probasti*, *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison*, *Pater noster*, *Et ne nos*, versum *Exurge domine*, versum *Domine deus virtutum*, versum *Domine exaudi orationem*, *Dominus vobiscum*, *Oremus Da nobis quesumus domine auxilium*, et thurificent et aspergant ymaginem crucifixi, sublatamque de sepulchro secum deferant ante altare sancte crucis, ibi ipsam collocando cantando humiliter submissa voce responsorium *Surrexit pastor bonus*. Versus *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*. Antiphona *Christus resurgens ex*. Et oratio *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum*. Qua finita, stantes ante altare deuote vnus post alterum osculantes ymaginem crucifixi dicentes *Surrexit dominus*, *Gaudeamus omnes*. Deinde statim solempniter pulsetur matutinum.

## FRITZLAR

A *liber chori*, or *directorium chori*, probably of the fifteenth century, formerly in Fritzlar, now in the Landesbibliothek of Cassel (MSS Theol. 2° No. 99), has the following *Depositio* and *Visitatio*. The MS has also a rather brief *Elevatio*, of which I have no copy. These texts are from transcriptions made some years ago. The MS was unpaginated.

## &lt;Depositio Crucis et Hostiae&gt;

Hora completorii conueniant domini ad sepulchrum in choro sollempniter preparatum. Quibus ante sepulchrum in simul congregatis, duo sacerdotes veniant de armario, indutis cappis preciosis, cum quatuor scolaribus duo thuribula et duas candelas accensas deferentibus. Et accedentes ponant in sepulchrum mundum pannum et desuper crucifixum et cum corporali tegant crucifixum. Et super corporale ponant pallam mundam. Et sub corporali pidxem cum corpore Christi recondant. Postea thuribula adhibeant. Et tam corpus Christi quam crucifixum thurificent. Et interim quod crucifixus cum corpore Christi ad sepulchrum defertur et in eo quasi sepeliendo ponitur, sacerdotes et domini circumstantes cantabunt lenta uoce hec responsoria *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, responsorium *Sicut ovis ad occisionem*, responsorium *Agnus dei Christe*. Postea sacerdotes exeant sepulchrum et tegentes sepulchrum cantent responsorium *Sepulto domino*, versum *In pace factus est*. Collecta *Respice domine*. Deinde iuxta sepulchrum legatur psalmus completorii sub silencio absque *Gloria patri* hoc modo *Cum invocarem* cum ceteris, versus . . . (Here the MS has an erasure of about an inch). . . Collecta *Respice*. Et sic terminantur hore completorii et officium hodiernum . . .

## &lt;Visitatio Sepulchri&gt;

Responsorium *Dum transisset*. Quo finito duo scolares sedentes in sepulchro cantent *Quem queritis o*. Tunc tres scolares induti cappis sericis uel uestibus mulieribus uenientes apud sepulchrum cum thuribulis et candelis accensis respondeant cantantes *Jhesum nazarenum*, fungentes officio Mariarum. Iterum scolares in sepulchro cantent *Non est hic*. Et statim surgentes in sepulchrum exeuntes sepulchrum discooperiant in parte illa ubi exeunt et habentes cooperimentum sepulchri in manibus cantent *Venite et videte locum*. Tunc tres Marie abeuntes et crucifixum accedentes paulatim cantent *Ad sepulchrum venimus gementes*. Quo finito statim stantes contra chorum et elevato crucifixo in altum cantent *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*. Postea cantor incipiat *Te deum laudamus*, versus *Noli flere Maria, alleluia. Deus in adiutorium*.

## HALLE

MS lit. 119 (Ed. VI, 3) of the Bamberg Library, *Breviarius ecclesiae collegiatae Hallensis*, of the year 1532, has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* has been published in the *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, vol. 55, p. 56.

## &lt;Depositio Hostiae&gt;

(f. 94<sup>r</sup>) Finitis vespere, exhibunt e sacrario tali modo. Primo procedant camerarii (MS., Cāmerarii), deinde duo pueri albis induti portabunt minora rubra vexilla sericea cum quinque vulneribus domini. Item alii pueri etiam albis induti portabunt duas cruces dominicales sine vexillis. Deinde sequuntur sedecim pauperes bini et bini, nigris vestibus de panno induti, cum luctu, et sedecim candelis, quarum quilibet habeat pondus decem librarum. Et pauperes et ea que pertinent ad cereos et vestes providebit reuerendissimus. Deinde iterum duo pueri albis induti duos cereos arduentes portabunt. Deinde decanus, cantor, et scholasticus in cappis nigris vsualibus et circumdatis rubeis stolis portabunt tria thuribula argentea maiora, ita quod decanus ibit in medio, cantor a dextris et scholasticus a sinistris. Postea sequitur prepositus etiam in nigra vsuali cappa et circumdatus stola. Cum venerint tali ordine in chorum, stabunt ante columnam paululum. Deinde ibit processio extra chorum ante capellam et retro summum altare per circuitum. Et exhibunt per ostium quo semper intratur ad chorum, et per ecclesiam vt singulis quintis feriis cum venerabili sacramento solitum est fieri. Primo procedent camerarii (Ms., Cāmerarii), deinde pueri cum vexillis, deinde chorales, vicarii, et domini, qui singuli in manibus cereum arduentem vt quintis feriis, quando dicitur missa de corpore Christi. Deinde pueri cum crucibus, postea pauperes bini et bini, iterum duo pueri cum candelis, deinde tres prelati cum thuribulis, postea prepositus. Et cum peruenerint ad venerabile sacramentum ante capellam, prepositus leuat sacramentum vertendo se ad chorum. Tunc prelati flexis genibus thurificant illud ter, et dabit benedictionem cum eo. Et immediate chorus incipit humili et bassa voce et morose can—(f. 94<sup>v</sup>)—tare responsorium *Eccē quomodo moritur iustus* et circumeunt per ecclesiam vsque ad sepulchrum, vbi iterum prelati flexis genibus thurificant illud et prepositus benedictionem faciet, et flexis genibus reponet cum deuotione in sepulchrum thurificando et aspergendo et operietur, quia Ioseph inuoluit corpus domini in syndone munda. Post repositionem et finito responsorio dicitur flexis genibus humiliter ab omnibus psalmus *Miserere mei deus* cum versu *In pace factus est*, cum collecta *Respice*. Deinde claudetur sepulchrum. Et regredientes ad chorum cantant solemniter et leuata voce responsorium *Sepulto domino*. Finito responsorio, immediate octo persone sacerdotes conducti in cappis nigris vsualibus, a duobus lateribus quattuor, incipient psalterium, quod nocte et die legent, nisi aliquod officium fiat in ecclesia. Et dabuntur eis pro laboribus eorum a reuerendissimo octo floreni in moneta, et per hos dies mensa a dominis. Et pauperes super aderunt quando legitur psalterium et quando celebrantur diuina. Et dabuntur eis a reuerendissimo sedecim floreni, et a dominis mensa.

## &lt;Elevatio Hostiae&gt;

(f. 97<sup>r</sup>) In sancta nocte pascatis ad matutinas. Infra decimam et vndecimam fiet signum cum tabula, primum ad conuocandum, secundum ad incipiendum. Ante inceptionem matutinarum prelati, canonici, vicarii et chorales in choro conuenient, vbi prepositus induitur meliori alba aurea cappa et stola, decanus meliori sammita aurea cappa, cantor et scholasticus albis damascenis cappis auro textis induentur. Quo facto omnes flexis genibus in stallis suis legent psalmum *Miserere mei deus*, sine *Gloria patri*. Finito psalmo prepositus dicit *Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster, Ave Maria, Et ne nos*, chorus *Sed libera; Exurge, domine, adiuua nos*, chorus *Et redime nos propter nomen tuum; Exurge gloria mea*, chorus *Exurge psalterium et cythara; Exurgam diluculo*, chorus *Confitebor in populis domine; Domine exaudi*, chorus *Et clamor; Dominus vobiscum*, chorus *Et cum spiritu; Oremus Exaudi quesumus domine supplicum preces et confitentium tibi parce peccatis, ut pariter nobis indul-*

*gentiam tribuas benignus et pacem, Per Christum, chorus Amen.* Tunc prepositus dicit *Confiteor*, chorus *Misereatur*, et iterum chorus *Confiteor*, prepositus dicit *Misereatur et Indulgentiam*. Et interim singulis personis datur candela accensa. Decano, cantori, et scholastico cuilibet thuribulum dabitur cum incenso. Quo facto omnes surgent, et legendo psalmum *Domine quid multiplicati sunt egredi-* (f. 97<sup>v</sup>)-untur ad sepulchrum per duas ianuas vtriusque lateris, primum camerarii (Ms., Cāmerarii), deinde duo pueri albis induti cum vexillis albis damascis minoribus, postea chorales, vicarii, et canonici, iterum duo pueri cum accensis cereis et ecclesiasticis cum nola, deinde decanus, cantor, et scholasticus cum thuribulis, quos sequitur prepositus, qui veniens ad sepulchrum aperit ipsum et thurificat venerabile sacramentum. Et quando leuat, tunc chorus humili et bassa voce cantat antiphonam *Ego dormiui*. Finita antiphona, cantando circumeant per ecclesiam cum antiphona *Cum rex glorie*. Et pauperes ibunt cum eorum candelis ante pueros candelas habentes. Et interim cum omnibus campanis solemniter pulsatur. In introitu ad chorum cantabitur solemnissime *Aduenisti*. Prepositus cum venerabili sacramento ascendet ad summum altare dando benedictionem, et postea deferet venerabile sacramentum ad capellam omnium sanctorum reponendo illud ibidem. Interim subcustos deponet velamen de reliquiis ab altari. Quo facto succentor incipiet solemniter *Regina celi*, quod vsque ad finem in organis respondente choro per totum prosequitur. Interim argentea maior imago resurrectionis cum vexillo suo (MS cum vexilla sua), similiter argentea maior imago beate virginis ponetur a custode canonico in summo altari et crux lignea ante summum altare super tapetum cum candela accensa. Finita antiphona, prepositus dicit *Gaude dei genitrix*, chorus respondebit *Quia surrexit filius tuus, alleluia*. Tunc prepositus dicit collectam *Deus qui per vnigeniti tui resurrectionem*, etc. (Matins follow.)

#### HAVELBERG

MS Aug. 84, 2, of the Wolfenbüttel Library, *Ordo Officiorum ecclesiasticorum in ecclesia Havelbergensi*, of the fifteenth century, has the following brief *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* has been published in the *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, vol. 55, p. 59.

##### <Depositio Crucis>

(f. 21<sup>v</sup>) Vesperis hoc modo peractis, sacerdos precedente incenso et luminaribus cum ministris, conueniente conuentu, deportat crucem ubi similitudo sepulcri ordinata est. Et submisce cantent *Ecce quomodo moritur*, aliud *Sicut ouis*. Interim sacerdos incensat locum, et crucem deuote repositam operiat et incensat dicens versum *In pace factus est*, collectam *Deus qui pro nobis filium*. In reditu cantant *Sepulto domino*. Deinde conuentus reficiat.

##### <Elevatio Crucis>

(f. 23<sup>r</sup>) In sancta nocte ante matutinas conuentus tacite surgat ante pulsum. Et induti superpelliciis cum vexillis, luminaribus, et incenso, sacerdote induto cappa rubea, vadant ad locum sepulcri. Et loco incensato, crucem inde deferant deuote in chorum cantantes submisce *Cum rex glorie* et pulsantur campane. Et deposita cruce retro altare super sindone prestrata, eam deosculentur reuerenter. Interim candeles circa chorum et lampades accendantur post antiphonam in stacione, sacerdos dicat versum *Surrexit dominus de sepulcro*, cum collecta *Deus qui hodierna die per vnigenitum*. Et redeant in chorum, et legantur trine orationes. (Matins follow.)

#### MAGDEBURG

*Ordinarius sacrosancte ecclesie Cathedralis ac Metropolitane Magdeburgensis*, now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Cod. Theol. lat. quart. 113), has the following *Depositio*, *Elevatio* and *Visitatio*. The text of the *Visita-*



*lio* is from a rather hurriedly made transcription of some years ago. The *Visitatio* is listed by Lange (Magdeburg VI) but not given.

< *Depositiō Crucis* >

(Fol. 82<sup>v</sup>) Quando hora nona reddidit, parabunt eciam ymaginarium sepulcrum domini ante altare sancti Laurencii, vbi eciam subcustos tempore suo habebit duos lapides ad sepulturam crucis necessarios, et duo mundissima linthea alba quorum vnum cruci substernetur et alio cooperietur, quia Ioseph corpus domini inuoluit in syndone munda . . .

(Fol. 84<sup>v</sup>) Completo officio (i.e. vespers) et preparamentis depositis, archiepiscopus et seniores domini tollent crucem et deuotissime ferent ad preparatum locum ymaginarii sepulcri. Et precedent eos duo thuribularii et predicti duo pueri canonici in albis cum candelis ardentibus. Et portando crucem cantabitur submissee responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur*, et responsorium *Sicut ouis* cum suis versibus et repeticionibus, et substernetur cruci ab episcopo mundissimum lintheum et alio lintheo mundissimo operietur, quia, vt supra dictum est, Ioseph inuoluit corpus domini syndone munda. Et sic cum deuotione et reuerencia locabitur in sepulcro. Ponentur eciam ab archiepiscopo duo lapides, vnus ad caput crucis et alius ad pedes. Deinde cruce thurificata ab episcopo cantatur responsorium *Sepulto domino* cum versu et repeticione. Et tunc dicet episcopus versum *In pace factus est locus eius*, respondente conuentu *Et in Syon habitatio eius*. Et tunc ceroferarii et thuribularii ad sacrarium reuertentur.

*De festo pasce sequitur*

(Fol. 88<sup>r</sup>) In sancta nocte pasce ante pulsationem matutinarum veniet archiepiscopus et domini canonici ad monasterium et alii qui voluerint et precedent eos ad ymaginarium sepulcrum duo domini cum thuribulis et deinde duo cum cereis quos accipient in sanctuario, inter cereos septem proximos extremis. Et archiepiscopus crucem discooperiens thurificabit. Et tunc archiepiscopus et maiores domini cum multa (cf. 88<sup>v</sup>) veneratione eleuantes crucem cantabunt omnes submissee, archiepiscopo inchoante, *Cum rex glorie*. Tunc prepulsabuntur matutine et sic cantantes reuerenter portabunt crucem retro summum altare et sistent eam ante sedem episcopalem, ponentes hinc et inde duo candelabra cum candelis. Ibi salutabunt eam qui volunt.

< *Visitatio Sepulchri* >

(Fol. 89<sup>r</sup>) (*Dum transisset*) Et tunc processio cum candelis ardentibus exibat in monasterium, quam precedent primo cerei pascales, deinde cruces cum vexillis. Hii stabunt circa baptismum hinc et inde. Conuentus vero stabit hoc modo quod pueri versus occidentem et domini versus orientem, et chori stabunt versi contra se inuicem. Iuxta prepositum stabit archiepiscopus. Tunc duo canonici induentes cappas et accipientes duo thuribula que utraque subcustos ibi parata habebit representabunt mulieres et visitabunt sepulcrum ymaginarium. Interim chorus cantabit *Maria Magdalena*, quod incipiet prepositus maior vel cui ipse commiserat. Ad sepulcrum sedebunt dyaconi preparati, vnus ad dextrum, alius ad sinistrum, qui representabunt duos angelos. Et mulieres cantabunt non clamose *Quis reuoluet*. Tunc angeli cantando interrogabunt *Quem queritis*. Et respondebunt mulieres *Ihesum nazarenum*. Iterum angeli *Non est hic quem*. Tunc mulieres thurificato sepulcro reuertentur et stantes inter locum baptismalem et conuentum cantabunt aperta voce *Ad monumentum venimus*. Hoc cantato parati erunt duo canonici induti cappis qui representabunt Petrum et Johannem et peruenit vnus citius alio sicut Johannes cucurrit citius Petro, nec tunc Johannes introibit sepulcrum nisi cum Petro. Interim chorus cantat *Currebant duo*. Illi venientes ad sepulcrum accipient duo linthea et cantabunt *Cernitis o socii*. Quo cantato, archiepiscopus incipiet alta voce *Surrexit dominus*, quod chorus prosequitur, et, audita Christi resurrectione, prorumpit in voce alta cantans *Te deum laudamus*. Et tunc solemniter compulsatur et processio redibit ad chorum. Subcustos eciam ad inceptionem *Te deum* deponet velamen de reliquis in altari. *Te deum* cantato dicitur versus *Surrexit dominus de sepulcro*, vel alius. Postea *Deus in adiutorium*.

## MOOSBURG

*Breviarium ecclesie Mosburgensis, a Directorium chori* of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (Cod. lat. 9469), has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. For its *Visitatio* see *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, vol. 50, p. 307.

## &lt;Depositio Crucis&gt;

(f. 56<sup>v</sup>) Expleta communione corpus Christi quod superfuerit diligenter et reuerenter in corporali involuto et super altari mobili posito portatur ad locum in quo crucifixus est adoratus et ibi sepulchrum pro sepultura crucifixi debet esse positum et circumductis pannis decenter preparatum. Et corpus Christi cum altari mobili primo super sepulchrum ponitur et clericis deuote circumstantibus incipiat vespera sub pressa voce, *Confitebor tibi* cum reliquis psalmis ferialibus et *Magnificat*, hec omnia continuatim sine *Gloria patri*. Sequitur flexis genibus *Miserere mei* et *Pater noster* et versus *Proprio filio suo non peperciit*. Deinde recipiatur crucifixus et voce lenta et lugubri cantetur responsum *Ecce quomodo moritur*, versus *In pace in idipsum*. Finito responso, collocetur crucifixus in sepulchrum et lintheaminibus et sudario cooperiatur, deinde lapis videlicet altare mobile sub capite sev sub dextro latere ponatur cum alio scumario et signetur sepulchrum aliqua clausura et cantetur remisse responsum *Sepulto domino*, versus *Ne forte veniant*, responsum *Recessit pastor*, versus *Ante cuius conspectum*, aspergatur et thurificetur; sequitur versus *In pace factus est locus*, et sic est finis. Corpus Christi deinde reuerenter ad altare publicum deportatur et ibi diligenter reseruatur et pro communicantibus distribuitur.

## &lt;Elevatio Crucis&gt;

(Fol. 58<sup>v</sup>) In ipsa sancta nocte ante pulsacionem clam surgitur, sintque parata thuribula cum thure et mirra et thymiamathe et aspersorio, et excludantur layci, si commode fieri potest, nam nobiscum viri et mulieres in ecclesia sacras vigilias observant et ueniente tempore matutinarum clerici eos sine scandalo repellere nequeunt propter antiquam consuetudinem vigilandi de qua dicit Ieronimus, ut dicit auctor Racionalis: Reor, inquit, tradicionem apostolicam permanisse vt die vigiliarum pasche ante noctis medium dimittere non liceat populos expectantes Christi aduentum vt resurgenti salvatori occurrant et postquam tempus illud transierit securitate presumpta festum cunctos agere diem; hec Ieronimus. Deinde decanus et seniores humiliter (fol. 59<sup>r</sup>) progrediantur ante altare sancte crucis et dicant sibi mutuo *Confiteor* et *Misereatur*. Deinde cum summa reuerencia in simul accedant ad sepulchrum et dicant psalmos, *Domine quid multiplicati*, psalmum *Miserere mei, deus, miserere mei quoniam in te confidit*, psalmum *Domine probasti me*, *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster, Et ne nos*, versum *Exurge, domine, adiuua*, versum *Domine deus virtutum*, versum *Domine exaudi orationem, Dominus vobiscum*. Oremus *Da nobis domine auxilium*, et thurificent et aspergant ymaginem crucifixi sublatamque de sepulchro secum portent ante aram sancti Iohannis cantando humili voce responsum *Dum transisset sabbatum cum versu Et valde*, sacerdos subiungat versum *Surrexit dominus vere et apparuit*, oratio *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum*, Qua finita stantes ante altare se invicem mutua caritate deosculantes vel ad minus crucifixum dicant *Surrexit dominus*, alii respondeant *Gaudeamus omnes*. Deinde statim sollempniter pulsetur. Ad matutinum.

## PRAGUE

MS XIII E 14d of the Universitätsbibliothek in Prague, *Directorium divini officii in monasterio S. Georgii in castro Pragensi*, of the fourteenth century, has the following *Depositio* with its brief mention of the *Elevatio*.

It has also a *Visitatio* not given by Lange but very similar to his "Prag XVII." This text is from a transcription made some years ago.

< *Depositio Crucis* >

(f. 73<sup>r</sup>) Post misse officium sacerdotes portabunt crucem ad sepulchrum cum cereis et thuribulo, sacerdote ebdomadario illos communicante simulque cum eis submissa voce cantantes responsorium *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus*, responsorium *Recessit pastor bonus, Ioseph ab Arimathia*, responsorium *Sepulto domino*. Interim ponunt crucem super tapete stratum in sepulchro quam operientes lintheo incensant et aspergunt et ponunt cereum ad caput qui non extinguitur usque dum in nocte cum aliis extinguatur. Ipsa vero crux, antequam pulsantur matutine, sacerdotes inde auferent eam, relicto tamen lintheo usque dum ipsa nocte sepulchrum a sororibus visitetur.

PRÜFENING

A *Directorium chori*, or *Ordo de divinis officiis*, of the Benedictine monastery of Prüfening, near Regensburg, now in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (Cod. lat. 12018), has the following very full and interesting directions for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. It has no *Visitatio*. It has a *Depositio Crucis* at the close of the *Adoratio Crucis*, and a *Depositio Hostiae*, the real *Depositio* ceremony, after Communion.

< *Depositio Crucis* >

(f. 64<sup>r</sup>) De cruce adoranda. . . . (f. 64<sup>v</sup>) Deinde dominus abbas et qui crucem cum eo portat imponunt responsorium *Vadis propiciator*, cum quo cantu fit processio de choro ad monasterium, et precedit primo conuentus, deinde ministri, videlicet diaconus et subdiaconus, post hos duo iuvenes cum candelis, ultimo portitores crucis, et fit stacio ante altare sancte crucis quod antea a custode loco dominici sepulchri lintheo magno specialiter ad hoc apto velatum existit . . . (65<sup>v</sup>) Quibus omnibus rite expeditis, singulis rursus genua flectentibus, cantor imponit antiphonam *Super omnia ligna cedrorum* tractim a choro canendam, qua inchoata, dominus abbas et qui cum eo crucem tenuit ymaginem crucifixi coram populo de cruce deponunt quam dominus abbas intra velum ante altare sancte crucis protensum in eodem altari vice dominici sepulchri preparato ponit et pannis ac lintheis ibidem positis reuerenter operit. Crucem vero in qua dicta ymago pependit custos per ministrum suum ad locum debitum deportari facit. Ipse vero mox chorum ingrediens scrineum reliquiarum retro altare in quo corpus dominicum reconditum est aperit, aspersoriumque cum turribulo ut ibidem habeantur et reliqua necessaria pro communionem sancta rite disponit.

< *Depositio Hostiae* >

(f. 66<sup>v</sup>) De corpore dominico in sarcofago in altari sancte crucis loco dominici sepulchri preparato recondendo. Expeditis (f. 67<sup>r</sup>) omnibus supradictis, postquam dominus abbas, reposito iam retro altare sacramento, redierit ad altare, sumit (MS. sumit) capsulam alteram in quam prius particulam unam eucharistie reposuit et defert eam sub casula ad altare sancte crucis vice dominici sepulchri preparatum. Et precedit eum totus conuentus processionaliter de choro egredientes et ante sepulchrum in vtroque choro stacionem facturi. Et post conuentum secuntur duo ceroferarii et altaris ministri eo ordine quo supra in deportacione sacramenti processerant, post hos dominus abbas cum sacramento, deinde capellanus. Custos autem provideat ut illico quinque lampades circa sepulchrum locentur moxque incenduntur vsque ante nocturnos in sancta nocte dominice resurrectionis iugiter arsue, que tamen cum ceteris luminibus hac proxima nocte ad matutinas extinguuntur, post hoc autem viceversa incenduntur. In ipso autem egressu processionis de choro cantor imponit responsorium *Ecce quomodo*

*moriatur iustus*, quo cantato in ipsa statione sequitur responsorium *Recessit pastor noster*, deinde antiphona *Ioseph ab Arimathia*, post hoc, responsorium *Sepulchro domino*, dictorum vero responsorium versus cantare debent cantores ante sepulchrum. Insuper est notandum quod ceroferarii sepulchrum non ingrediuntur sed, candelabris ante sepulchrum in vitroque choro in terra locatis, stabunt ad loca sua nec extinguuntur ille candelae vsque ad finem vespere. Dominus abbas vero et ministri nec non capellanus hoc sepulchrum, idest intra velum ante altare sancte crucis circumtensum ingrediuntur. Est autem in ipso altari prius per custodem sarcophagum quoddam reliquiarum positum in quod mox ut dominus abbas ingreditur reponit capsam cum corpore dominico, statimque cum ministris et capellano legit responsorium *Ecce quomodo*, responsorium *Recessit pastor*, antiphonam *Ioseph ab Arimathia*. Deinde claudit dominus abbas sarcophagum. Quo clauso et lintheis quibus et ymago crucifixi operata est cooperto, subiungunt responsorium *Sepulchro domino*. Versus autem predictorum responsorium pronuncientur a capellano. Deinde subiungit dominus abbas versiculum *Tu autem Domine miserere mei*, respondent ministri *Et resuscita me et retribuas eis*, dominus abbas dicit *Dominus vobiscum, Oremus, Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui Christi filii tui beatam passionem*, et concludit hanc collectam cum particula *Per eundem Christum dominum nostrum*, respondent ministri *Amen*. Deinde tam dominus abbas quam ministri flexis genibus dicentes *Pater noster*, denuoque surgentes similiter orent versus in sepulchro secundum rubricam infra scriptam. Quibus dictis, dominus abbas aqua benedicta aspergit et deinde (f. 67<sup>v</sup>) thurificat tam sarcophagum sacramenti quam ymaginem crucifixi. Quo facto, dominus abbas et ministri et capellanus non expectantes conuentum mox ad chorum vel ad sacristiam vadunt et vestibus sacris se exuunt.

<Elevatio Hostiae et Imaginis Resurrectionis>

(Fol. 73<sup>v</sup>) Festum (Ms. Esti) resurrectionis domini nostri Ihesu Christi in summis et in septem luminibus solemnissimo et deuotissimo ritu agitur. Igitur in sancta nocte instante iam hora vndecima aut paulo antea custos ymaginem dominice resurrectionis ponit in sepulchro domini, idest in altari sancte crucis, deinde disponit pontificalia pro domino abbate, et tam pro eo quam pro capellano et duobus ceroferariis superpellicia et cappas in altari apostolorum locat. Moxque in dormitorio fit excitacio fratrum cum campanella. Pulsus vero in ecclesia non fit sed differtur vsque post processionem infrascriptam. Conueniunt itaque dominus abbas et fratres in ecclesia ante altare apostolorum, vbi dominus abbas pontificalibus humerali superpellicio stola et cappa induitur. Capellanus quoque et duo ceroferarii iuuenes similiter superpelliciiis et cappis induuntur. Moxque ad sepulchrum domini omnes procedunt et hoc ordine: primo precedunt duo conuersi vel iuuenes deferentes duo candelabra cum candelis accensis, sicut in solemnibus processionibus processionem post vexilla solent preferri. Deinde conuentus per ordinem bini et bini, post hoc duo iuuenes ceroferarii, superpelliciiis et cappis induti, cum candelis (f. 74<sup>r</sup>) accensis et cimbali postea ante sacramentum pulsant. Hos sequitur dominus abbas et capellanus. Cumque ante sepulchrum, idest ante altare sancte crucis extra velum, singuli ordinate circumsteterint, domino abbate incipiente submissa voce dicunt per choros hos psalmos *Miserere mei, deus, miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit, Domine probasti*, continuando sub vno *Gloria patri*. Deinde dominus abbas vicissim cum conuentu dicit *Confiteor deo patri* etc., more consueto, post hoc ingreditur dominus abbas cum capellano intra velum ad altare sancte crucis et primo aspergit aqua benedicta et thurificat sarcophagum sacramenti, deinde ymaginem crucifixi, lintheis ab inde depositis post thurificationem. Moxque ipse dominus abbas leni et mediocri voce incipit antiphonam *Alleluia, exurge gloria mea*, quam chorus complet addendo sub nota consueta versum *Christe salus rerum*, versum *Pollicitam sed redde fidem*, versum *Redde tuam faciem*. Interim dominus abbas cum debita reuerencia capsam sacramenti de sarcophago reliquiarum tollit. Et capellanus ymaginem resurrectionis accipit, altera ymagine crucifixi in altari relictam. Moxque finitis versibus predictis cantor imponit *Surrexit pastor bonus*, cum quo cantu processionaliter redeunt ad altare apostolorum conuentu precedente ordine quo prius, secunturque conuentum

ceroferarii cum candelis accensis et sonantibus cimbali, deinde dominus abbas deferens sacramentum, postea capellanus cum ymagine resurrectionis. Cumque ante altare apostolorum steterit conuentus per choros singuli in ordine suo in ipso accessu domini abbatis cum sacramento, omnes veniam super genua petunt, donec dominus abbas, versa ad conuentum facie, cum capsam sacramenti pro benedictione signum crucis faciat et sic etiam deinceps et in choro similiter fiat. Finito autem predicto cantu et addito in fine *Alleluia*, mox sine intermissione imponit cantor antiphonam *Cum rex glorie*, quam cantando fit processio per ambitum, itemque reditur ad altare apostolorum ordine suprascripto. Finita autem antiphona predicta, imponit cantor *Surgens Ihesus dominus noster*, additio in fine *Alleluia*. Deinde subiungit dominus abbas versiculum *In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus Deus qui ad eternam vitam in Christi resurrectione nos reparas*, ita concludendo *Ihesus Christus filius tuus dominus noster*. Respondet conuentus *Amen*. Moxque processionaliter intrando ad chorum ordine quo supra, cantore imponente, cantantur hii versus *O vere digna hostia, Gloria tibi domine qui surrexisti a mortuis*. Et relinquitur ymago dominice resurrectionis in altari apostolorum. Capsam vero dominici sacramenti dominus abbas, pre-(f. 74<sup>v</sup>)-cedentibus eum ceroferariis cum cimbali, defert ad chorum, factoque ante summum altare versus conuentum pro benedictione signo crucis, retro altare vadit et ipsum sacramentum in scrinio reliquiarum super altari viatico, vbi et in cena domini et in parasceue sacramentum reconditum erat, honorifice reponit, locumque ipsum mox aqua benedicta aspergit et thurificat, custosque cum diligencia claudit. Rediensque dominus abbas ante summum altare pontificalibus aliisque ornamentis exuitur, similiter et capellanus et ceroferarii superpellicis et cappis exuuntur. Post hoc immediate fit pulsus cum omnibus campanis, deinde bine et bine campane pulsantur, itemque omnes simul compulsantur, sicut in maximis festis fieri solet. Sub hoc autem pulsu tolluntur de altari sancte crucis per custodem linthea quibus sarchofagum et ymago crucifixi obuoluta erant, similiter et velum maius ante idem altare circumtensum deponitur. Ipsaque ymago crucifixi et sarchofagum reliquiarum ad locum suum deportantur. Lampades etiam que circa sepulchrum ardebant extincte inde deponuntur. Candela vna in altari apostolorum ante ymaginem resurrectionis accenditur, et vsque post matutinales laudes donec ipsa ymago per custodem ad summum altare portetur, ardere permittitur.

#### TREVES (ST. MAXIMIN)

An *Ordinarius sancti Maximini prope Treviris*, of the fifteenth century, now in the Stadtbibliothek of Treves (Cat. MSS 1635), has the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. For the *Visitatio* see *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. VIII, p. 469.

##### <Depositio Crucis>

(Fol. 78<sup>r</sup>) Post sumpcionem omnium, reposita a sacerdote et ministris pixide in altari, sacerdos accipiat crucem et precedentibus ministris cum candelis et thuribulo vadant ad sepulchrum, conuentu sequente, maioribus precedentibus. Tunc sacerdos ponat crucem in sepulchro uertens pedes contra altare incensans et aspergens. Interim autem cantantur hec (f. 78<sup>v</sup>) responsoria summissa voce, *Sepulto, Iherusalem, plange, Ecce quomodo*. Quibus finitis dicitur a sacerdote *In pace in idipsum*. Respondet conuentus cum venia *Dormiam et requiescam*. Postea surgant omnes et dimissis ad sepulchrum candelis et thuribulo, redeunt ad chorum ordine quo venerunt. Postea leguntur vespere sub silencio.

##### <Elevatio Crucis>

(Fol. 79<sup>r</sup>) In nocte resurrectionis ad matutinas pulsatur vnum signum, surgant omnes fratres et veniant ad ecclesiam. Tunc induant se tres sacerdotes, duo albis et cappis et stolis ad crucem ferendam, tercius alba, stola et casula ad corpus dominicum. Induant se et tres

pueri, duo tunicis ad candelas, tercius cappa ad thuribulum, sint etiam serui parati ad portandum cereos magnos. Quibus sic paratis, ascendant retro altare hoc ordine, primo vadant serui cum magnis cereis, postea pueri cum candelis et thuribulo, deinde tres sacerdotes induti. Interim conuentus stet in choro, tunc (f. 79<sup>v</sup>) sacerdos cum casula sumat ex altari corpus dominicum cum cuppa, aliis duobus simul cum ipso genua flectentibus, deinde vadant ad sepulchrum ordine quo venerunt et sequitur eos conuentus, prioribus precedentibus. Cum peruenerint ad sepulchrum, alii duo sacerdotes flectant genua sua, discooperiunt crucem, relinquentes in sepulchro sudarium et cum digna reuerencia leuant crucem. Tunc cantor incipiat *In die, Cum rex*, et quantum opus fuerit summissa voce cantando et fit processio circa ambitum. Cum peruenerint ad altare sancti Andree ponant crucem super altare et candelas quas pueri portauerunt. Finito cantu sacerdos qui corpus domini fert dicat summissa voce *In resurrectione tua, Christe*, Conuentus respondeat *Celum et terra letentur, alleluia*. Deinde sacerdos *Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui gratiam dominice resurrectionis agnouimus*. Postea portatur corpus domini super maius altare, precedentibus magnis cereis, et aliis duobus sacerdotibus simul cum eo euntibus, pueris autem manentibus et se mox disuentibus. Deinde pulsantur omnia signa et leguntur versus etiam graduum. Inter quod pulsantur signa bina et bina, deinde omnia. Quibus omnibus pulsatis incipiuntur matutine a versu *Domine labia mea*.

### TROYES

I. MS 1150 of the Bibliothèque de Troyes, *Ordinarius liber ecclesie gloriosi prothomartiris Stephani, Trecensis*, of the fourteenth century, has the following *Visitatio*. It has no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*. The red ink of the rubrics was not of a durable quality and in some places is illegible. These two texts of Troyes are from transcriptions made some years ago.

#### <Visitatio Sepulchri>

(f. 172<sup>v</sup>) Responsorium *Ei ualde*, versus *Ei respicientes*. Post hoc responsorium tres Marie introducantur querentes sepultum, quas precedant pueri tenentes candelas accensas superpositas uirgis . . . (one or two illegible words follow) . . . albis tunicis, cantantes *Ortum predestinatio*. Donec ueniant in medio choro paruum persubsistentes et cantantes *O deus* et procedentes stent ante altare inter duas tumbas. Tunc duo sacerdotes in signum angelorum a dextris et a sinistris stantes iuxta magnum altare dicant *Quem queritis* et cetera. Marie respondeant *Ihesum nasarenum* et cetera. Angeli, *Non est hic, surrexit* et cetera, quod dum cantant, amoueant albos pannos superpositos magno altari. Tunc Marie uertentes se ad chorum dicant *Alleluia, resurrexit dominus* et cetera. Quo percantato, duo alii presbyteri in signum apostolorum stantes in choro unus a dextris et alter a sinistris dicant *Dic nobis Maria* et cetera. Una illarum respondeat *Sepulchrum Christi* et cetera. Et hec se uertens ad altare digito monstret dicens *Angelicos testes*, et ipsa uerso uultu ad populum dicat ut sequitur *Surrexit Christus* et cetera. Tunc illi duo presbyteri (f. 172<sup>v</sup>) memorati dicant *Credendum est* et cetera. Chorus *Scimus Christum* et cetera. Chorarius *Te deum laudamus*, versus sacerdotis *In resurrectione tua*.

II. MS 833 of the Bibliothèque de Troyes, *Ordinarium secundum usum Ecclesie Trecensis*, fourteenth century, of the church of St. Peter in Troyes, has the following *Visitatio*. It has no *Depositio* or *Elevatio*.

#### <Visitatio Sepulchri>

(f. 49<sup>v</sup>) Responsorium *Ei ualde*, versus *Ei respicientes*. Post tercium responsorium procedant ab aliqua parte ecclesie tres dyaconi in dalmaticis albis inducti uelatis capitibus amictis deferentes uasa aurea uel argentea cum thuribulis, pueri cum cereis et cruciculis ligneis

precedentibus, decantant versus istos *Ortium predestinatio* etc. Tunc unus de tribus dyaconis cantando dicit *O deus*. Respondent duo stantes ad altare *Quem queritis*. Respondent primi *Ihesum nazarenum*. Dicunt stantes ante ad altare *Non est hic*. Tunc tres primi uerso uultu ad chorum dicunt *Alleluia, resurrexit*. Succentor dicit *Dic nobis*. Respondet unus de tribus dyaconis *Sepulchrum Christi uiuentis*. Chorus cantando respondet *Credendum est*. Sequitur *Te deum laudamus*, quod incipitur ab episcopo uel decano tociens quociens faciunt officium, si non a chorario, presbytero dextro, versus sacerdotis *Surrexit dominus vere*. In laudibus.

### ZÜRICH

MS C 8b of the Zürich Stadtbibliothek, a *Breviarium chori Turicensis* of the year 1260, has the following *Depositiō Elevatio* and *Visitatio*. The *Visitatio* has been published several times (first by Gerbert, *Vetus Liturg. Alem.* p. 864) but always with incomplete rubrics, especially at the beginning and the end. A somewhat later hand has made some additions to the original text, occasionally on erasures but generally between the lines or on the margins or in footnotes. These additions are incorporated in the following text in brackets.

#### <Depositiō Crucis>

(Fol. 51<sup>v</sup>) Tam ipse [sacerdos] ferens aliquam crucem uelatam quam omnes canonici (f. 52<sup>r</sup>)—ci, habentes in manibus candelas accensas cum diuersis turibulis, per hostium altaris sancte Marie ad altare martyrum procedentes, remisse cantant responsorium *Recessit pastor noster*, versum *Ante cuius conspectum [hodie portas mortis]*. Psalmus *Miserere mei deus* vel psalmus *Notus in Iudea*. [Interdum tamen ambo psalmi leguntur]. Versus *In pace factus est locus eius*. Postea dicit sacerdos orationem *Omnipotens sempiterne deus [fac nos ita dominice passionis sacramenta peragere ut indulgentiam percipere mereamini per Christum dominum nostrum]*. Sed interim dum legitur predictus psalmus *Miserere mei deus* [uel psalmus *Notus in Iudea deus*] sacerdotes predictam paruam crucem ponunt et signando claudunt in archam que intra testudinem retro altare martyrum candido uelo circumpendente posita sepulchrum dominicum representat. Nam contra omnem rationem est quod in quibusdam ecclesiis Eucharistia in huiusmodi archa sepulchrum representante poni consuevit et claudi. Ibi enim Eucharistia que est uerum et uiuum corpus Christi ipsum Christi corpus mortuum representat, quod est indecens penitus et absurdum. In reditu uoce remissa cantatur responsorium *Sepulto domino* versus *Ne forte ueniant [ponentes milites]*. Et candelis edituo restitutis a binis et binis uespere dicuntur.

#### <Elevatio Crucis>

(Fol. 54<sup>v</sup>) In sancta nocte pasche. Ad visitationem sepulchri. Ante pulsationem matutini canonici per seruos editui latenter conuocati. Cum turibulis et candelis accensis [solummodo superpelliciati], procedentes per hostium altaris sancte Marie cantant remisse *Cum rex glorie*. Sed ad sepulchrum legitur psalmus *Domine probasti me* per totum. Sequitur *Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster*, versus *In resurrectione tua Christe*, oratio *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum*, et dum hec [fuerint] a canonicis, sacerdos cum suis ministris in—(f. 55<sup>r</sup>)—trat testudinem et locum sepulchri et inde tollit linteum et facit alia que representant resurrectionem. In redeundo per hostium cancellorum canitur uoce remissa *Terra tremuit*, et edituo candelæ restituntur. Et nota [quod concanonicus noster Heinrich Sluzzelli emerit predium in Niderun Glatta, soluens annuatim ii quatrinos sic instituens de consensu prepositi et capellani ut thesaurarius ecclesie Turicensis qui] pro tempore fuerit, candelas que habentur a canonicis et clericis in parasceue ad representandum dominicam sepulturam et quas habent in sancta nocte ad uisitationem sepulchri ex officio suo tenetur dare distribuere et postmodum a singulis redditas fideliter conseruare. Visitatione sepulchri finita more sollempni pulsatur matutinum.

< *Visitatio Sepulchri* >

(Fol. 55<sup>v</sup>) Responsorium *Dum transisset* reincipitur et interim canonicus representaturus angelum, candidissima dalmatica indutus, per hostium altaris sancte Marie in choro transiens, ponit se super sedem ad dextrum latus [inferioris] altaris sanctorum martyrum, capite uelato per humerale. Sed clerus incantando responsorium *Dum transisset* cum turibulo et cruce processionaliter descendit per hostium cancellorum stans inter et ante altaria Karoli et Marie Magdalene, et, finito responsorio *Dum transisset*, subiungetur responsorium *Maria Magdalena* [vel potius hec brevis antiphona *Maria Magdalena et alia Maria ferebant diluculo aromata*] et duo de canonicis cappati et ferentes thuribula cum incenso representaturi mulieres Marias sepulchrum uisitantes progrediuntur ad altare martyrum et stantes quasi in opposito angeli deuote cantant *Quis reuoluet*. Angelus (f. 56<sup>r</sup>) *Quem queritis*. Mulieres *Ihesum nazarenum*. Angeles *Non est hic*. Mulieres redeuntes [versus] locum stationis clericorum cantant *Ad monumentum*. Quo finito clerus cantat aliquantulum remisse antiphonam *Currebant duo simul* et interim duo antiquiores et honorabiliores canonici casulati representaturi Petrum et Iohannem quasi festinanter uadunt ad [inferius] altare martyrum. Sed iunior citius seniore, et ibi duobus candidissimis linthe-[ol]-is [ab ipso canonico angelum representante] receptis, ipsa lintheola publice reportantes ad clerum et ostendentes cantant *Cernitis o socii* et statim chorum alta uoce subiungens *Te deum laudamus* in chorum reuertuntur, predictis lintheolis super brachiola crucis quam scolaris prefert positis modo debito et consueto [Hec eadem lintheola quasi formam stolare[m] habenta in processionibus pascalis temporis super brachiola crucis bacularis deferuntur, alias super brachia maioris crucis qua retro publicum altare inter archas sanctorum martyrum stat. Eadem posita remanebunt tempore pernotato.] Finito *Te deum laudamus* sequitur versus *Hec est dies quam factus dominus*, et sequitur *Deus in adiutorium*. Matutinales laudes.



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**THE LANGUAGE OF THE  
KONUNGS SKUGGSJÁ (SPECULUM REGALE)**

**According to the Chief Manuscript, AM. 243 B a, Fol.**

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## PREFACE

*Codex 243 B a, Folio*, in the Arnamagnean Collection, University of Copenhagen Library, belongs to the Norwegian group of the Mss. of the *King's Mirror*, another group, designated *A*, representing the Icelandic group. Our Ms. contains sixty-eight leaves, being thus the chief Ms. in both groups. Its significance was long ago recognized. Because of the nature of its contents, the dignity of its style, the purity of its language, and also its interest paleographically, it assumes a leading place in Old Norwegian literature, and indeed a prominent one among all Mss. that have come down to us from early Scandinavian times. And yet, while phases of its content have often been dealt with, there has, down to this time, been published no investigation of its language. The reason for this is no doubt in part the deterrent effect of Oscar Brenner's announcement, when he published his edition of the *Speculum Regale* in 1881, that he purposed to issue also a study of the language. Such a study has never appeared.

In 1909 my own interest in the Ms. began to take more definite form, and I felt that the first desideratum was an absolutely true facsimile edition. My plan became to get out a phototypic and diplomatic edition, and to follow this up, if possible, by a detailed investigation of the language. I was greatly encouraged in this by no means easy undertaking by Professors Marius Hægstad and Moltke Moe in Christiania, and by the interest shown by Professor Finnur Jónsson and Librarian Kristian Kålund in Copenhagen upon a visit to the North in the summer of 1910; and I secured at that time a complete photograph of the Codex. The first part of the plan was realized when in 1916 the American Facsimile Edition of the Ms. was published at the University of Illinois. In the Introduction to this edition I treated such questions as the early history of the Ms., its condition, the dialect of the scribe and the date of writing, and with considerable detail, the script. In the meantime other duties and various circumstances have led to the postponement of the second part until about two years ago, I could begin to gather together the material on the noun stems.

The present study, then, is planned to give a somewhat full account of the language of the main Ms. of the *Konungs Skuggsjá*. Part I, herewith issued, deals with the Noun Stems and the Adjectives. The declensional forms are illustrated with a view to showing the prevailing form, cited first, and all unusual or irregular forms. In the matter of definitions an attempt has been made to give all the meanings in which a word is used in the text, the one most frequently represented in the occurrences being given first. In the discussion unusual meanings and those

nowhere else met with are emphasized, often with the citation of entire passages in the latter case. I have here also often noted the survival of such words and their form or use in the modern dialects, and always with references to locality. In a number of cases a comparison with the use of a word in a group of other Old Norwegian texts seemed to me not without interest.

All nouns occurring in the text have been included, for here it was the purpose to show also the scope of each declension. However, in the treatment of the adjectives a corresponding completeness was hardly necessary. It seemed justifiable here to limit the inclusion of material to adjectives exhibiting noteworthy forms or meanings, and where compounds and derivatives appeared to merit mention. A complete listing of compound adjectives is offered, in each instance under the adjective of the second part, with references to the occurrences of the same adjective as the first part of other compounds.

In the investigation I have used the diplomatic text, and the references are to page, column and line of that. I have, of course, recorded the words in the orthography of the original. Also in regard to accent and punctuation I have kept to the Ms.; long vowels are not indicated. However, I have written independent words as such and have in the case of compounds always written both parts together as a compound; in the original there is much irregularity in both these respects, as, e. g., in the frequent spacing of the two parts of compounds. Also in the matter of the script it would hardly have any purpose to adhere to the text in a purely grammatical study; hence the various types of *r* and *s* are not here distinguished, and similarly in other matters. However, in certain kinds of cases it seemed best even here to follow the Ms. form. These are, first of all, certain cases of the occurrence of the small capital *κ*. It is well known that in Old Icelandic Mss. small capitals are commonly used as abbreviation for the double letter of the capital used. But this was not the practice of Norwegian scribes; with them the small capital was used mainly for calligraphic purposes, and if used in the function of an abbreviation it is, in nearly all Mss., combined with the horizontal mark of abbreviation. Now the capital *κ* is regularly used in our Codex with the mark of abbreviation for double *r*. But to a very considerable extent it employs small *κ* as a scribal ornament, in the middle of a word or finally. See the *Facsimile edition*, *Introduction*, pages XXIII and XXV. It is clear that, when we meet with the form *hværκ*, the *κ* has no abbreviational significance. But it is not so clear in *maurκ*, 10a24. In this and many other places we seem to have cases of incompleting abbreviation. Here also, therefore, I have thought best to retain the Ms. writing.

The other case is that of writing *y* and *ϑ* in a limited number of words. I have written *u* where the Ms. has *u*, but *v* for both *v* and *ϑ* of the Ms.,

also in the few instances where  $\nu$  represents  $u$ . But the matter is more complicated in some cases of  $y$  and  $\nu$ . These two letters are normally quite distinct: the main stave of the  $\nu$  turns slightly to the left at the base; in addition to this feature the stave of the  $y$  has further a slender stroke or hair-line out to the right; and the  $y$  is also dotted. However, the form of the two letters sometimes overlaps: a form that is distinctly that of a  $y$  is not dotted, or one that is as distinctly a  $\nu$  is dotted. I regard the former as an incompleted  $y$  and the latter also as intended to be a  $y$ , and I have so written them in passages or words cited. But in some cases where we should expect a  $y$  we have a  $\nu$ ; that is the letter used is neither hair-stroked nor dotted. In all such cases I have read  $\nu$  and here as elsewhere for  $\nu$  written  $v$ . Upon these points see *Facsimile*, p. XXXVII.

The present study closes with the comparison of the adjectives. Part II, intended to follow in six months, will deal with the adverbs, pronouns, prepositions and the verbs. It has been the intention to include in a subsequent part an examination of the phonology and the syntax, at least the syntax of the cases. Possibly I may sometime still be able to do this, but at the present time it seems unlikely, at least not in the near future. Because of this fact I have often cited rather more illustrative forms than I otherwise would have. I may refer here also to the material contained in the Introduction of the Facsimile edition, pp. LIX-LXVI, on the dialect of the scribe and the linguistic evidences of the date of the Ms.

Those who have engaged in similar investigations will appreciate the labor involved and the care demanded. The Codex contains something like 8,000 lines. This has been searched through at least a hundred times in the effort to secure a complete record of all words, inflexional forms and meanings, with later verifications often to insure absolute correctness in orthography, in the numbering of references, their selection, etc. But I cannot hope that there will be no mistakes. I do hope, however, that mistakes will be few. I trust that the method will meet with approval and that the study will find welcome as a contribution to early Norwegian linguistic history.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

acc. = accusative  
 adj. = adjective  
 adjs. = adjectives  
 adv. = adverb  
 ap. = accusative plural  
 as. = accusative singular  
 ca. = circa  
 cit. = citation  
 coll. = collective  
 comp. = comparative  
 cpd. = compound  
 cpds. = compounds  
 cf. = confer  
 Dan. = Danish  
 dat. = dative  
 dp. = dative plural  
 ds. = dative singular  
 def. = definite  
 dial. = dialect, dialectal  
 diall. = dialects  
 do. = ditto  
 Du. = Dutch  
 ed. = edition  
 e.g. = *exempli gratia*  
 ENorw. = East Norwegian  
 Eng. = English  
 f. or fem. = feminine  
 fb. = from the bottom  
 Fr. = French  
 gen. = genitive  
 gs. = genitive singular  
 gp. = genitive plural  
 Ger. = German  
 Gmc. = Germanic  
 Goth. = Gothic  
 Icel. = Icelandic  
 i. e. = *id est*  
 indef. = indefinite  
 Lat. = Latin  
 Lex. = *lexica*

lit. = literally  
 l.c. = *loco citato*  
 m. or masc. = masculine  
 MDu. = Middle Dutch  
 ME = Middle English  
 MHG = Middle High German  
 MNorw. = Middle Norwegian  
 mdn. = modern  
 n. or neut. = neuter  
 nom. = nominative  
 np. = nominative plural  
 ns. = nominative singular  
 Norw. = Norwegian  
 obl. = oblique case  
 obs. = observe  
 occ. = occurrence  
 occs. = occurrences  
 OD = Old Danish  
 OE = Old English  
 OHG = Old High German  
 OIcel. = Old Icelandic  
 OIr. = Old Irish  
 OLG = Old Low German  
 ON = Old Norse  
 ONorw. = Old Norwegian  
 OSax. = Old Saxon  
 OSw. = Old Swedish  
 p., pp. = page, pages  
 pprtc. = past participle  
 pl. or plur. = plural  
 prprtc. = present participle  
 prep. = preposition  
 Prim. Scand. = Primitive Scandinavian  
 pron. = pronoun  
 sg. = singular  
 str. = strong  
 Sw. = Swedish  
 var. = variant  
 vb. = verb  
 wk. = weak



## I. THE NOUN STEMS

### A. VOCALIC STEMS

#### I. A-STEMS

Masculines and Neuters. In the following presentation the usual separation into pure *a*-stems, *ja*-stems, *ia*-stems, and *wa*-stems will be adhered to. In the script of the *Konungs Skuggsjá* vocalic and consonantal *i* are both written *i*; vocalic and consonantal *u* are usually distinguished, but not consistently so. The method of the original will be followed here as throughout in all citations, except that for *v* and *ʋ* I shall always write *v*; the codex here regularly has *ʋ*, sometimes *v*. In normal Old Norse neuter nouns of this stem exhibit *u*-umlaut of the root-vowel in the nominative and the accusative plural. *U*-umlaut of the dative plural is, however, only a regional phenomenon, being present in Old Icelandic and also regularly in Old Norwegian of Western Norway, but absent in Eastern Norway. The endings in the dative sg. and the dative pl. are *-i* and *-um*, or *-e*, *-om*, according to the way in which the principle of vowel harmony and other factors operate.

##### a. Pure A-Stems

###### *Masculines*

Most monosyllabic masculines with long radical syllable belong here; further also dissyllabic nouns in *-angr*, *-ingr*, and *-ungr*, and a few nouns whose root ends in a long vowel. *AnG*, I, §348, *NSt.*, p. 29, *NISKj.*, p. 10. Fluctuating stems are discussed, *AnG*, I, §348, 2, 3, 4, and absence of ending in some nouns is indicated there in Note 1. See also *NSt.*, p. 30.

A complete list of nouns of this class occurring in *KS* and their compounds will now be given. For method observed in citations and definitions see above, pp. 7-8. Only those proper names which exhibit one or more *a*-stem forms will be included, and similarly below for the other stems. The declensional conditions of other names will be indicated in a separate section. Names will be written with a large or small initial (or medial or final letter) according to the original in the instances cited.<sup>1</sup>

**Aaron**, pers. n. Nom., *Ááron*, 114a11, 160a5; gen. *Aarons*, 160a2. Cf. Lat. *Árōn*, and Greek *Ἀαρών*. In ON poetry the name is regularly written *Aron*, gen. *Arons*, with both vowels long, *FVTh.*, 209. The name has already there assumed *a*-stem forms. It is to be observed that the first vowel is long in *KS*. F. Jónsson has shown that in ON poetry the name is always *Arón*, *FVTh.*, l.c.

<sup>1</sup> On the use of reduced capitals see *Facsimile Ed.*, Introd., pp. XXIII-XXVI.

**Abimalech**, Ahimelech. Regularly so, but *Abimelech*, 145b10; gen. *abimalecs*, 146b8, *abimaleks*, 145b12.<sup>2</sup>

**Abraham**, pers. n. Gen. -s, 117b5.<sup>3</sup>

**achitob**. Ahitub. Nom., 145b11; gen. *achitobs*, 145b10.

**Adamr**. Adam. The nom. as here appears, e.g., in 98a1, 8, and 16. In the discussion of the fall of Adam and Eve, pp. 97-109, the nom. occurs nineteen times, always with the ending -r. The gs. is *Adams*, 98b3, etc., in all eight times; dat. *Adami*, 98b7, 100a1, 104b5 and 108b15. The name, therefore, shows a-stem declension with absolute regularity.<sup>4</sup>

**afspringr**, offspring, descendant. Ns., 72a18. The dp. is written *afpsringum* in 10a4, a scribal error that is incompletely corrected.<sup>5</sup> See *afspringe*, n., p. 50.<sup>6</sup>

**alldr**, age. Ds. -i, 152b7, *aldre*, 2b26.

**Aman**, Haman. Nom., as here, five times, e.g., 98b21; gen. *amans*, 90b16; acc. *Aman*, 93b17, etc.<sup>7</sup>

**apalldr**, apple tree. Ds. -e, 30a25.

**aptann**, evening. Ds. *aptni*, 8a30.

**arfr**, inheritance. Ds. -e, 2a5.

**ass**, beam. Np. *asar*, 82a7; dp. *asum*, 80b22.

**atgeirr**, a kind of spear. Np., 77b19: *Blystæypter hærsþorar oc goðer atgeirar*. Cf. OE *atgār*. See *ZfdPh.*, LXIII, p. 122.

**batr**. See *smabatr* and *sæglbatr*.

**blomstr**, blossom. As., as here, 129a2.

**botn**. See *hafsbót*.

**brandr**. See *slagbrandr*.

**brunnr**. See *spæctarbrunnr*.

**brynklungr**, "briar," a kind of iron bolt or club. Ns., 81a6. The author describes this weapon in the following passage: *Brynklungr er oc gott vapn gorr af goðu iarni mæð stalharðum þorum oc biugum oc skal agnor væra a hværium þorni en hann þarf sva at gera at fæstr su er hanum er næst*

<sup>2</sup> Always *Abimelech* in *Stjórn*; many occs. pp. 398ff.

<sup>3</sup> I have not found the name *Abraham* elsewhere in ON written with final -r: the declension is fairly regular, as, gen. -s, *Stjórn*, 25, 26, dat. sg. -e, *Barl.*, 27, etc. However, endingless gen. or dat. is often met with, as gen., i shout *Abraham*, *Barl.*, 35, til *Abraham*, *Stjórn*, 41 (var: til *Abrahams*).

<sup>4</sup> The nom. is everywhere *Adam* in ON poetry, *FVTh.*, p. 210, but varies in prose. *Stjórn* nowhere has the form *Adamr*, always *Adam* (examples, pp. 33, 34, 37, 38, etc., ca. a dozen occs); the dat. is -i, as *fra Adami*, p. 25, *sæm Adami birnis*, 30, or without ending: *fra Adam*, 44; the gen. appears with or without -s, as: *Nu aa fmlanda aari lifs Adam* (var: *lif Adams*). In *Barl.* the nom. is always *Adamr*, gen. -s, dat. -e. Examples, pp. 24, 64, and 23, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly the form should be transcribed *afspringr*, for the third letter is rather an f, its main stave with its leftward-turned base, perfectly so. However, in the bistaves an attempt seems to have been made to form a þ.

<sup>6</sup> Various *afspringr* and *afspringi* in ON.

<sup>7</sup> The name regularly appears as *Amon* in *Stjórn*, gen. *Amons*, and *Amon*.

oc menn mægo na a up sām lāngst þa skal gorr væra mæð linnðaðum iarn-rakenðum at hvarki mæghe hoggit fa ne halldet á. En upp ifra þa ma hava sliet reip sām fallit þycki þagar uruci er til styrkiar.<sup>8</sup> The textual variants are *brynklumbur*, pl., and *kleyþiklumbr*, *Ksp.*, p. 89, note 9. Cf. *klungrutt*, adj., "knotty," dialect of Gudbrandsdalen, Norway.<sup>9</sup> As we see from the quoted passage, the weapon consisted of two parts, the *klungr* proper or iron end, and the stiff rope. The club was a thorn-like contrivance which was, furthermore, equipped with barbs. See *AW*, p. 199, and *Aarb.*, 1867, p. 106. Cf. also next word.

**brynknifr**, a kind of knife used in warfare, a stiletto-knife probably, i.e., a stiletto with a cutting edge. *As.*, 79a22. This weapon is listed among the needs of a warrior on horseback in the following passage: *Tvau sværd þarf hann at hafa annat þat er hann er gydr mæð en annat þat er hanger víðr saðulboga oc goðan brynknif.*<sup>10</sup> The name does not appear elsewhere. See also *AW*, p. 124, and references to literature in *FrOrdb.*, I, p. 203. Cf. *brynklungr* above.<sup>11</sup>

**byskup**, **byskop**, bishop. OE *biscop*, *bisceop*, *biscop*. *Ns.*, 32b28, 114a11, and numerous other places in the abbreviation *þp*; the *ds.* is abbreviated *þpi*, 124b30; *np.* *þpar*, 114b16; *gp.* *þpa*, 91b17; *dp.* *þpom*, 124b30. The only unabbreviated occurrences are *gp.* *byskupa*, 120a11, *dp.* *def. byskupinum*, 127a4, in the *cpds.* as below, and *byskupsstoll*, and *byskupsdomr*.

*Cpds.* **lioðbyskup**, suffragan bishop, *as.*, 75a6; *np.*, 57a6; **ærkibyskop**, archbishop, *np.*, 57a4; *as.* *ærkþp*, 75a6.

In ON the word appears invariably without the sign of the nom. On the other hand in OSw. the form nearly always shows the ending (*biskoper*, *biskopær*, *biskuper*, *byskoper*, *beskoper*, *byskop*). The usual practice in ON is to write names and titles of foreign origin in the foreign way. See examples *AnG*, I, §348, I, note 1, and the material in *NISkj.*, and in *FVTh.*, pp. 205-218.

<sup>8</sup> "A briar is also a good weapon; (it is) made of good iron, with curved thorns as hard as steel and with barbs on every thorn; but the chain to which it is attached must be made of spiked nails, as far up as a man can reach, so that it cannot be cut or held. However, farther up one may use any kind of rope that seems suitable, provided it is firm and strong." The variant *brynklumbr* suggests the *klumbur settar allar jarngoddum* mentioned in the *Iventsaga*, *Ridd.*, 128.

<sup>9</sup> ON *klungr*, "thorn," "briar," Norw. *klunger*. Cf. Norw. *klyngja*, "cluster," and vb. *klynge*, "to cling." See *NEtOrdb.*

<sup>10</sup> "He must have two swords, one in his belt and another hanging from the saddle-bow, and (he must have) a good poniard." Falk identifies the weapon *brynknifr* with the OFrench *alesne*, "anlace."

<sup>11</sup> Other formations in *bryn-* (*brynkolla*, *brynþvari*, *bryntroll*, *brynstúka*, *brynstakkr*, *brynhqtr*, *brynhetta*, *brynslófi*, *brynslagð*, *brynsetill*, *brynbrækr*, *brynhosor*), *AW*, 169, 48, 80, 110, 180, 170, 190, 112, 35, and 188.

**byskupsstoll**, episcopal seat. Ns., 32b25. See *byscup* above. Cf. *domstoll*.

**boer**, town. 66a19; ds., 3b5; 29b26, 66a22; ap. *bæa*, 129a24. May thus be regarded as an *a*-stem here; prevailing an *i*-stem in ON. See *AnG*, I, §379. The acc. pl. *bæa*, is, however, not to be considered as of MNorw. origin, as *AnG*, I, §379, note 4.

**dagr**, day. Ds. *dægi*, 8a11, and elsewhere, sometimes *dæge*, as, 8a14; once *dæghi*, 120a24. The declension is, therefore:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	dagr	dagar
Gen.	dags	daga
Dat.	dægi, (dæge)	dogum, dagum (daghum)
Acc.	dag	daga

Cf. *dagsfærð*, *dagslios*, *dagtið*.

Cpds: **drottensdagr**, Sunday, 141b9; dp. *-dogum*, 27b23; **fostodagr**, Friday, dp. *-dogum*, 37a4, *-dagum*, 37a17; **lifdagr**, "living day," life, dp. *-dagum*, 94b17; **miðrdagr**, midday, noon, ns., 45a15, gs. *miðsdags*, 3b16, 44b24. Cf. *miðsdagstími*; **sunnudagr**, Sunday, as. 32b17; **ællidagar**, pl. days of old age, old age, gp., 88b27; **ænndadagr**, last day (of one's life), as., 28b6, *ændadagh*, 72a8.

**dalr**, valley. Dp. *dolum*, 38b27; ap. *-a*, 128b18 and 29. *I*-stem plurals are not found. See also def. forms. *Dalr* is regularly an *a*-stem in classical ON, and originally so in Prim. Scand. without a doubt.<sup>12</sup> For occurrences of *i*-stem plurals as prevailing late, see *NISkj*, pp. 10-11. So in OSw., *AnG*, II, §383. In Norwegian dialects to-day the pl. ending is universally *-a(r)*. The early *-ir* plural is mainly poetic and apparently chiefly Icelandic.<sup>13</sup> In modern Icel. the word is an *i*-stem (pl. *-ir* only). The Faroese *dalur* takes the plural *dalir* or *dalar*, with gs. *dals*.<sup>14</sup> In connection with the facts noted I cite the following cases of *-i*-plurals in Eddic lays: *Ydalir*, *Grímtismál*, 5, 1; *dogg i diüpa dali*, *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, 28, 6, *Vigdali*, *Völsungakviða en forna*, 35, 4.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. OE *dæl*, *-es*, *m.*, "division," "dale," "valley": *dæl*, *n.*, "part" ("dale" in *Phoenis*, 24); elsewhere, neut. gender and short vowel (Goth. *dal*, OHG *tal* (also masc.), OSax. *dal*, Ger. *Tal*, Du. *dall*). Non-Germanic forms show the vowels *ō* (OSlav. *dolŭ* "hole," "trench"), *ā* (Greek *θάλαμος*, "lair"), and *ō* (Greek *θόλος*, "dome"), and the basic meaning as probably "bend," "curve," *EtOrdb.*, p. 98, and *NEtOrdb.*, 55. Cf. also ON *dæl*, *f.*, *dæld*, *f.*, "small valley." In primitive Gmc., therefore, varying ablaut forms of the word had assumed the meaning "that which is bent down," "depression," "hollow," "valley." The nearest non-Gmc. semantic equivalent is OSlav. *dolŭ*. The formal equivalent of this in Gmc. is prevailing a neut., OHG *tal*, OSax. *dal*, etc. The Prim. Scand. *dalr*, *m.*, formally belongs here. This would seem to have been a masc. from the beginning in Scand. (Goth *dals*?). But its form may be due to the existence of a neut. *dæl* by the side of it.

<sup>13</sup> See *NISkj.*, p. 11, and the citations in the *Lex*. On the other hand *Gudbrandsdalir*, a district in central Norway.

<sup>14</sup> *FfM.*, p. 21.

**Dauíð, dauíð, dauid.** pers. n. Lat. *David*, Greek *Δαυίδ*. The name first appears in the form *dauid* at 139a11, and thereafter forty-eight times; it is written *dauíð*, nom. acc., ten times, 139a30, 141b22, 144b4, etc., and *David*, 114b4, and 147a8; (elsewhere, it is usually abbreviated *dd*). The gen. is always *-s*, fifteen times, generally *dauids*, but *dauíðs*, 143b15, 146b3, and 147b29. The dat. is *dauíði* in all instances, — fourteen times, 139b5, 140a24, etc.<sup>15</sup>

**diofull**, devil. Np. *dioflar*, 28b21 and 29a1.

**domr**, verdict, judgment; court. Ds. *-i*, 143b22, etc., thirty-one occs., *-e*, three times; dp. *-um*, thirteen occs. As "court," 134b14, def., 133b2, 134a14, etc. Cf. *domhus*, *domstoll*, *domsæta*, *domsæti*.

**-domr**. This suffix occurs in the following thirteen words:

**alýctardomr**, final verdict, ns., 137a7; **byskupsdomr**, bishopric, ds. *-i*, 39a27; **dauðadomr**, death sentence, 150b17; **drottningardomr**, queenly state, ds. *-i*, 89b11; **guðdomr**, divinity, gs. def., 62b17; **hordomr**, adultery, gs., 118a8, ds. *hordom*, 114b21, dp. *-um*, 69a9; **iamnaðardomr**, impartial verdict, as., 150b16; **konungdomr**, kingly rule, kingship, ds. *-i*, 94b8, 95a14, 96a1; **miskunnaardomr**, verdict prompted by or tempered with mercy, ds. *-i*, 125b12; **ricdomr**, power, wealth, ds. *-i*, 89a20, as. *ricðom*, 143a15; **ricisdomr**, rule, power, 143a11 (only occ.); **ræfsingardomr**, penal sentence, 138b20; **þrældomr**, servitude, 143a2.

**domstoll**, court, seat of justice. As. *domstol*, 160a22. Cf. *byskupsstoll*.

**draumr**, dream. Ds., *-i*, 150b30.

**drottinn**, prince, liege-lord; the Lord. There are 17 occs. of the ns. *-inn* and 13 of *-enn*; gs. *-ins*, 141b9, *-ens*, 139a20; as. *-en*, 119b24. Cf. *drottensdagr*, *drottinssvic*, *drottenssviki*.

Cpd: **lanardrottinn**, liege lord, master, as *-in*, 88b2. Irregular gen. *lanar*.

**ducr**, table-cloth. Dp. *-um*, 3b19.

**Ezekias**, Hezekiah. Nom., 118a17, 22; gen. *ezechias*, 118b24 and 25.

**faðm**, embrace. Ap. *-a*, 110b12. Cf. *faðmlag*.

**farmr**. See *skipfarmr*.

**fetill**. See *skialldarfetill*.

**fingr**, finger. Dp. *-um*, 34a28, 137b11.

**fiskr**, fish. Ds. *-i*, 34a2, 7, and 30; dp. *-um*, 34b9. Cf. *fiskafiolðe*.

<sup>15</sup> *Stjórn* differs considerably in its declension of this name. The dat. is regularly without ending: *mað syni sinum David*, p. 460; *með þeim David*, 479, and 484; *Saul . . . hafði svo mikinn fandskap á David magi sinum*, 475. The gen. takes *s* as a rule only if the immediately preceding word does not have an *s*, as: *til Davíds* (however also *til David*, 485); *þá gekk Cusai sanur vinr Davíds konungs*, 529. More often the gen *-s* is lacking: *Saul sendi nú hirðmenn sína til húsá David*, 470, *sendimenn foru til herbergiss David*, 470, *Nú komu þar tíðendi til eyrna David*, 477, *Jonathas . . . for þá . . . at læita David*, 478 (but *at læita Davíds*, 480), *fyrir orð David*, 481, *fra dygð David*, 485, etc. In ON poetry: *Dávíð*, gen. *Dávíðs*, FVTh, p. 209.

**fioturr**, fetter. Dp. *fiatrum*, 88b15.

**fleinn**, arrow. Dp. *-um*, 77b24.

Cpd: **ackerisfleinn**, anchor hook, ns. def., 32b11.

**flocc**, flock, crowd, group. 53b7, ds. *flocki*, 74a5; ap. *floccar*, 133a20. The passage in 53b reads: *þa ero þeir skulder til at fylla systlomanna flocc*, "then they are in duty bound to join the king's stewards." See *systlomaðr*.

**fors**, waterfall. Dp. *-um*, 128b7.

**fugl**, bird, fowl. Np. *fuglar*, 32a26; dp. *-um*, 34a29, 32a23, *fuglum*, 97b4; ap., 97b8, 98b15, but *fogla*, 9b23.

Cpd: **fitfugl**, web-footed fowl, dp. *-um*, 34a29.

**gangr**, walk, course, path. 7b7; as., 75a21.

Cpds: **framgangr**, progress, As., 118b16. Cf. *framganga*, *framgangs-ræða* and *framgangsvægr*; **himintunglagangr**, course of the moon, as., 5a20; **solargangr**, course of the sun, ns., 41a29-30, 44b27.

**garðr**, dwelling-stead, yard, house and court, estate. Ds. *-i*, 90a14, 115a16.

Cpds: **fiallgarðr**, mountain, np. def., 38b23; **kirkiugarðr**, churchyard, ds., *-e*, 33a20, *kirkiogarðe*, 33a24, as. *kirkiogarð*, 29b17 and 24; **konungsgarðr**, palace, ds. *-e*, 51a20 and 22, 137a6.

**gaumr**, heed. As., 61b4 (*at þu gefir ægi goðan gaum*), 98b30, also 98b30 without evidence of gender. Note also ON *gaum*, f. Cf. *ogaumgefe*.

**gomr**, palate. Ds. *-i*, 37a8.

**grænlægndingr**, Greenlander. Np., 36b24, 40ab7, 44b20, *græn-lægndingr*, 36a7. In the last case a dittograph of *æ*.

**guð**, God. Ns., 191 occs.; gs. *guðs*, 71 occs.; ds. *guði*, 32 occs.; *guðe*, 14 occs.; as., 28 occs.; np. *-ar*, 63a17; ap., 62a28. Cf. *guðdomr*, *guðspíallamaðr*. Gs. *guz* does not appear.

Cpds.: **falsguð**, idol, ap. *-a*, 62b17; **flærðguð**, do., np., 129a7. As these occs. show, the masc. form is used also with reference to pagan gods.

**gyðingr**, Jew. Np. *-ar*, 91a30; gp., 91a26.

**hafsbót**, bottom of the sea. Dp. *-um*, 41a22. Cf. *hafskip*, *hafstormr*, *hafstrambr*.

**hafstrambr**. See *hafstrambi*, and Addenda.

**halm**, straw. As., 65b16.

**hals**, neck. Ds. *-e*, 79a26. Ns. and as., six occs. Cf. *halsfang*.

**harmr**, grief, resentment. Ds. *-i*, 46b7, 90a25. Seven occs. Obs: *af harmi reiðs hugar*, 46b7, "grief of an angry mind," "resentment." See also *skrufr*.

**haukr**, hawk. Dp. *-um*, 126a23, *haucum*, 126a9.

**hauss**, skull. As. *haus*, 33a26 and 30.

**heimr**, world. Ds. *-i*, 63a1, etc., *hæimi*, 125b19. Cf. *heimquama*, *heimskringla*.

**himinn**, heaven. Ds. *himni*, 40b9; gs. *himins*, 48a18; np. *himnar*; dp. *himnum*, 40a29, 40b18, 44a23. Cf. *himnariki*.

**hialmr**, helmet. Ds. *-i*, 46b18, *-e*, 8b13.

**hlunnr**, roller for launching ships. Gs. *lunnz*, 5b17.

**hunndr**, dog. Dp. *-um*, 126b23.

Cpd: **miohunndr**, greyhound, np., 32a29.

**hungr**, hunger. Ns., 136a27. There is nothing to show gender. The word may be either masc. or neut.; however, it is usually masc. in ONorw. In Norw. diall. *hunger* is always masc.; the corresponding Icel. *hungur* is neuter.

**hvalr**, whale. Dp. *-um*, 36b25. See *holld* and *kyn*.

**hvaptr**, jaw. Ap., 46b19, 47a27.

**hvirfill**, crown, top. As. *hvirvil*, 128b17 (*ivir hvirvil fialla*); also 148b29.

Cf. *skrufr*.

**hæll**, heel. 34a3; as. *hæl*, 75b20.

**hælmigr**, half. 28b29; ds. *-e*, 28b21 and 30, *-i*, 28b27.

**hærr**, army. As. *hær*, 54a2, *hæ*, 117b26, *hæ̅r*, 32a16. See above page 8 and note 1. The as. *hæ̅r* is a scribal error due to the frequency of the abbreviation *̅r*. Obs: *þeir værða sumer crafðr til at styra langskipom i hær uti mæð konungi*, "Some are requested to direct the longships out to the king's army." Cf. *hærfang*, *hærmaðr*, *hærnam*, *hærop*.

**hæstr**, horse. Gs. def. *hæstsens*, 78b26; ds. *-i*, 75b17, etc., six occs., dp. *-u*, 75b15, etc., four occs. Cf. *hæstbrynia*.

**ichaboth**, Ichabod. Gs. *ichabothz*, 145b11.<sup>16</sup>

**Isaac**, pers. n. Gen. *-s*, 117b6.

**israel**, Israel, Gs. *-s*, 113a26. 114a14, 117a24, etc.

**iss**, ice, mass of ice. Gs. *issens*, 43b6; np., 35a20, etc.; dp. *-um*, 35a26, etc.

**iacull**, icicle, mass of ice. Ns., 43a27; as. *iokul*, 40b15; dp. *iaculum*, 42b27 43a29, *ioculum*, 43a12; ds. def. *ioclinum*, 43a20; gs. def. *iakulsens*, 43b5.

Cpd: **falliacull**, iceberg, ap., 36a7.<sup>17</sup> The passage describes these as follows: *Ðar ero ann oc sumer þeir isar í því hafi er mæð aðrum væxti ero er grænlægndingar kalla falliacla. þeirra voxtr er æpter því sëm hott fiall stanndæ upp or hafino oc blandaz eyvitar við aðra isa nema ser einum saman hælldr hann.*

**Jacob**, pers. n. Gen. *-s*, 117b6.

**iarl**, earl. Np., 57a5.

**iatunn**. See *skialldiatunn*.

**Joab**, pers. n. Five occs: nom. 152b13, acc., 159a30 and b9, and gen. *Joabs*, 150b21 and 159b27.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Stjórn*, 451: *Ichabod*.

<sup>17</sup> *Falliacull*, probably, as Fritzner, "masses of ice that have broken away from the glacier."

<sup>18</sup> The conditions of inflection of these names in *Stjórn* are about as with *Dauid*. Cf. *Barl.*, p. 34: *Ec em guð Abrahams oc Ysaac oc Jacob*.

**Jonas**, Jonah. 118a5, acc., 118a2.

**Joseph**, *Josephr*, pers. n. The nom. in *-r* occurs only once: 88b24; otherwise always *Joseph*: 87b30, 88b16, 11, and 14, 92b29, and 93a6, as the acc. (twice). The dat. is *Josephe*, 88b20, and the gen. *Joseps*, 88b19. In the poetic texts only *Joseppr*, dat. *Joseppi*, *NISkj*, 23. Modn. Icel., as Norw., *Josef*.

**kanoncr**, cannon. Ap. *-a*, 29a30. The passage leaves it somewhat in doubt as to whether the word is an *a*-stem or a wk. masc. (*oc ero þar reinlifsmænn þa er calla ma hvart er vill kanonca eða eremita*), since a wk. form also exists,— and *eremiti* is wk. However, the wk. form is especially Icel., while Norw. occs. elsewhere seem always to be strong: *kanunkr* or *kanukr*. Probably wk. nevertheless. The continuation of the passage reads: *oc ero þeir mæð sva myclum fiolða at þar er full conuant af*.

**karl**, man. Ds. *-i*, 110b21, 149b2. Cf. *karlmaðr*.

Cpds: **huscarl**, housecarle, dp. *-karlum*, 52a6. The word appears with *c* 15 times and with *k* twice. Cf. *huscarlagiold* and *huscarlanafn*; **kotkarl**, cotter, np. *-ar*, 54b21, dp. *-karlum*, 52a13, 66b11; ns. *cotkarl*, 55a18; **plogkarl**, plowman, dp. *-karlum*, 129a18.

**klungr**. See *brynklungr*.

**klærcr**, cleric. Ns., 50b20 and 23; as. *klerc*, 55a5.

**knifr**. See *brynknifr*.

**konungr**, king. In almost all cases abbreviated, so that we are unable to determine spelling absolutely, for the only other noun in *-ungr*, *-ongr*, appears in both spellings; see below. Cf., however, np. *konungar*, 115b3, and cpds. In the text of the Facsimile as on the title-page I have throughout resolved the abbreviated forms into *konung-*, for this is the form we have in the rare occurrences when the word is written out in full. Note further below. The abbreviated writings are discussed in the Facsimile ed., p. XLIV. For the ds. they are *kgi* or *ki*, 56 times, *kge* or *ke*, five times; the dp. ends in *-um*, four times, in *-om*, five times. There is no ds. without ending. Cf. *konungsborg*, *konungdomr*, *konungsmaðr*, *konungsríki*, and *konungssæti*.

Cpds: **smakonungr**, petty king, np., 67b30; **æinvallskonungr**, king of a centralized government, as., 70b25.

**kristr**, the anointed; Christ. 96a18, *cristr*, 96a19, ds. *-i*, 148a9.<sup>19</sup>

**kross**, cross. Ds. *-i*, 115a28; as., 90a16, 90b17, *cross*, 90a14.

**krokr**. See *logkrokr*.

**kyrtill**, cloak. As., 58b26. Cf. *kyrtilsblað*.

<sup>19</sup> In *Barl.*, everywhere: nom., *Kristr* (*Cristr*). Examples, p. 34 (three times), p. 40, etc. The gen. of *Jesus Kristr* is *Jesu Krist*, 35, line 1. In *Síjörn* always the Lat. form *Cristus*, as p. 52, nom. *Kristus*, line 10, acc. *Jesum Kristum*, line 13, dat. *mæðr uarum lausnara Jesu Kristo*, l. 21, etc. Of the declension of *Kristr* in skaldic poetry F. Jónsson says: "ganske regelmæssig," *NISkj*, 23.



Cpds: **skinnkyrtill**, fur cloak or coat, ap. *-kyrtla*, 108b 16; **uglæðekyrtill**, cloak of sorrow, as. *-kyrtil*, 47a2-3.

**landsynningr**, southeast wind. Ns., 8a11.

**lanndnyrðingr**, northeast wind. Ns. *-enngr*, 47a23, *landnyrðingr*, 8b24; ds. *lanndnyrðinge*, 8a26.

**langorfsliar**, scythe with long snath. Np., 77b14. Evidently the only ON occ. of the cpd. Fritzner cites the form *ljár* once from the *Flateyjarbók* and adds: "hvor det maa ansees for en nydannelse, opstaaet ved en misforstaaelse af det i de oblikve kasusformer af *lé* hyppigen forekommende *ljá*." Cf. *Ang*, I, §§50 and 94, note 1. For Norw. diall. Aasen gives forms with *aa* and *o* for WNorw. and for the border regions of WTel. and Valders. For ENorw. the form is prevailingly *lo* to-day (as in the Trondhjem region) or some variant of this. Apparently a nom. sg. *ljár* was in use in western and west central Norway since the first half of the XIIIth century. In Norw. diall. the word is an *a*-plural; Icel. *ljár*, however, is an *i*-plural. Originally a weak noun.

**latr**, laughter. Gs. *latrs*, 33a18.

**lavarðr**, lord, master. Ns., 91a1, 98a17.

**lax**, salmon. Ap., 28b18: *fiolde fiska er mann calla laxa*. This statement would seem to indicate that the word was not in general use. In the *Þrymskviða* *lax* is a rare delicacy: (*Þórr*) *einn át oxa, átta laxa, krásir allar, þær er konor skyldo*, "(Thor) alone ate an ox, eight salmon, all the delicacies that the women were to have (had)." We may note in this connection the interesting bit of conversation between the prince and the princess in Gíslason's *Prøver*, p. 430: *Hverr vildir þú þá helst vera? Hann svaraði: þat ælla ek at ek vilda helst vera akrhæna.* "Ok fyrir hót akrhæna?" *segir hón. "Þí," sagði hann, "at hón er hinn ágætasti höfðingjaréttir."* "Satt er þetta," *segir hón. "En hverr vildir þú helst fiskr vera?" Hann svarar: "þat ælla ek at ek vilda helst lax vera."* "Sakir hvernar greinar?" *segir hón. "Þí," segir hann, "at lax er höfðingjaréttir."*

**leicr**, game, sport. Ds., *leic*, 76a14 and 27, *leik*, 76a30; np. *lecar*, 76b2; gp., 76b1. The error in *lecar*, due possibly to anticipating the vowel of the following *er* (*þa ero þeir lecar er*, etc.).

**-leicr**. Nouns with this suffix are:

**beiscleicr**, bitterness. 149b6.

**biartleicr**, brightness. Gs., 41b4.

**brœyskleicr**, weakness. 124a15.

**dælleicr**, privilege, freedom from restraint, liberty of action, the relation of perfect understanding between two persons. Gp., 66b12, and 94a16. The two passages are: *Nu mæð þvi at sacar dalleica oc leynis þæss er þer hæfir mer gefit til spurningar i ræðo occurri þa villða ec ænn at þer skilaðer þæssa ræðu giersamlegare frii mer aðr en vit takim aðra*, (66b11-16); *oc vill ec þærs biðia yðr at þer latir yðr ænn æigi leiðast mec at læra fram*

*aleið, firi því at yðart læyfi dirvir mec ænn til þeirra dalleica við yðr at lata ækki þat æpter liggja er hugr minn forvitnar*, 194a13-17. In the first case the son uses the word in the sense of privilege or liberty to ask questions, the perfect freedom that he feels in this respect, because of the father's permission; in the second passage he uses it in the sense of the freedom or familiarity that he ventures to take (because of the privilege he enjoys). Earlier in the conversation the father had assured the son of his readiness to listen to all questions, and that the son should feel no restraint in asking about whatever came into his mind; cf. pp. 1 and, especially, 52 and again 54, 56 and 57.

The definition "dælskap, tydskap" of the Lex, is, therefore, inexact. Fritzner quotes our first passage and defines very aptly: "god indbyrdes Forstaaelse, fortroligt eller familiært Forhold som gjør at man ikke behøver med Forsigtighed at lægge Baand paa sin Optraeden," and he quotes from the *Fornmannasögur*, VI, 390: *gakk þu þagat sem þu vill, ok gjør allt i dalleikum við oss*. This I should render: "go wherever you wish; you have perfect freedom of action as far as I am concerned." Cf. Norw. dial.: *da va so dælt te snakka mæ han* (Aasen). See etymological note on the adj. *dall*, by F. Tamm, *AfnF*, II, p. 347. The corresponding Faroese *dallur* means "accessible," "confidential," "pleasant."<sup>20</sup> Eddic meanings of *dall* are "easy," "comfortable," *Háv.*, 5, 2 and *Sg.*, 21, 1.

**flotleicr**, swiftness, 32a27. One cit. in *FrOrdb*; not listed in Lex. generally. Norw. dial. *fljotleikje*, *m.* (Aasen), *fljotleik*, *NOrdsaml.*, p. 150.

**froðleicr**, knowledge. 4a27, etc. Cf. *froðleicsræða* and *froðleicsæpli*. **grimleicr**, severity, aloofness. *Ds.*, 146a24.

**haleicr**, height. *Ds.*, 35a17; *as. holeic*, 128b25. Cf. *hasati*.

**haghleicr**, skill. *Ds.*, 85b7. Cf. *haghleicsanndi*. The occs. are all with *gh*.

**heilagleicr**, sanctity. *Ds.*, 30b13.

**hvassleicr**, sharpness. *As.*, 43b18.

**hvatleicr**, bravery. *Ns.*, 52a24.

**letteicr**, lightness, airiness. *As.*, 128a19 (*letteic loptz*).

**licleikr**, likelihood, probability. *Gp. def.*, 112a24. Only here.

**líkligleicr**, likelihood, reasonableness. *Ns.*, 113a6; *dp. líkligleikum*, 40a26. Only here.

**macligleikr**, propriety. *Ns.*, 92a26.

**míldleicr**, gentleness. *As.*, 146b6.

**næmleicr**, aptitude, quickness to learn. 54a28. Cf. *nam*.

**ofletleicr**, alertness, quickness of movement. 3a24.

**ofroðleikr**, ignorance. *Ds.*, 109b26.

<sup>20</sup> *Fr Orð*.

- okyrleicr**, disturbance. As. *okyrleic*, 7a27, *okyrleic*, 7b8; ns. *ukyrleicr*, 5a22. The writing in 7a27 may be an incompleting abbreviation, hence *okyrreleic*.
- orleicr**, generosity. Ds., 85a17.
- raustleicr**, courage. As., 3a24.
- rygggleicr**, grief. As., 47a7.
- siucleicr**, sickness. As., 30a14; dp. *siucleikum*, 30b6.
- striðleicr**, severity. 131a2.
- strængleicr**, music of stringed instruments. Ap., 129b1.
- styggleicr**, aversion, repugnance. Ds., 94b21. Icel. *styggleiki*, Norw. dial. *stygge*, "Afsky," Aasen.
- sœtleicr**, sweetness. 105a30. *-leik*, 105a26.
- trygggleikr**, faithfulness, trustworthiness. 93a2; as. *-leic*, 90b25.
- þungleicr**, disability, infirmity. Gs., 55a26.
- udygggleikr**, dishonestly, lack of virtue, faithlessness. Gs., 88a27; as., *odygggleic*, 88b8. Evidently not found elsewhere in ON.
- unndarlegleicr**, strange thing, wonder. 31a27.
- utrygggleikr**, unfaithfulness. As., 88b17.
- uruggleicr**, security. Ds., 55b5: *mæð uruggleic bua*, "make secure." Not found in Lex.
- væðrleicr**, state of the weather. 43b13.
- værðleicr**, merit, deserts, value, price. 107a17; gs., 114b2; gp., 124a8 and 18.
- leirpotr**, claypot. 107a15. Not recorded.
- liar**. See *langorfsliar*.
- logkrokr**, trick of law. Np., 84b10.
- logunautr**, fellow member of the *hirð* or the king's company of courtiers. 75a20; np., 74a18, 75b9.
- maðkr**, maggot. 10a24.
- maurr**, ant. Ns. *maur*, 10a24.
- morgenn**, morning. Ds. *morni*, 8b24; as. *morgen*, 8a10; ap. *morna*, 3a28, etc.
- mugr**, multitude, general public. 69b1.
- munkr**, monk. Ns. def., 142a18.
- munnr**, mouth. 33a30; ds. *-e*, 2a1, 7b20, etc., six occs., *-i*, 48b20, etc., thirteen occs.
- nautr**. See *logunautr* and *raðunautr*.
- nadd**, rivet. Dp. *naddum*, 79a11.
- nafarr**, augur. Ap. *nafra*, 6a47.
- nyrðingr**. See *land-*, *ut-*.
- Octobær**, October. 46a23. Written with final *r*.
- oddr**, point. Dp. *-um*, 41b26.
- ormr**, serpent. 102a30.
- ostr**, cheese. Gp., 39b6.†

- Petr**, Peter. Nom., 115a7, 116a30, 116b7 and 12; dat. *Petri*, 116a23.<sup>21</sup>  
**pill**, willow. Ns., 30a29; ds. *pili*, 30a24.  
**plogr**, plow. Ap., 68a26. Cf. *plogiarn*, *plogkarl*.  
**prior**, prior. Ds. -i, 142a20. Not recorded.  
**præstr**, priest. Ns., 134b17; dp. -um, 125a1.  
**prætr**, trick. Gp., 106a4.  
**psalmr**, hymn. Dp. -um, 126a13, *salmum*, 3b3; gp., 111b25. Cf. *psalmasongr*. In Norw. diall. to-day this word is usually *salma*, *f.*, or *salme*, *m.*, now and then *salm*, *m.*, as ON. In Icel. *salmur*.  
**pungr**, purse. As., 5b5.  
**pænnigr**, penny. As., 95b4.  
**raðunautr**, counsellor, adviser. Pl., 101b22. Cf. *logunautr*.<sup>22</sup>  
**reinn**, reindeer. See *dyr* and *holld*.  
**ringr**, ring, circle. Ds. ring, 27a5 and 7.  
**roðull**, radiance. Ds., *roðle*, 8a1; as. *roðul*, 8b6.  
**rostungr**, walrus. Ns., 38a14, *rostongr*, 36b28. Icel. citations in *FrOrdb*. Occurs as a surname in ONorw: *Ogmundr rostungr*, *DN*, III, 171.  
**Salamon**, Solomon. Nom.-acc., 150b21, 23 and 26, 151a, etc.; gen. *salamons*, 151b22; dat. *salamone*, 150b30, 151a13.<sup>23</sup>  
**salmr**. See *psalmr*.  
**sannder**, pl., sands, sand-banks. G., 46a16.  
**saumr**, nail. As., 6a13.  
 Cpds.: **noðsaumr**, rivet, as., 6a16; **ræcsaumr**, spike, as., 6a16.  
**saurr**, mud. Ns., 74a21. Cf. *saurlift*, *saurmali*.  
**sigr**, victory. Ds. *sigri*, 106a14; as., *sighr*, 106a7, *sigr*, 106a17. Cf. *sighrari*. See, however, *I-Stems*.  
**skattr**, tax. 95b5.  
**saul**, pers. n. The case-forms are always nom. *saul*, gen. *sauls*, dat. *sauli*, acc. *saul*. Occs: 115b18, 139a7 and 17, 139b30, etc.<sup>24</sup>  
**skemmingr**, a kind of seal. Ns., 36b13. Not recorded. Formed from *skammr*, 'short,' and -*ingr*, hence, "shortfish," "short-seal," identified, *FAH*, p. 221, with the Norwegian *ringsæl* (*phoca hispida*). Similar formations in -(l)ing, often with diminutive meaning, are rather frequent in modern

<sup>21</sup> *Petr* exhibits inflectional endings: dat. -e, *Anecd.*, 8, and *Barl.*, 47, gen. *Petr*s, *Anecd.*, 18.

<sup>22</sup> Words in -*nautr* are discussed by Julius Swenning in *AfnF*, XXIII, pp. 1-24; there also bibliography of earlier views on the origin of this formation.

<sup>23</sup> The regular inflection here shown is not exhibited by this name in *Stjórn*. Examples: *Nv tok mikinn styrk oc framgang ríki Salomon konungs*, 557; *fra domi Salomonis*, 558 (chapter heading); *Nv gaf goð Salomon konungi harðla mikla spect*, 560, etc.; The gen. -is, dat.—regularly here; however the gen. is often not indicated by its -s, as *éptir boði oc ben Salomon konungs*, 565. See above under note 15. In the *Þiðriks saga* the gen. is *Salomons*, *Salomuns*, *Salomon*, *Salomonis* (once); dat. *Salomon*. Obs. in these texts the spelling *Salomon*.

<sup>24</sup> *Stjórn* case forms: gen. and dat., commonly without ending: *tíleði Saul*, 446, *tíl karbergia Saul*, 446, *þessir voru synir Saul*, 449; *Cis faðir Saul*, 455, etc.; dat. always *Saul*.

Scandinavian, e.g., *kutling*, a small fish, *kvilling*, do., *styving*, "en maadelig stor helleflynder;"<sup>25</sup> cf. Swed. *strömming*, a kind of small herring. See also *MogM*, 1912, p. 54.

**skipfarmr**, cargo. Ds., -i, 47b8.

**skialldarfetill**, shield-strap. Ds. -fælli, 79a27.

**skialldiatunn**, a kind of engine for hurling fire upon the enemy, 82b13: *En allra þeirra lista er nu hofum ver um rætt þa er þo hofuðvapn biuger skialldiatunn ryptande mæðr alligum loga* ("belching forth a burning flame"). See discussion in *AW*, 200-201.

**skogr**, forest. Ds. -e, 29a3; dp. -um, 10a19, etc., thirty occs.

**skolpr**, chisel, gouge. Ap., 6a17. Not recorded. Aasen gives from Trondhjem the dial. *skolpejarn*, and defines: "Huuljern, Træskojern; et redskab til at udhule med," and he notes that it is called *skolmejarn* in North Bergenhus. In southeastern Norway, *skolp*.<sup>26</sup> The passage in *KS* does not describe the implement.

**skotteinn**, target. As. -tein, 76b16.

**skrufr**, crown. Ds. -i, 46b9. Fritzner cites the passage in *KS* and suggests the meaning "top," hence seems to identify it with Norw. dialectal *skruv*. This Ross defines: 1, top, 2, upper rim of mittens or socks, as *votteskruv*. In Vestergötland, Sweden, *skruv* is used of the ridge of a roof, "takås, der sparrarna sammanstöta" (Rietz). The word occurs in OSw. in the cpd. *bærskrufver* in a passage discussed by Axel Kock, *AfnF*, III, 149: *the som byggja sik hws a höghom bærskrufwom ok sätia ofhöght sin redhra*, "who build themselves houses on high mountain tops and place their nests too high." The word is used in the following sentence in *KS*: *En annor (sorg) er su at hann ryggiz af harmi goðs granna sins oc agets hann æsiz af harmi reiðs hugar oc yglir brunum unnder folgnum skruft oc blæs þiostsamlega reyttande slævo*. "But another (sorrow) it is that he grieves over the misfortunes of his kind and excellent neighbor; he is stirred by sorrow and anger, and he knits his brows under his hidden crown and blows the froth violently about him." Variant reading: *undir floknu skyi*, and *undir floknum skruvi* ("under his tangled crown").

**slagbranndr**, "warbeam," a beam equipped with sharp teeth of hard oak. Np., 77b15, 80b29; ns. *slagbrandr*, 77b23. The *slagbrandr* is described in 77b21 in the words: *hundrægin fiormynnr slagbrandr mæðr stalharðum fleinum*.<sup>27</sup> A fuller description of the weapon and its use appears in 80b.: *Slagbranndar gorrir af longum ráðm oc þungum hvastænter mæð harðri æik reistir a enda nær vighskorðum sva at þa mæghi þegar a menn fella er nær er gengit kastala*. See *AW*, p. 199.

<sup>25</sup> Aasen. Also Ross and Hallager record various dialectal uses, and many similar words.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *skolp*, m., "en liden udhulet Blok eller træflaske, hvori man bærer Hvæsestenen naar man slaar Hø." Ryf., Jæd., and *skolp*, "Kasteskovel," Li., Ma., (Ross). Zoëga translates Icel. *skolpr*, "a turner's chisel." Cf. also *skolpa*, vb., "to dash water on."

<sup>27</sup> "A war-beam cloven into four parts, set with steel prongs, and drawn up against the mast."

**smabatr**, small boat. Ap., 35b16.

**smælingr**, small or insignificant man. Np. -gar, 149a12.

**snuðr**, gain, advantage. As., 51b5.

**snæðingr**, meal, food. 129a26; gs., 129a28.

**soðull**, saddle. Gs. *saðuls*, 78b26, as. *soðul*, 78b3 and 9, *saðul*, 78b7.

Cf. *saðulbogi*, *saðulreiðe*.

**sporðr**, tail (of fish). Ns., 34a2; ds. -e, 34b1.

**spækingr**, wise man. Ns., 92a16; dp. -um, 66b3, 91b12, *spækingom*, 131b3, *spekingom*, 91b6.

Cpd: **hovuðspækingr**, man of great wisdom. 2a23.

**spæctarbrunnr**, well of wisdom. 123a30.

**stafn**, prow of a ship. Ds. *stafni*, 46a13.

**steinn**, stone. Ds. *steini*, 137b14, 114b13; dp. -um, 10a15. Cf. *steinkastali*, *steinspiolld*, *stæinvæggr*, *steinvirki*.

Cpds: **brænnusteinn**, sulphur, ns., 77b17, *brænnosteinn*, 82a8; **gimsteinn**, jewel, dp. -um, 129a14; **kværnsteinn**, millstone, dp. -um, 81a22; **vapnsteinn**, stones used as weapons and to be hurled against the enemy, ds. -i, 76b14. Not elsewhere in ON? Cf. *vapngriot*.

**stigr**, path. Ap. -a, 127b16, *stigha*, 127b22. Cf. *stig*, n.

Cpds: **flottastigr**, path of flight, ap. -u. See *U-Stems*; **villistigr**, wrong path, path along which one loses one's way, going astray; ap. -a, 126a4; **villustigr**, path of error, wrong-doing, as., 63a16. The difference between the two words is that the former is passive in meaning, whereas *villustigr* is active. The first sentence may be quoted: *þess bið ec þec drottin minn at þu vælir mer at ængi kvistr sa er af mer blomgast þorni eða rorne (for morne) oc æigi snuiz þeirra (for þeir a) uræct eða villistiga æpter heimskum þioðum*. "I beg Thee my Lord that thou grant me that no branch which blossoms from me shall wither and decay, and that they may not turn to neglect and error after evil men (i.e., follow evil men into neglect and wrong-doing)." The variant and more correct reading is *oræctir eða villustigu*; Ksp., 135, note 2. But also elsewhere *villistigr* appears sometimes, where we should expect *villustig*. I quote first the following passage from *Anecd*: *Kristr sialfuer er hafud þessa likams, kirkia er bulrenn. Augu þessa likams skylldu vera byscupar varir, þeir er oss skylldu visa á rettið leid ok grandlausa þiogotu on allra villustiga ok sea vel firir allum limum utt i fra*. "Christ himself is the head of this body; and the church is the trunk. Our bishops should be the eyes of this body, they who should direct us upon the right course and safe highway from all paths of error, etc." In chapters 22-23, *kristni*, "Christianity," and *villa*, "the false faith" are contrasted, and the teachers of Christianity are contrasted with the *villumenn*, "false teachers," those who lead one into paths of error. Then we read: *Ok finnazst firir þui stundum villumenn i þeirra flokke, at eigi hafua þeir iæmnan rett at eins bodord framme haft, sua sem ver hafuum nu nokora næmfnda af þui lidi þo skolo menn þat vita at eigi*

*hafua þessar villst allar med einum hætte, hælðr hafua þeir iammarga villistigu genget sām nu hafua været nāmfnðir till, þui at j þa villistigu fæll annar er ei fæll annar, “... yet men should know this, that these have not all gone astray in the same manner; rather they have gone the same number of wrong paths as we now have named, for upon those wrong paths one fell when another did not fall.”*<sup>28</sup> Cf. also *æyðimarkker oc villistigu, Barl.*, 50, but different again in the following passage: *En hver er sa ambun er ec skal syna þer oc birta at forðast villustig oc þann illa veg er her til hevir þu gengit.* “But what is the recompense which I shall show you and reveal to you that you may steer clear of the path of error and the evil course which you have travelled hitherto?” The former appears as *villistig* in Norw. diall. and *villistigur* in Icelandic. See also *villidyr* below.

**stoll.** See *byskupsstoll* and *domstoll*.

**stofn**, stump. Gs., 110a15.

**stormr**, storm. Ds., -i, 9b7.

Cpds: **hafstormr**, storm at sea, ns., 34b22; dp. -um, 46b24; **mægin-storm**, mighty gale, 9a12. Cf. *mæginlannd*, *mæginras*, *mæginvægr*.

**straumr**, current, stream. Ap. 10b26; dp. -um, 128b5.

**suzingull**, saddle-girth. Ns., 78b6. The word seems to occur only here. Lex. give it as neut. and its source Lat. *succingulum*. The passage reads: *Sva þarf hann oc um soðul sinn at bua ramlegga at hann se stærkr oc hobogaðr oc buinn mæðr stærkium giorðum oc allu aðru saðulreiðe oc uruggr suzingull ivir miðian saðul oc sva briostgiorð firi framan.* It is hardly possible here to take *uruggr* as referring to the saddle except by assuming an omission of several words. If we assume that *uruggr* modifies *suzingull*, as it stands and read *oc at uruggr suzingull se ivir*, etc., we should have a construction parallel to *se stærkr*, etc., above. We may render this: “Likewise he must make sure that his saddle be strong and curved high and equipped with durable girths and all other saddle-gear, and that there be a strong cross-girth over the middle of the saddle, and likewise a breast-strap in front.” It is possible that *uruggr* is an error for *uruggu*, but that would require the dat. *suzingulli*.

**sviptingr**, cord. Np., 6a11. Only recorded for this passage, but see *FrOrdb*.

**svæfn**, sleep. Ds. -i, 8b29, 96b12. Cf. *svæfnstund*.

**svæinn**, young man. Ns., 30a2 and 6; ds. -i, 30a1; dp. -um, 145b8.

Cpd: **lærisvæinn**, pupil, as., 95b12; **skialldsvæinn**, shield-bearer, ds. -i, 144a21.

**synningr**. See *land*. Cf. *nyrðingr*.

**sæglbatr**, sailboat. Gp., -bota, 6a8. Cf. *smabatr*.

**sælr**, seal. Ns., 47a1; ds. *sæl*, 37a3; dp. -um, 36b27; gs. *sæl* (!), 36a1.

<sup>28</sup> *Stjörn*, 637, however: *hældr gecc hann villistiga eftir vandum vegom Israels konunga.* Here we should expect *villustiga*, which is also the reading of var. A, note 5, l. c. *FrOrdb*. cites *villustigr* only for *Barl.*, *Stjörn*, and *Anecd.* (also *villu-* as first part of many cpds. in ON).

Cpds: *flættosælr*,<sup>29</sup> Greenland seal, np., 36a26; *gransælr*, bearded or big seal, np., 36a30; *norðsælr*, "northern seal," np., 36a21, the form being corrected by erasure to *nosalar*; *opnosælr*, a kind of seal that swims on its back, a saddle-back, np., 36b5; *ærcnsælr*, gray seal, np., 36a23. O. Nordgaard identifies the *nosælr* with the Norwegian *fjordsæl* (*phoca vitulina*) and the *ærcnsælr* with the gray seal (*halichærus grypus*). *FAH*, pp. 219-221.

*teinn*. See *skotteinn*.

*þistill*, thistle. Ap., 108b11.

*þiofr*, thief. Np., 115a23.

*þionn*, serf, servant. Ns., 120a7; *þion*, 91a13: *En i ríki hans var sætr æinn ullænnzkr þion hærtakinn*; ds. *þioni*, 145a15. In 91a13, omission of sign of abbreviation, probably.

*þiostr*, violence. Ds.-i, 46b1. -e, 47a28.

*þorn*, thorn, barb. Ds. -i, 81a10; dp. -um, 81a9; ap., 129a1. In the last passage the word is used of long needle-like points or barbs of iron.

*þriðjungr*, portion comprising one-third. Ns., 39a26; as. *þriðjung*, 6b22.

*þræll*, thrall, slave. Ns., 88a30; ds. *þræli*, 88b12, etc.; gp. *þræla*, 117b5. Cf. *þrældomr*.

*þægn*, thane, man. Ap., 52a4, 53b2. Cf. *þægnillde*.

Cpd: *þuþægn*, householder, 120a20.

*utnyrðingr*, northwest wind. Ds., -e, 8a13. Ns. -engr, 8b3.

*utsynnengr*, southwest wind. Ns., 8a19.

*vattr*, witness. Np., 3b13.

*vargr*, wolf. Np., 31b19.

*varningr*, wares, goods. Ns., 3b25; ds. -i, 4a1, -e, 5b9; as., 3b9. Always -ingr. Cf. *vara* and *varnaðr*.

*vinndr*. wind. Np., 44a15, etc., four occs; *vindar*, 44a13; gp., 10b12, *vinda*, 128b23.

Cpds: *austanvinndr*, east wind, ds. -e, 7b30, *austanfinnde*, 8a30. This irregular use of *f* is paralleled by only one other occurrence; *norðanvinndr*, north wind, ns., 47a15; *sunnanvinndr*, south wind, ds., 47a16; *væstanvinndr*, west wind, ns., 46b25.

*væðr*, ram, an iron-headed war engine used for breaking through the wall of a fortress, battering-ram. Gs. *væðrs*, 80b8 and 10; as. *væðr*, 79b29, 80a29. See *AW*, p. 198. The account of attack by means of a ram reads: *En af mæð stærkum valslongum fær æigi steinvægg ovan brotit eða sunndr skelfðan þa ma þærs fræista at leita til þæssarrar velar væðr mæðr iarnaðu ænni því at hans hoggum stanndaz fair steinvæggir*<sup>30</sup>(79b). *En amoti*

<sup>29</sup> Var: *flættisæl*, *Ksp.* 41, note.

<sup>30</sup> "But if one is unable to break down or shatter a stone wall with trebuckets, he will have to try another engine, namely the iron-headed ram, for very few stone walls can withstand its attack," *KM*, 220-21.



*valslongum eða grafsvini eða þeirri vel er menn kalla væðr þa er gott at styrkia allt steinvirki innan mæð storum æikiviðe* (80a),<sup>21</sup>—*þat hasa menn oc gort moti arasum væðrs at fylla sæcki stora mæð hæy eða mæð agnum oc latit sigða firi annðlit væðrs mæð lettum iarnrækenndum þar sëm hann vil at stæinvæggi koma* (80b).<sup>22</sup>

**vægr**, way. Ap. *væga*, occurs three times. See *U-Stems*.

**æiðr**, oath. Np. *eiðar*, 72b19; ap. *æiða*, 69a27.

Cpd: **munnaeiðr**, profanity, profane expressions, dp. *-um*, 5a4, 83b26.

**ælldr**, fire. Ds. *ællde*, 41b26, 42a26, *-i*, 142b14 and 25.

**ængill**, angel. Ns., 101b17; np. *ænglar*, 103a8, ap., 102b8; dp. *-um*, 103a11, b19.

### Neuters

In ON nearly all neuter stems with final consonant belong here. Those occurring in *KS*, 216 stems and 152 cpds. of these, are as follows:

**oðal**, nature, method, ways. Ns., 5b11: *þat er kaupmannaoðal* "that is the method (or ways) of merchants." Variant: *oðal*, *Ksp.*, p. 18, note 3. The use of the two words seems to overlap sometimes; cf. below *farmanna oðal*, "business of seafaring men." *Kaupmanna oðal* is the occupation of merchants, mercantile business, *k-oðal*, the ways and practices; here a confusion was of course very easy. *GnOrdb.* gives "naturleg eigenskap, kynde, haat" as the first definition of *oðal*, and refers to *Ghv.*, 21, and *Ksp.*, Brenner, 19, 12 (= *oðal*, 10, 19). The latter reference is *KS*, 10b29. See *oðal*. Cf. also *oðalbyggð*, "kjernen af landets bebyggelse," and *oðaltuþt*, "den oprindelige hustomt, hvor gaardens bygninger fra gammel tld af have været opførte," *NgL*, V, p. 61. In these cases the use of *oðal* touches closely that of *oðal*. For etymology see *EtOrdb.* under *odel*.

**afl**, strength, power. Ds. *afti*, 2a30, etc., (in all twelve occs.), *-e*, 8a24 and 42b7.

Cpds: **bríostaf**, power of chest, force of the weight of the body, (that is back of the thrust of the sword), ds. *-i*, 75b28; **mæginaf**, great power, 41a12.

**aflat**, cessation. Gs. *aflatz*, 125a10. See *lat*.

**akall**, the act of calling upon or invoking the name of God; ds. *-i*, 63a9. Cf. *afall*, *akast*, *alagh*, *alit*, *aras*, *askaut*, *astig*, *avit*.

**alagh**. See *glaviualagh*.

**alit**. See *skynsæmðaralit*.

**alldin**, large fruit of trees as opposed to bush-fruit. Ns., 97b18; as., 106a18. Cf. *alldinviðr*.

<sup>21</sup> "But against the trebucket or the cat or the engine called the ram, it is well to strengthen the entire stone wall on the inside with large oaken timbers."

<sup>22</sup> "Against the attacks of the ram men have (sometimes) filled large bags with hay or straw and lowered them with light iron chains in front of the ram at whatever point it sought to pierce the wall."

**andlat**, death. 150a22, 151b23. See *lat*.

**andlit**, face. Ds. -i, 90b4, *anndlite*, 8a28, as, *andlit*, 7b30, *andit* for *andlit*, 8a17. Also *anndlitzbiorg*. Of the 32 occs. of *andlit* 15 have double *n*, 17 single. Cf. *andvarp*, *andsvar*, *auglit*.

**andvarp**, sigh. Ds. -i, 137all; np., *anndvorp*, 46b27; dp. *andvorpum*, 8a3, *andvorpom*, 141a6. Cf. *brotvarp*, *niðrvarp*, *tunguvarp*, *orðvarpsmaðr*. In 103b the descent of the angels is caused by the wrath of God himself, and so the author uses the word *niðrvarp*, which conveys the intended idea that the angels were hurled down by God in his wrath. Cf. *niðrfall*.

**ar**, year, good year. Ns., 65b30, 125a14; *ari*, 30b1.

**aran**. See *uaran*. •

**aras**, onrush, attack. Dp. -um, 80b8. Cf. *rasarskeið*.

**auglit**, eyesight, view. Ds. -i, 33a3, etc., eighteen occs; *aughliti*, 109a12, *oglit*, 103b5: *þa skulfu himnar allir i ogliti guðs*. The reason for the error is not clear. The word *ogorligo*, which appears one line ahead may in the original have stood just below *auglit*. In the present division of the lines the syllable *og-* of *oglit* is at the end of the line, while the syllables *-liti* stand just above *ogorligo*.<sup>22</sup> Cf. *andlit*. See also *lit*.

**askaut**, shot, bombardment. Np., 80b12. Does not occur elsewhere, and *askaut* here not recorded in Lex., where only the variant *askot* is given. *Askaut* is not to be entirely identified with *askot*. *FrOrdb*, I, p. 76. Observe the passage in *KS*: *þat kann oc væra at sva mikil askaut værðe oc komi i kastala at ægi mægi menn i vighskorðum væra*. Here the meaning is "bombardment."

**astig**, step, stride. Ds. -i, 128b20; dp. -um, 106b9. Cf. *istig*.

**at**, food, meal, eating. Gs. *atz*, 30b7; ds. -i, 56a8; as., 74a27. Cf. *ætni*.

**atsvif**, circumstance, particulars. Np., 139b27. Not found elsewhere. Otherwise *atvik*, as Icel. *atvik*, "incident," "particular," *Zoëga*, and in Norw. diall. Cf. ON *svif*, swinging, veering. In Norw. diall. *sviv* may also have the transferred meaning of "notion," "idea," as in Voss, hence possibly in *KS*: "considerations."

**atvik**, circumstance, 136a11. See *atsvif*.

**austr**, East. Ds. *austri*, 40b30, etc., four occs. Cf. *austrsatt*.

**avit**, blame. As., 107b11.

**bak**, back. Ds. -e, 29a11, -i, 80b26, 83b5.

**band**. See *fastiband*.

**barn**, child. Ds. -i, 141b27 and 29; np. *born*, 69a9.

**bein**. See *viðr*.

**bik**, pitch. Ns., 82a8.

<sup>22</sup> *Auglit* is a favored word in *KS*., elsewhere perhaps more commonly: *augsion*, *augryn*. See below under *asyn*. *Auglit* is, of course, not used interchangeably with *andlit*, as in Modn Icel. (*Zoëga*). Aasen does not record the word *auglit* for Norw. diall.; the word *augleite*, which he gives, has a different second element, and is apparently not used in the same way (however, *GnOrdb*. cites Landsmaal *augleite* and *augryn* as definitions of ON *auglit*).

**blað.** See *kyrtill*.

**bloð,** blood. Ds. -e, 125a18.

**bloðlat,** blood-letting. 131b6. See *lat*.

**blom,** blossom. Ds. -i, 97b3. See *blomi*.

**bly,** lead. Ns., 81b28.

**boð,** command. Ds. -e, 53b3, 76b26, 95a3, -i, 98a16, 146b2; dp. -um, 143a13. Cf. *boðorð*, *umboðsmaðr*, *yvirboði*.

Cpd: **utboð,** tax, levy, dp. -um, 5b2.

**borð,** table, board, plank, side of a ship. 32b17. Gs., *borz*, 28b16, *borðz*, 74b2; ds., -e, 3b20, 75a4, etc., dp., -um, 58b4, 74b15 and 23,81b5. Cf. *borðker*.

**brað,** tar, coat of tar. Ds., 5b15; *bræð væl skip þitt um haustit oc lat stænnda unnder braðe um vætrinn æf svo ma væra*, "stand thus (i.e., with its coat of tar) during the winter," and not use it again before spring.

**bragð,** trick, snare. Dp. *brogðum*, 69a8.

Cpd: **augabragð,** twinkle of the eye, ds. -e, 110b30.

**brauð,** bread. Ds. -e, 65b6.

**briost,** breast, chest. Ds. -e, 34a23; -i, 146a24, etc. (8 occs.). Cf. *briostafl*, *briostgiorð*.

**bref,** letter. Ds. *brevi*, 131b25; dp. *brevum*, 131b24; ap. *bref*, 131b24.

**brot.** See *loghbrot*.

**brotvarp,** throwing away. Ds. -i, 77b11. See *andvarp*.

**brum,** bud. Ns. 30a12: *En til þess var þa æcki lict i þænn tíma at þa munnde æpli fa þviat þa hit fyrsta toc brum at þrutna um varit á ollum alldinviði til laufs*.

**bu,** home, estate, the domestic animals of a farm. 55a24; *bui*, 65b25; np. *bu*, 39b4. Cf. *buse*, *bupægn*.

**bæin,** bone. Dp. -um, 33a25; ap., *bæin*, 33b6. Cf. *beinvíðr*.

**bæizl,** bridle. Gs. *bæizlz*, 75b25; ds. *bæizli*, 78b25, *beizli*, 78b21; as, *beizl*, 78b29.

**diup,** deep, depth. Dp. -um, 8b13, 128b1. Cf. *holeicr*, *hæð*.

Cpd: **unndirdiup,** lower depths, bottom of the sea, as., 128a14; dp. *unnderdiupum*, 43a21, 95b1.

**dagurðarmal,** morning meal eaten about 9 a.m., 3b15. ON, regularly *dagverðr*, *dögurðr*. Our form is the East Norw. *dagurðr*. Cf. Icel. *dagverður*. OSw. *dagurþer*.

**dramb,** conceit. Gs., 87ba; ds.--i, 87a17, 105b22. Cf. *drambyrði*, *drambssok*.

Cpd: **ofdramb,** strutting conceit, arrogance, 88b13 and 18; gs., 127b2.

**drap.** See *manndrap*.

**dræp,** pestilence. Ns., 149b11.

**duft,** vapour, exhalation. Norw. "dunst." Ns., 43b8. Not recorded in *FrOrdb*. Norw. diall. *duft*, "fine dust."

Cpd: **iarðarduft**, exhalation of the earth, ds. *-i*, 103b23, *-duppi*, 128b11. Cf. *iarðardust*. Apparently the only occ. in ON.

**dust**. See *iarðardust*.

**dyr**, animal. Ns. *dyr*, 29ab; np. *dyr*, 32a19, *dyr*, 37b12; gp., 38a30.

Cpds: **reindyr**, reindeer, gp., 382b. Cf. *reinaholld*; **villidyr**, "wild beast," np., 10a18, 32a20. This is the regular form (so also OSw. *wille-diur*). The form *villudyr*, *GnOrdb*, seems to be an unusual OIc. variant. I find no instances of it in ONorw. See *villustig*.

**dægrafar**, time, time of day or night. 7b7.

**fall**, fall (in battle), death. As., 148b3, 149b1. So *falliacull*.

Cpds: **afall**, flood, dp. *afollum* 46b23; np. *afoll*, 48a28; **fráfall**, death, as., 86b10; **iarðfall**, depression in the ground caused by a landslide, dp. *-follum*, 10a16; **niðrfall**, downfall, ds. *-i*, 101a20, gs. *-z*, 87a3. The last word is used of the fall of the angels. See *andvarp*. The passage in 10a16 may be quoted: . . . *hirða sec sva unnðer steinum eða i storum hallum eða i diupum iarðfollum til þeirrar stunnar er þau hafa tíma til framgöngu*, "(the beasts flee the cold and) retreat behind stones (i.e. beneath overhanging rocks, perhaps) or into large caves or the deep scar of the landslide."

**fals**. See *guð*.

**fang**, lap. Ds *-e*, 137b10.

Cpds: **fefang**, winning of wealth, np. def. *fefongen*, 37b29; **fiarfang**, do., np. *fiarfong*, 37b27; **halsfang**, embrace, dp. *halsfangum*, 100b13; **hærfang**, booty, ds. *-e*, 129a16, *-i*, 159b16 and 23, *hærfangi*, 106a8. Cf. *hærnám*.

**far**. See *dægrafar*.

**fe**, property, goods. Ns., 6b28; ds. *fe*, 51b19. The gs. is everywhere *fiar*, 6b18, 7b13, etc. Cf. *sefong*, *fegirni*, *fehirðsla*, *felag*, *fenaðr*, *fesnicni*, *fiarfang*, *fiarhaski*, *fiarlat*, *fiartion*, *fiarlutr*, *fiargezla*, *fiarvist*.

Cpd: **bufe**, cattle, ns., 72a21.

**fæt**, step, tread. Dp. *-um*, 128b21 and 27.

**fiðl**, fool. Ns., 2a20.

**fíall**, mountain. 36a9; ds. *-i*, 27b5, 114a18, *-e*, 117a8; np., 148b26; dp. *fiallum*, 10a19, 34b27, 117b1, 146b27; np. *fioll*, 148b26, etc. Cf. *fiallshola*, *fiallgarðr*.

Cpds: **eyðifíall**, barren mountain, ns., 27b7; **skyfíall**, cloud mountain, dp. *-fiallum*, 47a22. Regularly declension as follows, therefore:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	fíall	fioll
Gen.	fíallz	fíalla
Dat.	fíalli, (fíalle)	fíallum
Acc.	fíall	fioll

**fiarlat**, loss of money, fine. 137a13. See *lat*.

**flak**, flake or sheet of wood. Dp. *-um*, 80b15.

**flœygigaflak**, javelin. Ds. -i, 77b5; ap. -*gaflac*, 77b2. Cf. *fleygia gaflakum*, "to hurl javelins." On this weapon see *AW*, 72. For the formation cf. *lœypihvel*.

**fol**, fool. 69b8. Cf. *folska*.

**folk**, people. Ds. -i, 14 occs; gs. regular, but *folkcs*, 145a1; ap., 149b26.

Cpd: **lanzfolk**, people of a country, natives, 132b11.

**fotspor**, footprint. Ap., 2a10.

**frost**, frost. Gs. -z, 40a4, 43b18; ds. -i; 32a24, -e, 43a12 Two occs. of each dat. ending.

**fræ**. See *uaran*.

**frændalat**, loss of kinsmen (by death). Gs. -z, 148a17. Cf. *lat*, *fiarlat*.

**fræst**, respite. 137a30.

**fullting**, help. Gs. -s, 104a4, *fulltins*, 99a1.

**fæstiband**, firmament. As., 128a21: *ver . . . hængðum þungan iarðar-boll i letto lofti oc styrctum fæstiband himins mæð aflugum craftum*. "We . . . hung the heavy earth's sphere in the light air and strengthened the firmament with mighty forces." The cpd. seems to be found only here. Var: *festi*. Not given in Lex. I think with Falk, *AfnF*, IV, 359-369, *festi* is here an old *ini*-stem. See partial list there given. Cf. also Erdmann: "Bidrag till ini-stammarnas historia i fornnorskan," *AfnF*, VII, pp. 75-85. Faroese *festi*, "Tov, Baand (hvormed noget fastbindes)," *Føroysk Orðabók*, p. 136, is no doubt the same word. Cf. *reiðiprúma*.

**gabb**, ridicule, mockery. Gs. *gabs*, 50b18, 56b27; ds. *gabbi*, 116b21. In the first two cases *gabb* is coupled with *hað*: *æf ufroðr maðr fær til iorsala þa truir hann siallfr at hann se froðr oc sæger ifra sinni færð oc þat flæst er froðum manni þyck ænskis vært nema gabs oc haðs* (50). In the third the word is coupled with *spott*: *hælldr mælli hann sœm af gabbi oc spotti hælldr en fri bœnar sacar eða staðfastu*. Citations in *FrOrdb*. mainly from Icelandic texts. Cf. modn. Icel. *gabb*, "mocking." Not in Aasen; Ross gives both noun and vb., but with removed meanings, as *gabb*, "fygende Støv" and *gabba*, "dunste." However, OSw. *gabb*, sb., and *gabba*, vb., East Sw. diall. *gabb*, "smädelse," Vb., *gabba*, Sm., and *gabberi*,<sup>24</sup> lit. Sw., etc.

Cpd: **haðungargabb**, derisive language, ds. -i, 83b14. See *hað*.

**gaflak**. See *flœygigaflak*.

**gagn**, benefit, use. Gs., 85a4; ds. -i, 69b18.

**gaman**, amusement. Gs., 33a9. Cf. *gamansmaðr*, *gamanyrðe*.

**gang**. See *tílgang*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Barl.*, 54: *Margjallegar ogner færðo þeir þa at honom með allre illsku er þeir mættu heitannde honom oc hatannde. En hann hædde þa amot oc gabbaðe sva sem honom þætte enskiss verti vm þeira valld oc matt; and p. 197: oc mællte þa til fiandans sua sem gabbannde með snotsamlegom orðom*. Further in *Barl.*, p. 108, *gabb*, n.: *Alldri skalt þu þer þar gabb eða glænno (var: glæum) latr eða leik af gera*.

**gialfr**, violent surge of the sea. Gs. def. *gialfrsens*, 39b26.

**giolld**. See *huscarlagiolld*.

**glær**, glass. Ns., 81b28.

**golf**, floor. As., 129b8.

**grafsvin**, 'digging boar,' a contrivance for digging under and breaking down a rampart. Ns., 81b29; ds. -i, 80a28; dp. -um, 81b21. See *KM*, 221, note †, and *AW*, 196.

**gras**, grass. Np. *gros*, 39b4; dp. *grasum*, 10a23, 129a1, etc., five occs. ap. *gros*, 9b30. *gras*. 66a25. Cf. *grasrotr*, *illgrási*.

**griot**, *coll.*, rocks, gravel. 81b9; ds. -i, 79b22, 81a30, etc.

Cpds: **flættugriot**, flint, 81b14; **smagriot**, small stones, 81b14; **vapn-griot**, *pl.*, stones used as weapons to be hurled against the enemy. 77b16.<sup>35</sup> Not recorded in ON elsewhere. Cf. *vapnsteinn*. See *AW*, 192.

**grunn**, shallow place. shoal. Gp., 46a16.

**guðspiall**. See *maðr*.

**gull**, gold. Gs. *gullz*, 52a5; ds. -i, 4b27, 114a14;

**hað**, scorn. Gs. *haðs*. 50b18, 56b27; ds. -e, 57a13. Coupled in the latter case with *spott*. See *gabb*. Cf. *haðung*.

**haf**, sea, ocean. ds. -e, 3a18, -i, 3a23; ap. *hof*, 7all. Cf. *hafstormr*.

Cpd: **grœnalannzhaf**, the "Greenland Sea," the North Atlantic between Greenland and Iceland. Ds. -i, 33b12 and 19, -e, 37a20; ap. -hof, 33b13.

**hafuð**, head, chief (in compounds). Ns. *hofuð*, 84a11, 106b8; ds. *hofðe*, 33b25, etc. (six occs.), *hofði*, 70a14, etc. (four occs.); as, *hofuð*, 34a25, 78b18 and 25, but *havuð*, 33b3 and 22, 46a30; and 47a20. Obs: *hværr þeirra byr umsiðer i annars hofði* (70a), "each will after a while tear the other's hair out." Literally "be in the other's head." Norwegian preserves the idiom: *ryke i hovedet paa hverandre*. The vb. *byr*, in place of a vb. of motion, carries with it the idea of a continuous condition—"will constantly attack one another." Cf. *FrOrdb.*, under *bua*, 10, *vera*.<sup>36</sup> As first component of cpds, *hofuð*, once in *hofuðspækingr*; otherwise everywhere *havuð*: *hafuðbunaðr*, *hafuðgíof*, *hofuðglæpr*, *hafuðlastr*, *hafuðmeistari*, *hofuðspækingr*, *havuðstaðr*, *hafuðsæti*, *hafuðvapn*, *hafuðvel*, *hafuðvorð*, *havuðærsla*, *hafuðstolpi*.<sup>37</sup> The gp. as component in *hofðatal* (see under *tal*).

<sup>36</sup> As described, e.g., in *Stjórn*, p. 515, and elsewhere, besides in *KS*.

<sup>37</sup> The expression is somewhat unusual. Not the same, of course, as the example of *bua* i cited by Fritzner under *bua*, 10), which means "be in," "lie concealed beneath."

<sup>38</sup> The use of *hafuð* as an intensive prefix is often resorted to by the author of *KS*, seven of these cpds being of this type. This use of *hafuð*- in cpds in ON is especially characteristic of a group of ONorw. texts; it seems to be rarely met with in Norw. diall. to-day, being replaced by other qualifying elements. No examples are given by Aasen, and only *hovuðveir*, "vold-somt Uveir," by Ross. For Icel. Zoëga offers two examples: *hofuðskom*, "great scandal," and *hofuðsýnd*, "deadly sin."

Cpd: **ivirhafuð**, head, ruler, as., 93b7. Cf. *yfirmaðr*.

The declension then is:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	hafuð, hofuð	
Gen.	hafuðs	hofða
Dat.	hofðe, hofði	
Acc.	hafuð, hofuð	

**hagl**, hail. ds. -e, 47a12.

**halld**, act of holding or controlling, safeguarding, support, protection. Gs. *halldz*, 78b23; as. *halld*, 53a23. Common in the ONorw. laws, though not quite in these meanings. Cf. *NgL*, V., *hald*, 3.

Cpds: **bænahalld**, devotion, prayer, gs. -*halld*, 126a26; as., 126a15. The passage in 126a is: *Eða sva um morna þa er hann gengr til kirkiu eða bænahalld sitt. Halld* for *hallds*, due to the immediately following *s* of *sitt*. The reason for writing *sitt* instead of *sins* is not clear, possibly an error in copying *halld sitt* at the end of the eleventh line above; **uphalld**, maintenance, 63b22; **varðhalld**, watch, office of keeper, gs. -*hallz*, 8b15.

**har**, hair. Ds. -i, 28a23, 29a9 and 12.

**hatr**, hatred. Gs. *hatrs*, 136b21; ds. *hatri*, 70a25, 102b.

**haust**, autumn. Ds. -i, 46a25; dp. -*um*, 5b11, 45b11, and 16, 48b3.

**heit**, promise. Ap., 115b28.

**herað**, district, county. Ds. -e, 51b7 and 23, 52a7, *hæraðe*, 52a12; dp. *heroðum*, 53b17, *heraðum*, 52b9, etc., six occs. Cf. *heraðsbyggð*.

**hiol**, wheel. Dp. -*um*, 80a5. See *hvel*.

**hion**, pl., husband and wife, servants of a household. Ns. *hiun*, 98b14; gp. *hiona*, 65b9. Cf. *hiuskapr*, *hiuskaparsamband*. Cf. Norw. dial. *jun*, Bergen.

**hof**, moderation. Ds. -e, 4a8, -i, 47b25, etc., six occs. *hovi*, 86b16; dp. *hofum*, 9a28.

Cpds: **munndangshof**, moderation, proper way, 97a13; ds. -i, 96b21; as. *munngangshof*, 88a16;<sup>38</sup> **ohof**, lack of self-control, 124a28.

**holld**, flesh. Dp. -*um*, 75b30.

Cpds: **biarnarholld**, bear's meat, 39b9; **hvalaholld**, whale's meat, 39b8; **reinaholld**, reindeer meat, 39b8; **sælaholld**, flesh of the seal, 39b8.

**hor**, adultery. 143b20.

**hot**, threat. Pl., 103a17.

**hulfr**, holly. As. *hulfr*. 27a26: *En su er nattura þæss vatiz æf þu tæcr tre þat er sumer calla beinvíð en sumer hulfr en a latinu er callat acrifolium.*

<sup>38</sup> In *FrOrdb.* exclusively cited from ONorw. texts; similarly the simplex *mundang* mainly so (*Heilag.*, *Bari.*, *Stjórn*, *Landsl.*, *Byl.*, besides *KS*). Not recorded for Norw. diall. but *mundang*, defined: "tongue eda cock (of a balance)," by Zoëga, for Icel., who also cites: *mundangshof*, "middle," "mean," and *mundangsmark*, "ordinary standard."

While on the authority of this statement *aquifolium* was known by the two names *beinvíðr* and *hulfr* in Norway in the XIIIth century, the latter term is nowhere else recorded in ON. The dictionaries merely define it *beinvíðr*. Fritzner refers to above passage and to an occurrence in P. Claussøn. See *beinvíðr*.

**hunang**, honey. Ds. -e, 129a29.

**hundrað**, hundred. Dp. -aðum, 93a6; ap. *hunnrat*, 6a8.

**hus**, house. Gs. *hus*, 160a26; ds. -i, 30a20, etc., 4 occs.; dp. -um, 42a3, 84a6. Cf. *huscarl*.

Cpds: **domhus**, seat of the court, courthouse, 131b13; **fæzluhus**, house in which one receives (spiritual) food, sustenance, church, 160a19: *oc heiter þat fæzluhus firi því at til þess kæmr saman folk guðs at taka þar andliga fæzlu*. Sole occ; **portkvænnahus**, brothel, 84a3; **putnahus**, brothel, 72b21; **þinghus**, meeting-house, synagog, 160a15.

**huscarlagiöld**, pl., money atonement exacted for the slaying of a house-carle. Ap., 53a24, *huskarlsgíöld*, 53a18, *huscarlsgíöld*, 52a5. In other cpds. the word is regularly -gíld (-i), as *þængíld* (52a): *af þeir værða dræpner i æinvigum þa tæcr konungr XL marca i þængíld firi þa sæm firi aðra þæga sina oc morc gullz um fram i huscarlsgíöld af æinhværr værðr dræpinn af hans haskarlum*. Also 53a18: *i þængíld oc sva i huskarlsgíöld*, and again in 53a24.

**hvalf**, vault. As. *hvalp*, 129b7: *i minu hærbærgi eru siau havuðstolpar þær er saman tængia allt hvalp mæð goðri þæckio*, etc. The combination -lp is an error due, evidently, to the preceding lp of *stolpar*. There has been an effort to correct the p to f.

**hvel**, wheel. Ns. *hval*, 9a3, *hvel*, 81b6; as, *hvel*, 68b23; dp. *hvelum*, 80a12, 81a27. Cf. *hiol*.

Cpds: **bræccohvel**, wheel with its precipitous sides. Ns. def., 42b3: *Þætta hafa oc sumer i ræður fært at i þæn tima er ras solarinnar værðr unnder bælli iarðarinnar um nottena at noccorer skimar mæge af hænna geislum bæra up a himinenn mæð því at þeir kalla grænalannð sva utarlega liggia at a þæsse heimsens siðu at bræccohvelit iarðarinnar ma þar minnka þat er firir bærr skin solarinnar,*<sup>39</sup> **læypihvel**, a kind of war engine, a "hurling-wheel." Ns., 81a20. Of this machine the following description is given: *Læypihvel er oc gott vapn þeim er kastala skal væria oc skal gort væra af tvæim kværnsteinum en axull skal læggia ut ivir vighskorð rashollborð oc skolo þæsse hiol þar a laupa oc sva ut a folkit*. See AW, p. 200. With the form *læypihvel*, cf. *flæygigaflak*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> "And some have said that by night when the course of the sun lies beneath the earth's sphere some gleams from her rays shoot up on the heavens; for, they say, Greenland lies so far out on the edge of the earth that the precipitous wheel of the earth reduces the force of the sun's rays (lit. sun's shining) there." With *bræcco*-cf. ON *brekka*, "steep hill."

<sup>40</sup> With *læypihvel* cf. Icel. *hleypihurð*, "sliding door," *hleypipil*, "sliding wall," and Norw. dial. *hypestreng*, "a sliding wire or rope for carrying the hay down from the mountain side to



Of the two words *hiol* and *hvel* the former is used for the wheel of a vehicle; it is the term employed in normal prose. See *hiol* above; the occurrences are all in discussions of the wheels of a war engine of some kind. See further examples in *FrOrdb.*, where, however, this fact is not pointed out. On the other hand *hvel* is prevailing used in poetry; further, also in prose of lofty diction, or where the imagination is given freer play. When the talk is about the sun disk and the wheels of the sun chariot or, as in the passage above, about the globe of the earth and the wheels of the "earth chariot" the author employs the word *hvel*. Cf. also the poetic account of the coming of day: *En æpter þat leiðer hann fram líosan dag sva sam fagan æskomann oc hæfiligan firir rasara allra tun oc boðar til vis at þa kæmr þegar æpter hann geislannde hvæl oc skinannde sol*, 8b29-9a3. In the case of *læypihvel* we should perhaps rather have expected the form *-hiol*. However, the author may have felt that the word *hvel* added to the impressiveness of the description of the wonderful machine that he was describing. Observe also that in a description of the shooting wagon at 81a28, the word *hvel* is used. Cf. finally the passage in 68b: *En því næst taka usiðer at margfalldazc því at guð hæfnir sva reiði sinnar at þar sam saman koma fugur ændimærki i ríki þassarra hófðingia þa sætr hann þar niðr hverfanda hvel þat er velltiz um a orvar axler*, and 80a, in normal prose: *Stægar þeir sam a hvelum stannda oc bæðe ma dragha fra oc til*. In 81b23 *hvel* is interchangeable with *hiol*. In two of the above passages *hvel* is used in the participial construction so characteristic of learned style and of poetry: *geislannde hvæl*, *hvervanda hvel*. The latter would seem to be a kind of standing combination. Thus in the Eddic *Alvíssmál*, 14:

mani heitir með monnum  
en mylinn með goðum,  
kalla hverfanda hvél helju í

Also a *hverfanda hvél*, *Hávamál*, 84, 4, to which may be added the citation a *hverfanda hvél* from the *Flateyjarbók* in *FrOrdb.*<sup>41</sup>

*hærop*, warcry. 32a13. See *hær*.

*istað*, stirrup. Dp. *-um*, 75b21. Var: *istigum* and *á istigin*, *Ksp.*, 84, note 1. Icel. *istað*. Norw. dial. *istig*, do. Otherwise ON *stigreip*.

*iarðardust*, dust of the earth. 124a21.<sup>42</sup> See *iarðarduft*, p. 20.

*iarn*, iron. Ds. *-i*, six occs. Cf. *iansla*, *iarnstolpi*, *iarnræcnnde*.

the valley," used, e.g., in Aurland, Sogn, to-day. Also note *læypa*, f., "Nedstyrtning, Omvæltning;" *gjera ei læypa*, "nedrive eller ødelægge noget," North Bergenhus (Aasen).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. a *þui kulle er snyst undir reið Hrunnis*, and the designation of the sun as *fagra huell* in the language of the elves, *Alvíssmál*, 16,5.

<sup>42</sup> Fritzer cites *ver erum dust oc aska*, *Frumþ.*, LXXV, 4. Cf. also *oc i þeim tíma er oc verðr at engo nema at asku oc dusti*, *Barl.*, p. 16. In this case a variant has *asku oc dufti*. See *dust* above.

Cpd: **plogiarn**, plowshare, pl. *-iarn*, 82a5 and 7.

**iol**, Christmas, yule. Ap., 53a13.

**kall**. See *akall*.

**kapp**, rivalry, contest, zeal, ardor, defiance, challenge. 135b22; gs. *kaps*, 67b19, 68b5, *kapps*, 136b4, *capps*, 151b4; ds. *kappi*, 69a27. Obs: *þvi næst væiter sa viðrtoka er til værðr flyit meirr firi kaps sacar en milldi*. "Then he to whom they flee receives them into his protection more as a challenge than in kindness."

Cpd: **ofkapp**, arrogance, ds. *-i*, 133a11, etc., but *opkappi*, 134b13 and 15, *p* apparently due to anticipating the *p* of the next syllable.

**cast**, the act of throwing, a throw. Ap., 5a15, here used of a throw at dice: *Enn ero þeir luter er þu skalt varaz sœm fiænnda sialfan þat er dryckia oc tafl portkonor oc þrætor oc cast um viðrlogum*.

Cpd: **akast**, throw, throwing, dp. *akastum*, 79b24; **tænningakast**, throwing dice, 72b22.

**kaup**, purchase, business. Ds. *-i*, 3b14; dp. *-um*, 3b7 and 15; ap., 4b5. Cf. *kaupfor*, *kaupfærð*, *kaupmaðr*, *kaupstaðr*.

**ker**, bowl. As., 74b30.

Cpds: **borðker**, table-bowl, ds. *-i*, 129a22; **saðulker**, saddle-bowl or cup, as., 148a23.

**keralld**, kettle. 106b14.

**kne**, knee. 73b24; as., 147b10. Cf. *knebiorg*.

**kol**, coal. 77b18.

**korn**, grain. 65b30, *corn*, 129a19; ds. *-i*, 65b15.

Cpd: **ufriðarkorn**, seed of trouble or strife, ds. *-i*, 67b30. Not recorded.  
**kot**. See *karl*.

**kovertur**, covering of mail for a horse, shabrack. 78b11. See *AW*, 191, and *KM*, 218, note. From MHG *kovertiure*, or perhaps directly from Fr. *couverture*. The *kovertur* is described as made like the *pannzari*.

**kvoð**, smoke, vapor. Ns., 42a10. Icel. *kof*, do.

**kyrtilsblað**, lapel of a mantle. Ds., 147a9.

**lag**, place, a "laying on," thrust, blow; state, condition; cohabitation. Ds., *-i*, 75b2, *laghi*, 77b6; dp. *-um*, 77a4; as., 141a20.

Cpds: **alagh**, thrust, blow, gp., 75b22, and **glaviualagh**, spear thrust, ds. 75b27; **faðmlag**, embrace, ds. *-i*, 108b21; **felag**, company, society, gs. *felax*, 6b2; ds. *-e*, 6b15 (cf. *felaxgerð*, *felaxmaðr*); **framlag**, contribution, dp. *-um*, *logum*, 5b2; **orðalagh**, use of words, mode of expression, ap. *-logh*, 112a25, *orðlag*, ds. *-e*, 88a11.

**lannd**, land, country. The case forms are:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	lannd, land	lonnd
Gen.	lannz, (lanz)	lannda
Dat.	lannde, (lande)	lonndum, londum, landum
Acc.	lannd, land	lonnd

In the ns. and as. the two forms just about balance. In the np. and ap. all occs. have *-nnd*, as it happens; while in the ds. we have *lannde*, nineteen times, and *lande*, three times; in the gp. always *lannda*. The dp. nowhere, *-om*, always *-um*; and the gs. shows a *d* only once. As first component part in compounds *lannd* appears in the following words: *landaskipan*, *lanndaklofi*, *lanndaskipti*, *lanndnorðr*, *lanndnyrðingr*, *lanndrað*, *lanndstiorn*, (and *lanndsstiornarmaðr*), *landsynningr*, *landzbygging*, *lanndtialld*, *lannz-auðn*, *lannzhofðing*, *lanzfolk*, *lannzgezlo*, *lannzlogh*, *lannzmaðr*, *lannznauðsyniar*, pl., *lannzvæðr*.

Cpds: *egiptaland*, Egypt, ds. *-e*, 88b25, *-lande*, 117a30; as., 93a1; *grœnalannnd*, ds. *-e*, 33b11, etc.; *irlannnd*, Ireland, ds. *-e*, 33b9; *mægin-*, *lannd*,<sup>48</sup> mainland, ns., 37b13, etc.; four occs. as., 28a12, ap. *-lonnd*, 38a29 dp., *-londum*, 38b7; *æylannd*, island, ns., 27a8, *eyland*, 37b12, 38a25, dp., *æylonndum*, 38b4, *eylonndum*, 38b1.

**lanndnorðr**. See *norðr*.

**lanndtialld**, tent set up on land. Ds. *-i*, 159a30; as. *landtialld*, 129a3.

**lass**, load. 81a28; ds. *-i*, 81b8.

**lat**. See *aflat*, *andlat*, *bloðlat*, *liflat*, *fiarlat*, *frændalat*.

**lauf**, leaf. Gs., 30a13; as., 10a7; np., 98b16.

**leir**, clay. Ds. *-i*, 80b7, 103b22. See *leirpotr*.

**lerept**, linen, linen cloth. Ds. *-e*, 78b28, *leræpti*, 58b30, 79a2; dp. *-um*, 78a15, *leræptum*, 78b12.

**lið**, troops, army, company, support. Ds. *liði*, 91b10, etc.; four occs.

Cpd: **ulið**, harm, gs., 99a1.

**lið**, opening. 38b25 and 26; 39a1.

Cpd: **malmlið**, metal gate, ap., 129a11.

**lif**, life. Gs., 7b13; ds., *-i*, 57b7, 136b, *livi*, 147b17, 149a1. Note also *lifdagr*, *lifshaski*, *lifstre*, *liflat*.

Cpd: **kaupmannalif**, life of a merchant, as., 49a12; **sældarlif**, happy life, ds. *-i*, 102b28, 113b14.

**liflat**, death. 86b13.

**lit**. See *alit*, *andlit*, *auglit*.

<sup>48</sup> Other cpds, with *mægin-* as first element, occurring are: *mæginaf*, *mæginras*, *mæginstormr*, and *mæginvegr*.

**lios**, light, enlightenment. Ds. -e, 8b21, 43a13; as., 40a24; *en þat ma ec i lios lata við þec hvað getor manna ero þeirra sām hǣlzt hafa ællat æpter lichigleikum*, "but I can enlighten you as to what the views of those men are who have formed the most likely conclusions."

Cpds: **dagslíos**, daylight, 128a23; **norðrlíos**, northern light, 41b11; ds. -i, 41b20, -e, 43a15, 43b10.

**lof**, praise. 104a30.

**lof**, leave. See *orlof*.

**log**, pl., law. Nom. *log* and *logh*, five occs. of each; gen. *laga*, 151b21, but *lagha*, six occs., e.g., 102b18; dat., *logum*, 4a21, 70a18, *loghum*, 70 b7, *lagum*, 136b8; acc. *log*, 70a19, 93a30, *logh*, 84b8, etc., seven occs. Cf. *laghagezla*, *laghaskipan*, *logunautr*, *logboc*, *loghbrot*, *logkrokr*, *logmaðr*, *logmal*, *logrett*, *loghretta*. See also *lag* above.

Cpds: **lannzlog**, law of the land, constitution, gp. *laga*, 137a16, -*lagha*, 136b6; **ulog**, lawlessness, nom., 70a23, dat., *ulaugum*, 4a24.

**logbrot**, breach of law. As., 102a18, *logbrot*, 100b3; gp. *logbroat*, 136b2.

**logn**, stillness (of the air). 128b24: *þa er ec lærða þæganda logn*, hence as a neuter, not a fem.

**lopt**, air, sky. Gs. *loþz*, 5a19, 9b16, 48b8, *loptz*, 7a27, etc., six occs; ds. -i, 65b19, etc., three occs, *lofti*, 32b9, three occs; as. *lopt* 32b14.

**lær**, thigh. As. *lær*, 79a14.

**mal**, speech, expression, conversation, discussion, language, voice, subject of conversation; matter, thing, request, petition, plea, claim, complaint, cause, suit at law, errand. The form is always *mal*. Occs. at 58a3 and 30, 58b5 and 11, 62b19, 64b2 and 5, etc. The number of occs is as follows: ns. 2; gs. 7; ds. *mali*, 22, *male*, 2; as. 24; np. 3; dp. *malum*, 11; ap. 4. Cf. *malafiolðe*, *malsþæki*, *malyzka*.

Cpds: **loghmal**, suit at law, 100b16; ds. -i, 117a17; *logmal*, 137a9; **læyndarmal**, secret matter, secret, 73a30; **mannamal**, language of humans, 29a7; **nauðsyniamal**, urgent cause or matter, ap., 58b15, 96b9; **satmal**, agreement, covenant, gs., 97b24 and 28, ds. -i, 100b11, *sattmali*, 100b11, 125a15; **skylldarmal**, urgent business, 58b10; **vanddamal**, difficult case, dp. -um, 1b12, ap., 73a1; **vandændamal**, difficult or complicated matter, ns., 101a18, ap. -*ænda*-, 126b29.

**mal**, meal. See *dagurðarmal*.

**manndrap**, manslaughter. Gs., 145b2; ds. -i, 69b23, etc., four occs; dp. -um, 68a28; ap. *mandrap*, 94b27. There are sixteen occs. with -nn-, and two with -n-.

**marc**, mark, sign. 76b6; ap. *morc*, 97a20.

Cpd. **ænndimark**, boundary, bounds. gp., 55b30; ap. -*morc*, 40a20. Cf. *ænndimærki*, n.

**mein**, check, hindrance. 87a21. Cf. *mæinlati*.

**myrcr**, darkness. As. *myrcr*, 112b12, 128a25; ds. *myrki*, 109a3; dp. *myrcrum*, 128a15.

Cpd: **niðmyrcr**, pitch darkness, dp., 41b23.

**nafn**, name. The declension is as follows:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	nafn	nofn
Gen.	nafns	nafna
Dat.	nafni, (namni)	nofnum
Acc.	nafn	nofn

Numerous occs. Ds. *namni*, 126a20 (only here), *nafne*, only at 67a26; gs. *nafs*, 62b25. See *AN*G, I, §281, 8. There is only one occ. of the dp. The ap. is once written *naufn*, 56a11; *au* for *o* occurs, otherwise, in *stauðum* and *svaur*. It is to be noted, however, that in 56b the word *naufn* is immediately preceded by *þau*, whence possibly the writing with *au*. Cf. finally *nafnbot* and cpds. below.

Cpds: **aucanafn**, ekename, additional title; nickname, ns. 55b23; ap. *aucanofn*, 55b21. Not recorded. In these two passages the author uses the word both in the original sense of rightful title and in the peiorative sense of a derogatory name, a nickname: *En þæsser konungs menn er nu skolum vit um ræða þa hafa þau aucanofn mæð huscarlanafni at þeir heita hirðmenn. En þat nafn værðer sumum rett gefit en morgum er þat aucanafn.* "Along with the name of housecarles they have additional titles in that they are called courtiers. Now this name is rightly given to some, but to many it is a nickname." In XIIIth century Norwegian, therefore, the word could be used both in the original sense and in the later one. And no doubt the meaning of the modern *øgenavn*, "nickname," began with the singular. Our two sentences would seem to indicate that the singular already then had only the new meaning; **hirðmannanafn**, title of courtier, ap., -*nofn*, 65a12; **huscarlanafn**, title of housecarle, ds., 52b18, 54b10, 55b21 (-*nofnum*); **kaupmannanafn**, name of merchant, ap., 3a7; **svivirðingarnafn**, title of derision, 55a21; **soemðarnafn**, title of distinction, 55a22.

**nam**, (taking, acquisition); study. 4a11.

Cpds: **hærnam**, booty, 125b6. Cf. *hærfang*; **siðarnam**, acquiring good manners, 50a11; **spæctarnam**, gaining of wisdom, gs., 2b8. See *spæcð*.

**naut**, cattle. As., 27b10; np., 114a13. Cf. *nautavara*.

**nið**. See *myrcr*.

**norðr**, north. Gs. *norðrs*, 35a27, etc. Cf. *norðrlioss*, *norðsæl*.

Cpd: **lanndnorðr**, northeast, as., 35a27.

**oðal**, patrimony, possessions, business. Ns., 72a23; gp., 100a29, 100b6.

Cpds: **auðnaroðal**, wasted patrimony, ns., 67b27; **farmannaoðal**, business or concern of seafaring men, gs. -s, 10b29.<sup>44</sup> See *aðal*.

<sup>44</sup> The corresponding *odel*, *odal*, in Norw. diall. means "inheritance," "allodial estate," as the literary word, and as prevailing ON *oðal*.

**ofr**, offering. 143a23: *bolvaðar ofr*. We should have *bolvat ofr*; possibly a change of the second word from *fornir*, as *Ksp.*, p. 152, note 2.

**ok**, yoke. *Ds.* -i, 127a11.

**op**. See *hærop*.

**orð**, word. *Gs.* *orðz*, 62b2, 74a25, 124a9, 140b30; *ds.* *orðe*, 18 occs. *orðe*, twelve occs; *dp.* -um, 28 occs. Cf. *orðhægi*, *orðaskipan*, *orðlagh*, *orðalagh*, *orðvarpsmaðr*, *orðszvið*.

**Cpds**: *arnaðarorð*, intercession, *gs.* -z, 6b17, 124a9; *boðorð*, command, commandment, *ds.* -e, 10b15 (3 occ.); *gp.*, 2a28; *dp.* -um, 93b21, *borð-orðum* for *boð*—, 137b12; *bænarorð*, petition, 101a15; *lægorð*, seduction, *dp.* -um, 69a9; *mætorð*, honor, honorable mention, *ds.* -e, 87a14, *ap.*, 52a10; *skilorð*, terms, condition, 97b27; *vitorð*, a sharing in some piece of information, confidence, knowledge, *gs.* -orðz, 73b2, *as.*, 152b8.

The former passage reads: *Enga luti skallþu þa forvitna við hofðingia þinn er þu ser at hann vil at læyniliger se. nema hann kalle þec til vitorðz mæð ser*. Also in the second passage the idea of "the having been informed, sharing in knowledge," is present: *kaus Adonias sec sialfr til konungs utan vitorð faður sins*. "Adonias made himself king without the knowledge of his father," i.e., without informing his father. Cf. ON *vitorðsmaðr*, "medvider," *FrOrdb.*, in *DN*, V, 61, 39, *Post.*, 287,15 and *Heilag.*, II, 70. However *vitorð*, *Heilag.*, I, 693, 19, simply "knowledge about," and evidently so in the few occ., in *NgL*. This somewhat unusual word is to be referred to vb, *vitu+orð*; for meaning see *FrOrdb.*, *vita* 7: "tilkjendegive, aabenbare," hence "the revealing or disclosing of information, sharing of knowledge, information." The meaning is "knowledge" (*Lex.*) only in the sense of "knowledge shared or disclosed." This seems to be the sense in all ONorw. occurrences.<sup>45</sup> The first component part is *vitu*, *gs.* of *vita*, "act of revealing or informing." This fuller form *vituorð* does not occur in ON, but cf. *vitukunnigr* adj., *FrOrdb.*, "bekjendt nok til at kunne vides," with reference to the occ. in *DN*, IV., 119,17. Cf. OSw. *vitulþs*, *som ej har vitsord*, and *vitulþsa*, n., *SGLOrdb.* The form *vituorþ* occurs in OSw., once in the West Geatic law; see *SGLOrdb.*, p. 717, and Lidblom: *Lydekinushandskriften*, p. 46,—otherwise in OSw. regularly *vitsorþ*, prevailing a legal term. Lindblom assumes that OSw. *vituorþ* became *vitsorþ* by analogy to other cpds. in legal terminology. In ON analogy would operate toward a form *vitorð* (cf. *metorð*, *boðorð*, *lægorð*), if we assume the first component part to be *vitu*. But also formally ON *vituorð*, might easily have become *vitorð*; whereas the *u* would have remained before a second component element not beginning with *o* (*vitu-*

<sup>45</sup> In *Stjörn*, 549-50, Bersheba, pleading before David for her son Solomon and informing him that Adonijah has assumed the title of king, says: *En nu hugða ek min herra konung at þu myndir þersu æigi hafa raðit utan mitt uitorð huerr setiaz skyllde yfir sætissstol þins rikis eptir mik*. Here *utan mitt uitorð* means "without my having been told by you."

*kunnigr*). Cf. OSw. *vitu* as above. In modn. Norw. the form is *vitord*, *n.*, "Vidende, Kundskab om noget. Tilsyn med en Ting for at vide hvor den er at finde" (Aasen). Aasen quotes the following illustrative sentence: *Du lyt have eit vitord yver hestarne*: "du faar have Øie med Hestene for at vide hvor de ere." B. Stift, also *Vitoor*. The sense here is "knowledge," so that one can furnish desired information upon inquiry. Ross also gives meaning "Vink, Antydning," as *han ga me eit vitoor*, Ndm., where the idea of confidential information remains. Cf. OIcel: *vera i ræðum ok vitorðum með einum um verk*, "have a confidential understanding with one about," etc. Modn. Icel. *vitord*, "knowledge," "privity"; *vera i vitorðe um e-ð*, "be privy to something" (Zoëga).

*orlof*, permission. Ds. -e. 10b24.

*rað*, advice, council, view, plan, purpose, an advisable thing, 48b15, 148a4; gs. *raðs*, 6 occs; ds. -e, 135a2. Cf. *raðagerð*, *raðgiafi*, *raðning*, *raðunautr*, *raðvænnde*. See also *holræði*.

Cpds: *astæmðarrað*, loving counsel, 2b12; *banarað*, plans to bring about the death of someone, 140a16: *reð hann banarað sialfum hanum*,—"contrived his death"; *lanndrað*, government, np. 2a2, dp. -*raðum*, 67b21; *urað*, evil design, ill-advised step, misdeed, ds. -e, 69b24, gs., 99a30, 116a26, *oraðs*, 100a23; *virctarað*, excellent advice, 4b21. Cf. modn. Icel. *virktir*, pl., good wishes, *virktla-vinur*, intimate friend, and Norw. dial. *virktla*, "omhyggeligt" (Aasen). Also for *urað*, modn Icel. *órað*, "ill-advised step," and Norw. dial. of Trondhjem: *uraad*, "Feil, Forsømmelse," (Aasen).

*ran*, robbery. Ds. -i, 70b16; dp. -*um*, 68a28 and b16.

*rasarskeið*, race-course. Ds. -e, 129a6. See *ras*.

*regnskur*, rain-shower. Dp. -*um*, 46b21.

*reiðr*, nest. Ap. *reiðr*, 9b20.

*reip*, rope. As., 37a11; 38a12; gp., 37a9.

Cpd: *svarðreip*, rope of walrus-hide. 38a14: *reip þau er fyrr ræddum ver um er menn rista af fiskum þeim er rostungr er callaðr oc svarðreip heila oc tænnr þeirra*.<sup>46</sup> How these ropes were made is described under the first mention of the *rostungr*, where we read 37a5: *En þat brægðr af væxti hans fra aðrum sælum at hann hævir tænnr tvær storar ac langar umfram aðrar sma tænnr oc stannða þær i æfra gomi i anndvæðu hofðe huð hans er goð oc þiucc til reipa oc rista menn þar af stærcar alar sva at væl draga sæxtigi manna æitt reip eða fleiri oc geta þo æigi slitit*.<sup>47</sup> See also *FrOrdb*.

\* "The (kind of) ropes we spoke of before called hide-ropes, which are cut from a fish that is called walrus, and also the teeth of the walrus."

\* "But this distinguishes him from other seals that in addition to other small teeth, he has two large and long tusks placed in the front part of the upper jaw; its hide is good and thick for making ropes from, and it is cut into leather strips, that are so strong that sixty men or more may pull at one rope and yet are not able to break it."

Seems to be the only occurrence of the word in ON, barring a late one in *D Norv.* IX, p. 249, (date 1435), where the word appears in the form *swordraip*; otherwise in *svarðreiði*. Cf. ON *svarðsvipa*. ON *svarðr*, "skin with the hair," "især om den med haar bevoxede hud paa menneskets hoved" (Fritzner), and Norw. dial. *svord*, "ydre side af svinehud," Sogn, (Ross).

**reistr**, scales of fish. Ns., 34a6; ds. *reistri*, 34b1.

**ris**, bush. Pl., 105b18, 129a1.

**rof**, breach, opening. 77a19.

**rogn**, spawn. Dp. *-um*, 9b2 and 3.

**ross**, horse. Ds. *-e*, 29a12; as., 27b10; ap., 38b10.

**rott**, commotion. 48a30. ON. *rót*, disturbance, Icel. *rót*, rooting up.<sup>48</sup>

**rum**, room, space. As., 63a13, 73b20, etc.

**rægn**, rain. Ns., 47b6; as., 148b26. Cf. *ræghnel*, *regnskur*.

**rænnidrif**, drift-snow. Ds. *-i*, 47a29.

**sað**, sown crop, the growing crop. Ns., 37b10; as., 39b2.

**silfr**, silver. Ns., 85a20; as., 72b23.

**sinn**, time. Ds. *sinni*, 76a24; dp. *-um*, 62a19.

**sialldr**, eyeball. As., 8b26. Icel. *sjaaldur*, *n.*, "pupil of the eye."

**skap**, nature, mood, temper, thought, way. Ds. *-i*, 33b2, 58b6 and 14, 77a2, 88a20. Cf. *skapgæðe*.

**skapt**, shaft, rod. 76b5.

Cpd: **spiotskapt**, speershaft, 76b5.

**skarð**. See *vigskarð*, *ættarskarð*.

**skarlat**, scarlet colored garment. No. 58b26.

**skiaðak**, darnel. 65b21. Norw. dial. *skjak*, defined by Aasen: "Svingel (lolium temulentum), et Ukrud som lettelig blander sig med Kornet, og som forvolder Sygdom, naar det kommer i Mad," given for Indh., and in the form *skjeak* for Snaasen. Cf. also *skjæks ost*, "damaged cheese" Li., Dal., cited in *GnOrdb*.

**skil**, pl., comprehension, discernment, explanation. Ap., 64b10, 101b5. Cf. *skilorð*.

**skin**, shining (of the sun), sheen, brightness. Ds. *-i*, 8a20, 8b23; gs., 41b4; as., 42b4. The following sentence may be quoted: *mæðan sol gengr hæst þa hævir hon ærit afl til skins oc biartleics en litit afl til yliar ok hita (afl til skins*, "strength for shining," "power of illumination").

Cpds: **solskin**, sunshine, np., 41a28; ns. *solskinn*, 41a25; **tunglskin**, moonlight, ds. *-i*, 41b23.

**skinn**, skin. As., 58b25. Cf. *skinnkyrtill*.

**skip**, ship. Ds. *-i*, 5b24, 6a16 and 21. 32b10 and 16; as, seven occs. dp. *-um*, 5b18, 84a7. Obs. 6a79: *er þu fær i haf þa haf þu tuau hundrat*

<sup>48</sup> So also Norw. diall. *rot*, *n.*, "Roden, Gravning;" cf. *rotvelting*, "Forstyrrelse, Revolution" (Aasen). Ross notes the expression *drikka seg i rot*, "drikke til man falder helt sammen."



*vaðmala eða þriu með þer a skip*, and 6a14-15: *Saum þarstu oc mykenn a skip at hafa iafnan með þer*, where the case is apparently dat.,<sup>49</sup> however, the context shows it to be acc., for the preceding discussion deals with what it is desirable to "take on board" when one prepares to go out to sea. The passage closes with the following words: *þessa luti alla er nu hæfi ec næfnda þa skaltu minnaz at hafa a skipi<sup>50</sup> með þer er þu fær kaupfarar oc attu sialfr skip*. Here the meaning is "have on board" (i.e., they must be on board when you go on a trading voyage). Cf. *skipfarmr*, *skipsmiðr*, *skipstiorn*, *skipaorrosti*.

Cpds: *hafskip*, ocean-going ship, 35b18.

*skot*, shot. 76b8, dp. *-um*, 77a5. Cf. *askaut*. Also as first element in *skotbacci*, *skotteinn*, *skotvagn*, *skotvagn*.

Cpd: *hugskot*, mind, ns., 4b14.

*skrap*. See *varraskrap*.

*skrif*, stride, pace, crotch. 75b29. The phrase is *a laupannda skrif*, "at a running pace", or "on the run." The regular form of the word in ON is *skref*, of which Lex. regard *skrif* as a miswriting (but see *GnOrdb*). Fritzner's citations show the dat. *skrif* several times, which is changed to *skrefi*, and our passage is given with the form *skrefi* in *Ksp*, 84, line 12. However, it is likely that the word is written as intended in *KS*, as also in the occs. in the *Þiðrekss*. 99, cited by Fritzner. Cf. the writing of the high *e*, or low *i*, in words of this class to-day in west and south Norwegian dialects, ON *drif*. now variously *drif* and *dref*. In Icel. the word in question is written *skref* to-day, while in Norw. it is commonly *skriv*. Aasen writes "*skrev(i)*," as the pronunciation for Sogn, Dalarne, Agder, and West Telemarken, quoting *sítia tí skrivs*, and the vb. *skreva* or *skriva*. (In Trondhjem the form is *skræv*, and vb. *skræva*.) The modern Icel. vb. is *skrefa*. The expression *a laupanndi skrefi* or *skrif* occurs nowhere else, I believe, and may be regarded as a participial variation of the regular *a skreflaup*. The author of *KS* is fond of such use of the present participle. See under *hvel*. Cf. *siðan hljóp hann or anni 9 feta i eino skrefi*, *Þiðrekss*. 99, 11.

*skrimsl*, terror-inspiring object, monster. Ns., 34b8,22, and 30,34b2 and 12, *skrimsl*, 34b15; gs. *skrimsl*, 34b5; ds. *skrimsl*, 34a27; as. *scrimsl*, 33b18, *skrimsl*, 34a19; np. *skrimsl*, 33b14; dp. *skrimslum*, 35a15; ap. *skrimsl*, 37a25. For gs. parallel to *skrimsl* cf. *traust*. The word *skrimsl* also occurs several times elsewhere in ON.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Vnr: *skipi*, *Ksp*, p. 8, note 15.

<sup>50</sup> K.p. text: *hafa a skip*.

<sup>51</sup> Icel. *skrimsl*, "monster," *skrimslislegur*, adj., "monstrous," and Norw. dial. *skrima*, "akimte frem," *skrimsla*, "vise sig dunkelt som i Halvmørke," *skrimsla*, f., "Spøgelser" (Aasen), *skrimsls*, n., "Spøgeri," and *skrimsl*, n., "svag forsvindende Lysning" (Ross). See *ETOrdb*. under *skramme*. In the same meaning as in *KS*, *skrimsl* also in *Mar.* and *Þiðrekss.*, with *andann* as variant in the former.

**skruð**, finery, garb. Gs., 10a3 as., 118a10, 128a29.

Cpds: **drotningarskruð**, queenly garb, ds. -e, 90a30; gs. -s, 89a28.

**skur**. See *regnskur*.

**skynsæmðaralit**, reasonable or proper examination of anything. Ds. -i, 137a11, (*sky* for *skyn*, incompleting abbreviation). See *skynsæmð*.

**slag**. See *viðrslag*.

**spiall**, **spæll**, damage, loss. 71a25; np., 3b30, 71b2; ap. *spioll*, 4a3; dp. *spiollum*, 3b29,

Cpds: **siviaspiall**, disregard of the ties of blood-relationship, 68b25; **sæmðarspæll**; loss of honor, dishonor, 159a25.

**spioll**. See *steinspioll*.

**spiot**, spear. Ds. -i, 76b8, 148a6. Cf. *spiotskapt*.

**spor**. See *fotspor*.

**spott**, ridicule. Ds. -i, 57a13, 83b14, 116b21. See *gabb* and *hað*.

**stafróf**, alphabet, fundamentals, foundation. Ns., 2b7 and 18; ds., 2b19; as., 2a7.<sup>42</sup>

**suzingull**, saddle-girth. Possibly a neuter, but see p. 25.

**stal**, steel. Ds. -i, 79a24 and 28. Cf. *stalhuva*.

**starf**, labor. Ds., -i, 47b26, etc., six occs. Cf. *starfsismott*.

Cpd: **væralldarstarf**, earthly toil, ds. -*starvi*, 125b21.

**stig**. See *astig*, *istig*.

**suðr**, south. Gs. *suðrs*, 35a28, 41a. Cf. *suðrætt*.

Cpd: **utsuðr**, southwest. gs., 35a29, *utsuðr*, 35b1: *en þeir isar liggja mæirr i lanndnorðr eða til norðrs firi lanndino hældr en til suðrs eða utsuðrs eða væstrs oc firi þvi skal um lanndet sigla hværr er lanndino vil na til utsuðr oc væstr til þæss*, etc. See *skrimsl*.

**sumar**, summer. gs., 5b23; ds. *sumre*, 10a23, 10b8, *sumri*, 5b23; as. *sumaR*, 45a4; dp. *sumrum*, 37a30.

**sunnd**, swimming; channel. Gs. *sunnz*, 38b16. Ns., 41a19; Cf. *sundreif*, *sunndfioðr*.

**svar**, answer. Np. ap. *svor* regularly, but *svaur*, 160b18; dp. *svorum*, 49a27, 55b4.

Cpds: **anndsvar**, answer, responsibility, gp. *andsvara*, 54b23; dp. *andsvarom*, 106b25, *anndsvorum*, 62a3, 63b29; ap. *annsvor*, 1b6; **skynsæmðarsvar**, wise answer, np. -*svor*, 151a30, *skyndsæmðarsvor*, 138a17; **visænnda-svar**, instructive answer, an informing reply, pl. -*svor*, 104b7.

**svic**, treachery. Dp. *svikum*, 147a23. Cf. *svicari*, *svicræðasoc*.

Cpd: **drottinssvic**, treachery to one's king, 113b8.

**svin**. See *grafsvin*.

**sværð**, sword. Ds. -i, 132a14, etc., three occs; always æ; ns. *sværd*, 132a18.

<sup>42</sup> *Stafróf* is of uncertain origin. Possibly from OE *stæfrawa*, *stæfróf*; so S. Bugge, *AfnF*, II, 207. The second element would, however, seem to be the same as that of *drofi*, and the meaning, therefore, literally "row or order of the letters," "letter-row." See also *AfnF*, III, 343-44, but especially V, pp. 227-29.

Cpd: *ræfsingarsværð*, sword of punishment, 160b2 and 5.

**templum**, temple. Lat. *templum*. As., 142a4.<sup>53</sup>

**tafl**, dice. As., 5a14.

**tak**, roof. Ds. -i, 77a28.

**tal**, count, reckoning, conversation. Ns., 1b3; ds. -i, 48b20, 58b3, 101a9, 104a11.

Cpd: *hofðatal*, number of heads, heads. 69a20. See *hafuð*.

**tar**, tear. Dp. -um, 141a7.

**tilgang**, that which leads to, provocation, cause, reason, consideration. Np. 51b9, 95a22, 117a5. Variant reading in the last case: *tilgangr*, *Ksp.*, 125, note. See *tilgong*, *f.* Only one citation from elsewhere in *FrOrdb*. See *Anhang* to *Ksp.*, p. 183, line 12fb.<sup>54</sup>

**tilvik**, circumstance, situation. Ds. -i, 112a26. Icel. *tilvik*, "course of action," "undertaking." Norw. dial. *tilvik*, "occasion," "incentive." Sfl., Nflj.

**tialld**. See *lanndtialld*.

**tion**, loss, destruction. Ds. -i, 48a1; dp. -6b28, 111a28. Cf. *tion*, *f.*

Cpds: *fiartion*, loss of property, as., 71a27, 86a5; *manntion*, loss of lives, as., 34a14, 71a27; dp. -um, 86a19; ap., 34b11; *mannation*, loss of lives, as., 86a3; *salotion*, soul's destruction, as., 72b26; *siðartion*, decay of morals, degeneracy, as., 71a27.

**tol**, tool. Ap., 6a21.

**tom**, leisure, time, necessary or suitable time. 94a3, 117a16, 119b12. Icel. *tom*, "leisure," and adv. *tomlega*, "leisurely."<sup>55</sup>

**torgh**, market place. Ap., 129a25.

**traust**, trust, reliance, confidence, help, support. 68b7; gs., *traustz*, 51b25, *traust*, 52a1; ds. -i, 51b22; as., 51b19, 53a1. In 55a1—*firi traust sacar*—the omission of the *s* of the gen. is, perhaps, due to the fact that the following word begins with an *s*. To the ear the expression as it stands is correct enough; here the copyist may have had the assistance of someone who read the original to him as he wrote. It may be noted that the *s* of the gs. is lacking also in another instance of final *s*+consonant, namely in *scrimsl*. See this word.

**tre**, tree, log, beam. The declension is:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	tre	tre
Gen.	tres	tria
Dat.	tre	triom, trium
Acc.	tre	trio

<sup>53</sup> *Templum* only here.

<sup>54</sup> Obs. the vb. *ganga til* in the passage: *En sumum ganga til vigafarðe eða annur vanndræði*, "and for some the cause is manslaughter or some other crime," 51b23.

<sup>55</sup> Obs. ME *tom*, "time," loanword from ON. Cf. the following use of *timi*: *timi er til at ælska oc timi er til at hata, timi er til friðar oc timi til bardaga*, "there is a time to love and a time to hate; there is a time for peace and a time for fighting."

Ds., np., and gp., always as above; the dp. *trium*, at 80b25. Note also *trevirki*, and *trekastali*. The ap. occurs only once, 98b16: *En trio hylia kvistir oc lauf*. Gp. at 128a28. See *AnG*, I, §353, note 2.

Cpds: *lifstre*, tree of life, gs., -s, 108b29; ds., 108a25; *oxultre*, axle-tree, dp. -*triom*, 81b23; *visænnðatre*,<sup>56</sup> tree of knowledge, ns., 97b17. Only here. Cf. *visænnðasvar*.<sup>56</sup>

*tun*, home, dwelling place, court. Ap., 9a2, 139a17.

*tungl*, moon. Ds. -i, 128a24; gs. *tungls*, 10b26. Also *tunglskin*.

Cpd: *himintungl*, constellation, gp., 7b7; bp. -um, 62b30. Cf. *himintunglagang*.

*tunguvarp*, looseness of tongue, mere talk, palaver. Ds. -i, 84a28. Cf. *orðvarp*.

*þing*, assembly, court; appointment. Ds. -i, 91b14, 129b18; dp. -um. 84a24.

*þorp*, village, hamlet. Ap., 129a16.

Cpd: *samvældisþing*, meeting held with a view to securing joint power, 69a20. The cpd. occurs nowhere else in ON (*samvaldi*, "joint rule").

*þrot*, want, need, ruin. 36a17; dp. -um, 70b5.

*uaran*, bad year, crop failure. 65b14, 66a7, 12, 14, 18, *oaran*, 65b15, gs. *uarens*. 67b13. Cf. *oaransfræ*, p. 57.

*unndr*, marvel, wonder. As., 31b4; np. *unndr*, 35a13.

*upphaf*, origin, source, first step, first principles; advancement, preferment, honor. Ns., 2b9, 49b25, 86b30, *uphaf*, 2a7, 22, 24, 28, 2b17; ds. -i, 66b26. The cases with *pp* and those with *p* are about equally numerous. The passage in 66b is: *sialldan ælla ec þo at þærskyns haskar komi mæð upphafi af alþýðu þeirri er vinnr lannd eða byggir æf þeir væri raðsnotrir*, "I think that rarely do such dangers arise from among (have their origin among)," etc. Obs.: *hældr til svivirðingar snuit hældr en til upphafs*, "will rather turn out a disgrace than an honor," 84b20.

*vaðmal*, homespun. Gp., 6a8.

*valld*, authority, power; pl., blame. 51a14; ds. *vallde*, 92b20; pl. *vollð*, 100a13; *oc kennde Guði vollð um sin loghbrot*, "laid the blame for his transgression upon God."

*vapn*, weapon. Gs. -s, 77b28; np. *væpn*, 79b1; dp. *vapnum*, 75b16, etc.—(4 occs.). The irregular np. *væpn* may be due to the preponderance of the æ-sound in the environment: -er a hæsti skulu bæriast þo ero fleiri *væpn* er nýta ma a hæsti. A form *væpn* (by the side of *vapn*) did not exist. *AnG*, I, §304, note 1, where other irregular forms are cited, and *Ansf*,

<sup>56</sup> Given as *visindasvar*, *visindatre*, in *GnOrdb*, with references to *KS* only. So *visindabók*, ref. to *Pr.*, 403, 25 (where the form is *visendabók*). The form is *visindamenn*, *Síjörn*, 491, 16, but *visendaveg*, 381, 35; always *visenndi* in *Barl*. Icel. *visindi*, "learning," "knowledge," "science," "sciences," *visindabók*, "scientific work," etc. In Norw. diall. *visend*, *f.*, and *visende*, *n.*, "Underretning, Oplysning," *Hard.*, etc.

XIX, 6. Cf. *vapnaburð*, *vapnasamankvama*, *vapnaskap*, *vapnaskipti*, *vapngriot*, *vapnstein*.

Cpds: *hofuðvapn*, a main weapon. 77b18, 82b12<sup>57</sup>; *lifðarvapn*, gs., 67a14, literally "weapon of defence," used here abstractly in the sense of "source of strength," "bulwark;" *skotvapn*, missile, np., 77b18; ap. *scotvapn*, 77b1.

*var*, spring of the year. Ds., -e, 9b3, 9b16; dp. -um, 48b3.

*varp*. See *andvarp*.

*varraskrap*, prating, palaver. Ds. -i, 84a2.<sup>58</sup>

*vatn*, water. Ns., 27a20, 22, 23, *vantn*, 82a1; gs. *vatz*, 27a25; ds. -i, 27b12, 27b1, 28a3; np. *votn*, 42a22, 128b9; dp. *votnum*, 63a2, 65b26, *vatnum*, 128b6. Cf. *vatztiorn*. *Vantn*, 82a, changed to *vatn* by underdotting.

*viðrslag*, return blow. Ap. -slog, 76a16.

*vig*. See *æinvig*.

*vigskarð*, opening in the wall of a fortress for the placing of guns. Np. *vigskorð*, 132b27; gp., 80b20; dp. *vigskorðum*, 80b13, 81a2. Cf. *ættarskarð*.

Cpds: *hængivigskarð*, suspension shutters for the gun openings in the wall of a fortress. Gp., 80b21; ap., 80b14. In the latter passage the following description is given: *þa er gott at gera hængivigskorð af lettum flakum oc þursu þau at væra tvæim alnum hæri en kastalavigskorð sialf oc þrimr alnum siðare. Sva þursu þau oc fiarri hanga at mænn mægi væl væga mæð allum vapnum niðr millim kastala oc vighskarða sialfra oc hængivighskarða. En þau skolo hanga a lettum asum þeim sëm þægar mæghe þau til sin dragha er vil oc sva ut aþtr hængia; kastalavigskarð, = vigskarð, 80b16.*

*vin*, wine. Ds. *vini*, 129a30.

*vit*, wit, sense, insight, knowledge. Gs., 67b30; ds., 7b21. Cf. *viðorð*.

Cpds: *manvit*, sense, common sense, intellect, intelligence, ns., 66b19, etc., seven occs., *monvit*, 83a7, 84a29; gs. *manvitz*, 92a17, 94a29, 130a23, 131a10, corrected from *manviz* by superscription, *manviz*, 9a27, *monvitz*, 2a9, 5a9, 54b30; ds. *manviti*, 63a30, etc., four occs., *monviti*, 84a17, as. *manvit*, 10a10, etc., six occs., *monvit*, 2a21, etc., six occs.; *mannsvit*, as., 32a2; ds. -i, 92b23, gs. *munvitz*, 92a26, 92b5, ds. *munviti*, 92b23. Of the various forms *manvit* is to be regarded as the regular one; cf. furthermore occs. in cpds. as *manvitzanndi*, *manvitzgrein*, *manvitzgrunnvollr*, *manvitzkvistr*, and many adjectives. It is to be noted that the form *mannvit* is not found.<sup>59</sup> *FrOrdb.* and *Lex.* in general give only the form *mannvit*, except in citations. The variant *mannsvit* is a later formation on the basis of *mann-*, whereas *monvit* has its source in a form *man-*, and belongs with ON *einmana*, "solitary," *einman*, "solitary abode," Goth. *gaman*, "fellow

<sup>57</sup> For cpds. with *kafuð* as first element see above, p. 32.

<sup>58</sup> ON *skrap*, "rattling," "clattering"; in *Mar.*, 860, 35; *skrap* may mean "nonsense," "empty talk." Cf., however, ON *orðaskrap*, ref. *Fld.*, III, 99.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> However, *mannvit*, *Stjórn*, 552.

human being," ON *man*, "household," modn. Norw. *man*, indef. pron., "one." The two words *manvit* (*monvit*) and *mannzvit* may not differ much in meaning. However, I rather think that while *manvit*, *monvit*, means "native wit," man's common sense as man," the word *mannzvit* means "a man's sense," or human reasoning as evidenced in non-humans. This is the meaning in the one passage where the word appears: *þa ero þat iamnan vargar noccora stunnð oc rænna i skogum oc hafa slica sæzlo sæm vargar oc ero þvi værri at þeir hafa mannzvit*.<sup>60</sup> The form *munvit* is not recorded in any other text in ON and is not given in *FrOrdb*. It is listed in *GnOrdb* with a reference to *KS*. 'Munvit is, no doubt, to be regarded as a variant, for only one of the three occs. in *KS* could be explained as a scribal error (*lutu munvit sinu*, 92b23). The form *munvit* is to be explained as a contamination between *monvit* and *munr*, "mind," "soul."

*væðr*, weather, storm. *Ds. væðri*, 36a3; *gp.*, 43b19. Cf. *illviðri*, *væðrleic*, *væðratta*.

*væð*, value, price. *Ds. -e*, 134a16; *as.*, 4a6. Cf. *væðleicr*.

*værk*, work, deed. *Ns. værk*, 4 occs. *ds. -i*, 138a30, 138b7, 147a15; *as. værc*, 138a23; *dp. -um*, 56b11. There are twelve occs. in *-rk* and six in *-rc*.

*Cpds. astarværk*, deed of love, 137b28; *astæmðarværk*, deed of love, act of kindness, 138a10, 138b28; *avvndarværk*, jealous act, *as.*, 86b14; *hanndaværk*, handywork, *ns.*, 124b7; *ns.*, 124b7: *gef mer siau hafuðgiafir heilax anda þins, oc allan blæsaðan avoxi þann er þar ma af blomgast firi þvi at ec em þin hanndaværk skapaðr æpter þinni licnæskiu þrall þinn mæðr syndum af þioni þinum son ambattar þinnar*. The occurrence of the masculine form of the poss. adj. before *hanndaværk* is an error due to the several other occurrences of this form in the immediate environment; *niðingsværc*, act of cowardice, dastardly deed, *as.*, 101b19, 139b13.

*væstr*, west. *Gs. væstrs*, 35a29, *væstr*, 35b1; *as. væstr*, 40b30, 44a27. See *traust*.

*æinvig*, single combat. *Dp. -um*, 52a3.

*æitr*, poison. *Gs. æitrs*, 106b4; *ds. æitri*, 106b15.

*ættarskarð*, vacant place or loss in the clan, death of a member of the family. *Ns.*, 69b14. Cf. *vigskarð*. See *ætt*, p. 73.

## b. *Ja*-Stems

### *Neuters*

No masculines belong here. The only masculine noun regularly a *ja*-stem in ON is *niðr*. See *AnG*, I, §357. Other original *ja*-stems have gone over to the *ia*-stems.

<sup>60</sup> "They are, however, wolves for a while and hold forth in the woods, and have the same food as wolves; but they are worse for they have the reasoning faculty of humans."

The neuters appearing in *KS* are:

**el**, shower. *Dp. elom*, 43b24.

Cpd: **ræghnel**, rain-shower, *dp. -um*, 128b13.

**geð**, mind. *Ds. -e*, 100b28, *-i*, 101a20, 131a29.

Cpds: **gefnageð**, temper, bearing. *Ds. -e*, 77b8, *-i*, 83b18. A rare word in ON. The passages read: *En þat er siðgæðe at gæraz samþycr aðrum monnum oc ægi æinlyndr hæfilatr i allu gefnagedi sino* (p. 83);<sup>61</sup> *Sva skal a skipi beriazk sëm a lannde mæð goðu gefnagede oc mæð hæfiligum allum hoggum*; **giafnageð**, *ds. -e*, 86a4 and b6. Variant form of above; the meaning is "temper," "poise," "self-control." The first passage reads: *Hæyrer oc þu noccor þau tipænnde sogð er þer þykkia skaðasamlegh um sialvan þec eða þinn varnað annathvart um fiartion eða mannation þa skallt þu oc þat mæð hofi bæra oc goðo giafnagede* (p. 88);<sup>62</sup> combination: *mæð hofi oc goðo giafnagede* also in 86b6. The word ranges in meaning therefore from that of mental attitude to that of outer conduct. It is, however, a neutral term; to convey the idea of "good attitude," "proper bearing," "self-control," the word is always modified by the adjective *goðr*.

**hanndrif**, rope railing, *Np.*, 80a13. ENorw. form of ON *handrið*, which is the form we should expect in this case. ON *handrif* seems to occur elsewhere only in the meaning "sailyard," "sailrope." The Nw. dial. word *handree* corresponds to *handrið*. A form *handrebbe* occurs to-day in the extreme southeast of Norway (Smaalenene). It is to be noted also that the dial. form in Trondhjem province is *hantrev* (Ross). This would seem to be a popular etymology of an earlier *handrif* in this region. There is no reason for regarding *hanndrif* as an erroneous writing in the MS.

**kyn**, race, clan, tribe, kind, variety. 31b11; *ds. -i*, 9b5 etc. (four occs); *gp. kynna*, 106b7 (*allra mannligr kynna*); possibly omission of sign of abbreviation here. See *Facs. Introd.*, XLII; *dp. kynium*, 128b1. Cf. *kynfylgia*, *kynkvisl*, *kynsloð*.

Cpds: **hvalakyn**, kind of whale, *np.*, 36a13; **sælakyn**, kind of seal, *ns.*, 36a30.

**næf**, nose, bill. *Ds. -i*, 47a5; *as.*, 33b23.

**skegg**, beard. *Ds. -i*, 46b19, 47a21. See *skeggæx*.

**sker**, skerry. *Gp. skeria*, 46a16.

**sky**, sky, cloud. *As.*, 8b21; *dp. skyium*, 128b13. Cf. *mæð skyiaðre loðkapo*, 46b12. See *skyfall*.

<sup>61</sup> "But it is good breeding to be agreeable to other men and not obstinate, one should be courteous in one's demeanor always."

<sup>62</sup> "And even though you hear tidings which seem harmful to yourself or your business, whether it be about loss of property or men, that too you must bear with calm and proper demeanor."

c. *Ia-Stems**Masculines*

The masc. *ia*-stems, relatively rare in ON, are represented by the following four nouns in *KS*:

**eyrir**, money, property. Ns., 7a3; gp. *aura*, 53b13.

Cpd: **værðaurar**, pl., pay, medium of exchange, dp. *-um*, 90b29, 92b30.

**hællir**, cavern. Ds. *helli*, 147a3; as., 147b16; dp. *-um*, 10a16.

**skynnder**, hastener, that which will hasten or expedite the matter in hand. Ns., 87b28. In the language of poetry the word appears as a *heiti* for "the moon" in *Alvtssmál*, 15, 4.

**ænnder**, end. Ns., 34a1. See *ennde*.

*Neuters*

A very large class in ON. Stems with a long radical syllable or with two syllables before the ending. There are the following 146 nouns and compounds of these in *KS*.

**ackeri**, anchor. 32b9. Cf. *ackerisfleinn* and *akkerissens*, Gs. def., 32b11.

**afspringe**, offspring, brood. As., 9b8. The reference is to the brood of the fishes of the sea. Cf. *afspringr*.<sup>63</sup> See *NgL*, V, 64.

**agetí**, distinction, excellence. 49b15.

**alltari**, altar. 159b26; ds. *alltare*, 159b19, *altare*, 159b18; gs. *alltaris*, 160a7.

**almæli**, common report, general talk. 29b10. Cf. *bræðemale*, *ofrmæli*, *reimæli*, *saurmæli*, *stormæli*, *æinmæli*.

**athæfi**, demeanor, conduct. 34b5; ds., *athæfe*, 67a20.

**atkvæðe**, address, manner or form of address. Ds., 63a6, 64a19. The final vowel is always *-e* in the sg. and in the np. and ap; dp., always *-um*, as., 62b14.

Cpds: **sæmðaratkvæðe**, deferential or courteous manner of address, ap., 63b9.

**auðæfi**, wealth, riches. Np., 85a13; dp. *-um*, 8a16. The weak vowels are always *i* and *u*. The form *auðhæfi* or *auðhæfi* (Lex.) do not appear. Cf. Norw. dial. *hæve*, "wealth," *Rbg.*, *Sæt.*, and *Ma.* The vb. *aua* "mylre,

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *afspringi*, *Barl.* 132, used there with reference to the products of the earth, personified as a goddess. There is, however, no consistent differentiation in ON between *afspringr*, *m.*, *afspringi*, *m.*, and *afspringi*, *n.*, such as the above use would suggest. F. ex., in *Heilagr*, I, 472, 37; according to *FrOrdb.*, *afspringr* is used of the product of the earth, and in *DN*, I, 82, *afspringi*, *n.*, is used of human offspring. However, there is evidently a partial differentiation, the masc. forms being used preferably of human beings, while the neut. *afspringi* is used collectively or in the sense of "product," or as above for "the brood of animals," as *Barl.*, 132, and occs. in *NgL*.



vrímle," is cited for Sogn and Sf., by Ross. Modn. Icel. *auðæfi*, *n. pl.*, "great wealth."

**auknæfni**, additional name, title. As., 52b18. Cf. *aukanafn*. The meaning in our passage is the literal one of "another name," Eng. *ekename*. In OIcel. commonly found in the later sense of "nickname." See citations in *FrOrdb*. Cf. modn. Icel. *auknefni*, and vb. *auknefna*, to nickname.

**bliðyrði**, pl., friendly speech, kind words. Ap., 104b8. See *drambyrði*, *gamanyrði*, *lausyrði*, *halldinyrði*, *f.* Cf. Norw. dial. *bliðmæle* and modn. Icel. *bliðmæli*. The cpd. suffix *-yrði*, not now found in Norw. diall.

**braðskæyti**, impatience. Gs., 51a25. The word refers to the act of the son in requesting information about the king's men, thus to a certain extent directing the course of the conversation, which he hopes his father will not regard as an act of impatience (*æige virðe . . . mer til braðskæytis*): *GnOrdb*: "braadskap," and Norw. dial. *braadskøyte*, "naudhjelp." Cf. Norw. dial. *braadnøyte*, "impulsiveness," and Icel. *braðlæti*, "impatience."

**brocabællti**, trouser-belt. Gs., 79a3. Cf. *brynbrocr*.

**byrleiðe**, favorable wind. 36a1. Icel. *byrleiði*, do. See *byrr*.

**bræðemæle**, rash and angry speech. 4b24. See *almæli*.

**bællti**. See *brocabællti*.

**drambyrði**, pl. arrogant speech, boastful words. Ap., 110b7. See *dramb* and *bliðyrði*. No other occ. rec. in Lex. *Dramb*, *n.* rather rare, but enters into a large number of cpds. in ON. Norw. dial. occs. are for Tel., Sæt., and Agder.

**dægraskipti**, alternation of day to night. Ns., 45a13. Only here (?). Not = *dægrafar* as Fritzner; correctly, *GnOrdb*. Cf. *litaskipti*, *lanndaskipti*, *vapnaskipti*.

**dæmi**, example, precedent, precept. Np., 61a8, ap., 93b24; dp., -um, 130b30.

Cpds: **rangdæmi**, unjust verdict, np., 31a19; **rettdæmi**, just verdict, gs., 92a9, 108b25; **æindæmi**, unique instance, 131a7, np., 11525. Cf. Icel. *eindæmi*, "an unexampled thing."

**fiolmænni**, many people, crowd. 146b24; -e, 68a12.

**forræði**, rule, authority, management. 104b6; gp., 97b12. As Icel. *forræði*, rule, sway. In ON usually *forráð*. Cf. *forræði*, *Barl.*, and *forræðismaðr*, quotations from *Frost*. See below *heilræði*, *sialfræðe*, *vanndræðe*, *væilræðe*.

**forunæyti**, company, companionship, society, entourage (of the king). 49b17, 50a28 (*koma or konungs forunæyti*), 53b7: *þa ero þeir skyllðer til at fylla syslomannaflocc vinna þeim slikt forunæyti sam þeir ero til færir um oll konungs mal*;<sup>64</sup> but *farunæyti*, 115a13: *þa nikvæddi Petr*

<sup>64</sup> "Then they are in duty bound to associate themselves with the king's stewards and give them such fellowship (co-operation) as they can in all the king's affairs."

*þrysvar sinnum hans farunæyti*, "Then Peter denied three times that he had been in his company." Obs. *forunæti* (!), 55b17. Cf. *logunautr*, *matunæyti*.

*fotalæti*, manner of moving the feet. 32b20: *oc því næst sa þeir or því skipi mann æinn firir borð laupa oc kafaz niðr til akkerissens oc vildi leysa þat. Hans atfærð synndez þeim æpter því væra bæði hannda læti oc fota sām þæss mannz er i sio svimr.* Fritzner cites an occurrence in *Fm.* VII. See *hanndalæti*.

*frælsi*, liberty, free choice, rights, personal security. 83b7, 104a17. This is the usual form, but *frialsi*, 152a3 and 12, *frialse*, 70b19: *fe oc frialse*, "property and security for self." Obs. *ner hann ma skikkju i frælsi bæra*, "when he may with propriety (freely, be free to) wear his cloak."

*fylsni*, concealment, place of concealment. *Ds.*, 98b26; *gp.*, 123b8; *dp. -um*, 10a12, 105b20. Germanic *h*, which disappears medially in other positions, remains as *k* in Primitive Scandinavian between short vowel and *s*. Hence *fylxni*, *ANg*, §216. Our form exhibits the disappearance of interconsonantal *k*. The Icel. form is *fylgsni*.

*gamanyrðe*, pl., words said in fun or as a jest. *Np.*, 83a21. Icel. *gamanyrði*. Cf. *gamansmaðr*, *bliðyrði*.

*gillde*, distinction, honor; payment. 53b20; *þeir þyckia væra lænndra manna i gillde*. Cf. Icel. *telja einum eitthvað til gildis*, "count something to one's credit;" *þegar þer komist i gildi við hofðingia*, *Finb.*, 37, 19, and Norw. dial. *vera gjld*, or *gilda seg*, "feel proud." *Cpd.*: *þægnigillde*, weregild for athane, 52a3, 53a18 and 24. See *huscarlagioll*. Cf. *gilldr*, adj.

*giolifi*, dissipated living. 83b24, 84a4. The latter reads: *þat er oc siðgæði at flyia tafl oc tæninga kast þort kvænna hus eða æða usæra. lyghi vitni eða aðra gio eða saurlifi*. Icel. *giolifi*, "sensual life" (*Zoëga*), Norw. diall. *giðda*, *f.*, "Person med høit Livsmod," *Nhl. Shl.* (*Ross*); *GnOrdb.* cites *gio* for Sogn; *ON* *gjó* and *gjólifi* are rendered "lyst-livnad, susarliv." Cf. *giomaðr*.

*hanndalæti*, manner of moving or using the hands. *Np.*, 32b20. Only here. Cf. *fotalæti*. The two *cpds.* are unusual, although *fotalæti* also occurs in *Fm.*, VII, 13.<sup>17</sup> The word *læti* appears as second element of many *cpds.* in *KS* based on an adjective (*bliðlæti*, *litillæti*, *mikillæti*, *ranglæti*, *storlæti*) or adverb (*eptirlæti*, *yfirlæti*). Cf. also *mænlæti* below. The meaning is abstract in all such cases, whereas in the two *cpds.* above the suffix has a literal, physical sense "behavior of the feet, the hands," while in the act of swimming. Cf. modn. Icel. *læti*, *n. pl.*, "gestures, manners," and Norw. dial. *læte*, "Lader, Adfærd, Gebærder," Aasen for Tel. Busk., etc. Obs. also OSw. *öghnalæte*, pl. "glance," "look."<sup>18</sup>

*harðænnde*, hardness, severity. 71a21.

*heilræði*, wholesome advice, good counsel. *Dp. -um*, 107b3. More

<sup>18</sup> Similar formations in OSw. listed in *Appellativa i Fornsvok.*, p. 389.

commonly *heill rað*. See *FrOrdb.*, *heill*, 6. Icel. *heilræði*. Cf. *heillarað*, *Ksp.*, 147, note 2, and *væilræðe* below.

*hibili*, habitation, household. Ap., 66a26; *hillyli* (for *hibyli*) 52b20, dp. *hibilum*, 118a24. Cf. 66a24: *hirti hann gott korn oc reint oc næra sva sin hibili* ("his household," "people of his household").

*hollræði*, friendly counsel. Gp., 67a13. Cf. *forræði*, *heilræði*, *samræðe sialfræði*, *vannðræðe*, *væilræðe*. Obs. alliterative couplet of synonymous adjs. *heill* and *hollr*: *saker hæilra oc hollra raða*, *DN*, III. 76. The riming couplet *væill* and *hæill*, however, expresses here the fact that the two councils were direct opposites. See *væilræðe*, p. 56.

*hyski*, family, people of a household. 63b14, 118a24. See *hibili*. Cf. Norw. dial. *kyskje*, "a little house," and Icel. *hyski*, household, family.

*hælviti*, hell. Ds., 28b22. Always this form. Cf. *hælvitisskuggi*.

*hærbærgi*, lodging, apartment. 129b5, gs., 3b28; as. *hærbærge*, 6a24, *hærbirgi*, 129b12. Icel. *herbergi*, "room, chamber."

*illgræsi*, weeds, tares. 108b11.

*illviðri*, bad weather. Ns., 43b16. Fritzner cites occs. from *Barl.* 65, 33, and *Str.*, 88, 15. Cf. *illviðrisbakki*.

*illvirki*, evil-doing. 140a2.

*illyrði*, abusive language. Dp. -um, 5a4.

*klæðe*, clothes. Gp., 92a20; dp. -um, 6a27; ap., 58a23.

Cpds: *linklæðe*, linen clothes, linen, ap., 58a29; *uglæðisklæðe*, dp. -um, 108b17.

*kvæðe*. See *atkvæðe*.

*kyckvænnde*, living creator. 29b18 pl. -i, 102a30, 107b24, *kyckvændi*, 97b8; *kvikennde*, 10b5. There are six occs. with *kyck*- and one with *kvik*-. Cf. Icel. *kvikindi* and Norw. dial. *kvikinde*, *kvikjende*, "Dyr, levende Skabning," Sæt., in Valders, *kjukand n.*, "et Fæ," Aasen.

*langlivi*, long life. As., 151a7.

*lanndaskipti*, difference in geographical position. 40b22. Usual meaning: "boundary or division of land." See *skipti*.

*latæðe*, behaviour, manners. 75b2. Rare. Mod. Icel. *latæðe*.

*latgæðe*, good manners. 58a6. Icel. *latgæðe*. Cf. *siðgæðe*, *skapgæðe*.

*lausyrði*, loose talk, chatter. 159a13.

*leðænnde* (for *leiðænnde*), repulsive object. Ns., 10a10.

*letlæti*, affability. Gs., 145a6.

*licnarlæysi*, lack of mercy. Gs., 100b18. Only here (?). Cf. *mæðr liknarlausum dauða tynndr*, 100a22. Icel. *licnarlæysi*, "hardheartedness."

*litillæti*, humility, condescension. Ns., 93a2; ds. *litillæti*, 87a5; as. *litilleti*, 88b19. Icel. *litillæti*. See *hannðalæti*.

*litaskipti*, change of color. 102b8. Cf. *dagraskipti*.

*lundærni*, temper, disposition. As., 47a10, 64b1. *lundærni*, 141a2. Icel. *lundærni*.

**læti.** For occs. in cpds. see *hanndalæti*.

**læyfi,** permission, leave, departure. 75b12, 94a15; ten occs. with -œy-, four with -ey-; wk. vowel always *i*. Gs. *leyvis* (written *leppis*), 66b12.

**læyti,** cohabitation; ties by marriage. 141a24; dp. -um, 68b26. Kgs., *leytum*, 76, 3fb; var. *lutum*, note 9. Cf.: *þat ællaði hann ok, sem vera mundi at bræðr Abisag ok allir frændr hennar mundu betr unna hanum ríkis, ef hann fingi hennar, heldr en þeim menni, er ekki var við þa leytum bundinn.*<sup>66</sup>

**manstæðe,** mane (of a horse). Ns., 29a12. Is the only citation in *FrOrdb*.

**matuneyti,** companionship in the sharing of food, messmateship. 6a29. Cf. *forunæyti*.

**minni,** memory. Gs. -is, 48b28, 93b23.

**misbrigði,** mistake, breach. Not found elsewhere. As., 103b17: *misbrigði igeign hans vilia*. See *brigð*.

**nauðarsottarfarðe,** critical illness. Ds., 145a26.<sup>67</sup> Nowhere else recorded. Cf. ON *sóttarfar*.

**missæri,** half-year. Dp. -um, 7b11.

**mæinlæti,** penance. 94b23; dp. -um, 118a14.

**mæli.** See *almæli*, *bræðemale*, *ofrmæli*, *retmæli*, *stormæli*, *saurmæli*, *ainmæli*.

**mærki.** See *ænndimærki*.

**niðvirki,** villainy. 113b8. Sole occ. See *niðingsværk*.

**ofrmæli,** boast. Dp. -um, 115a8.

**ofræfli,** superior force. 145a22.

**ogaumgefi,** heedlessness. 57b11. The negative apparently not elsewhere found. The word is variously *gaumgæfe*, *n* and *f*., *gaumgæfa*, *f*., and *gaumgæfð*, *f*., the last in *Str.* and *Heilagr*. The first appears as *gaumgiæve* in *Barl*, 100, and elsewhere. *FrOrdb*. gives only Norw. citations for all forms. However, cf. modn. Icel. *gaumgæfa*, "to pay attention to," and adj. *gaumgæfinn*, "heedful"; also *gaumgæfni*, *f*., "attention." *Gaum*, and derivatives, found especially in the dial. of Tel. to-day.

**okynni,** evil conduct, evil ways. Dp. -um, 118b3 and 13; gs., 118b15. Norw. dial. *ukynde*, do., *GnOrdb*.

**psaltari,** psalter. Ds. def. -eno, 111b10. See wk. masculines.

**rangennde,** wrong, injustice. 70a14.

**ranglæti,** evil conduct. Gs., 11829.

<sup>66</sup> "And he also thought, as was reasonable to suppose, that Abisag's brothers and all her kinsmen would more willingly accept him as ruler if she married him, rather than accept a man who was not bound to them by ties of marriage."

<sup>67</sup> Var: *nauðsyniligu sollarfari*.

**reiði.** See *saðulreiðe*.

**reinlifi,** pure life, celibacy. As., 125a3. Cf. *reinlifismaðr* and *giolifi*.

**rettdæmi,** right verdict, justice. 132b13. 139a6.

**rettennde,** right, justice. As. 114a30, *rettenndi*, 134a16, 135b26; np. *rettænde*, 113a10; gp. *rettenda*, 134a15, 135b25, 138a5, *rettænnda*, 133a4, *rettænda*, 138a24, *rettynnnda*, 97a5; dp. *rettænndum*, 85a14.

**retlæti,** justice. Gs., 91a23, *rettlæti*, 124b3. See *fotalæti*.

**retmæli,** justice. Gs., 53a23; gp. *rettmæla*. 53b10 (variant *rettra mala*, *Ksp.*, p. 60, note 9.).

**riki,** authority, power, rule; kingdom. Gs. *-is*, 148b14, *rikiss*, 118b5; ds., 52a20; dp. *rikium*, 88b30. Cf. *rikisbot*, *rikisdóm*, *rikisgezla*, *rikismaðr*, *rikissiðr*.

Cpds: **himnariki**, heaven, 62b29;<sup>68</sup> **iarðriki**, earthly kingdom, earth, ds., 96a6; gs., 95b20; **konungsríki**, kingdom, 67a28; **væralldarriki**, worldly realm, world, gs., 63a30.

**saðulreiðe**, saddle equipment, saddle harness. Ds., 78b6. Icel. *söðulreiði*, "crupper of a lady's saddle."

**samræðe**, agreement. 72b15. See *hollræðe*.

**samþykki**, consent, harmony. 125a21, *samþykki*, 8a21.

**saurlifi**, immorality. As., 84a4. Icel. *saurlifi*. Variant: *sauryrðe*, *Ksp.*, 92, note 10.

**saurmæli**, foul language. 75b3. See *almæli*.

**siðgæðe**, proper conduct, good breeding. 83a7 and b16, etc.; *-i*, 83b21, etc., Icel. *siðgæði*.

**simælgi**, loquaciousness, talking long. 64a23. The only citation in *FrOrdb*. In the ms. underlined as unusual.<sup>69</sup>

**sinni**, time. 61b7, 62a13, *-e*, 2b3.

**skipti.** See *dægraskipti*, *lanndaskipti*, *viðrskipti*, *litaskipti*, *vapnaskipti*.

**skynlæysi**, stupidity. 159a12.

**smiði**, artifice, structure. 105b16; gs. *smiðes*, 128b16.

**sialfræði**, independence, free-will, obstinacy. 102b29, 47b27. *sialfræði*, 103a1, with *l* written in above the line. Cf. *sialfrað*, "independent judgment." Norw. dial. *sjølvråde*, *f.*, "obstinacy."

**skamsyni**, shortsightedness, lack of foresight, stupidity. 136b29. Cf. *skamsyni*, *f.* Icel. *skammsyni*, "shortsightedness."

**skapgæðe**, good disposition. 137b4. Cf. *siðgæðe*.

**skipti.** See *dægraskipti*.

**stormæli**, matter of great import. Ds. 92a13: *væra domari ivir slíku stormæli*; dp. *-um*, 92a13. ON, also *stórmal*, Icel. *stórmal* and *stórmæli*, pl., "great affairs" (*Zoëga*).

**stræti**, street, road. 78a9, 129a25.

<sup>68</sup> Cpds. in *himna-* are noted by Kahle in *AfnF.*, XVII, p. 154.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *skiotmælge*, "gibberish," "loquaciousness," *Barl.*, 108.

**sæti**, seat, place, residence. Dp. *-um*, 74b9. Cf. *samsætismaðr*, *samsætisdryckia*.

Cpds: **domsæti**, tribunal, 123b19, dp. *-um*, 131a26; **domarasæti**, 93b16; **havuðsæti**, chief seat, 132b9; **hasæti**, high seat, *hosæti*, 128a17; **konungssæti**, royal residence, 31a5; **kyrrsæti**, sitting still, remaining in ease, 89b6; **samsæti**, the being seated together, companionship at table, 75a27. Cf. Icel. *samsæti*, assembly, entertainment. See *samsætismaðr*; *sæmðarsæti*, seat of honor, 125b26.

**tiðænnde**, pl., happenings, tidings, news. 56b23, 85b30, *tiðænnde*, 137b18, etc. Everywhere with final *e*.

**tilmæli**, request. 29a30.

**torfæri**, inaccessibility, dangerous passage. Dp. *-um* 42b22, 45b29. Norw. dial. *torføre*, "difficult situation," given for Ma. by Ross. The form *torfæri* is given for *Vatsd.* by Fritzner. OIcel. and Mod. Icel. *torfæra*, *f*.

**trevirki**, wooden device or engine. Def., 82a6.

**tunguskæðe**, improper language. 5a5, 83b28.

**tyrvi**, resinous fir-tree. 82a19. Also *tyri* in ON; Icel. *tyri*. The form *tyrve* is used today in the diall. of Mandal. Tel., Rbg., and Østl., and *ø*-forms in the same general regions. *Tyrve* in Shl. (Aasen for Kvindherred). Other forms and etym., *Nyn EtOrdb*, under *týre*.

**þili**, roofing. 82b1: *lili* (miswriting for *þili*).

**uppfæði**, bringing up. Ds., 108a22.

**vanddræðe**, difficulty, trouble, danger. Np., 51b24; dp. *-um*, 69a22.

**vanyfli**, custom, practice. As., 73a12. Var., *vanda*. Cf. *vanyflasótt*.<sup>70</sup>

**vapnaskipti**, handling of arms in defense or attack. Literally, exchange of arms; cf. Eng. "exchange blows," "give and take." Ds., 76b19: *þa vanðu þeir báðar hænndr iamkringar i allu vapnaskipti til at gripa*.<sup>71</sup>

**viðri**. See *illviðri*.

**viðrlifi**, sustenance. Gs., 97b11.<sup>72</sup>

**viðrskipti**, dealings, intercourse. 55a16, 69b9; dp. *-um*, 51b21.<sup>73</sup>

**vigafærðe**, murder. 51b23. Var. *vigafærlí*.

**virki**. See *steinvirki*, *trevirki*.

**vitni**, witness. 147b14, etc., always *-i*. Cf. *vitnisburð*.

Cpds: **alpyðuvitni**, general testimony or opinion, 1b7; **forvitni**, inquisitiveness, gs., 94a13; as., 49b20, etc.; **lyghivitni**, false testimony, 72b20.

**væilræðe**, poor counsel. Dp. *-um*. 107b2: *hvi fylgðer þu hallár væilræðum kono þinnar en heilræðum minum*, "why did you follow the ill advice of your wife rather than my wholesome advice?" ON *væill*, adj., "poor," "weak," "defective," Icel. *veila*, "flaw," Norw. dial. *veil*, adj.,

<sup>70</sup> The citations of simplex and cpd. in *FrOrdb*. are these two; in addition also one of *vanyfi* for *vanyflasótt* in the sense of "usual illness." Not in Icel.

<sup>71</sup> I.e., both hands are trained alike in the use of weapons.

<sup>72</sup> The form *viðr*, further, in *viðrslag*, and *viðrviðr*.

"defective," "weak," *veila*, sb. "defect," *veiling*, "a sickly person," Sogn (Aasen), e.g., *d'er mange veile, som kunde vera heile* (Nhl), *det vil kvar vera heil, og ingen veil*, Bergen Diocese. As above so here *veill* is used as the opposite of *heill*. Etym: *veill* < *veheill* < *veiheill*, S. Bugge, *AfnF*, II, pp. 226-227. See *holtræðe* above.

*vællde*, power, might, rule. 94b16, 63b17, *vælde*, 9a11, *vællði*, 119b29.

*yfirlæti*, favor, consideration, treatment, attitude to; praise. 57b6, 89b30. *Yverlata*, f., "praise," Helg. (Aasen), *yvelaat*, do. N. Gbr. (Ross), and *Ivilate*, n., Tel.; ON *yfirlat*. Icel. *yfirlæti*, "favor," *væra i goðu yfirlæti hjá*—, "be in high favor with—."

*ynði*, joy, delight. Gs., 107a26.

*æfni*, ability, means, material, stuff, content, subject. 58b30, 63b10, 107a15, 108b23, 112b4, 113a2; ap., 49a24; etc.

Cpd: *konungaæfni*, pretender to the throne, np., 67b24.

*æinmæli*, private conversation. 73b25.

*æmbætti*, office, service. 7b23, 49b29, 103b12; gs. -es, 124b11.

Cpd: *skyldaræmbætti*, service of duty, 87a16, 126a20.

*ændimærki*, boundary, limits. Np., 48b8, 123b11, etc. Norw. dial. *endemerke*, "det Punkt eller Maal hvortil en Ting strækker sig" (Aasen).

*æhne*, forehead. 8a28, 47a27, etc., *ænni*, 34b14, 79b30.

*æpli*, apple. Always -i, -is, -um: 30a8 and 11. 99b12, 106b30, etc.

Cpd: *fróðleicsæpli*, pl., apples of wisdom. 108a26.

*ærfiðe*, labor. 8b8.

*æræfi*, inaccessible harbor. 9a15. Lex: *ærhæfi* only. Cf. *auðæfi*.

*ærænnde*, errand, business, matter, cause. 31b19, 58a29; dp. -um, 58a22 *ærænndi*, 90b11, *ærænnde*, 58b17.

Cpd: *nauðsyniaærænnde*, important business or mission. Gp., 145 b14 and 30.

#### d. *Wa*-Stems

These are masculines and neuters. Only a few words belong here in ON and some of them are characterized by a considerable variety of form. In KS only the masculines *snior* "snow," *songr*, "song," and *sær*, "sea," appear. The nom. pl. is *songar*, 129b3, hence (as in ON in general), without *wa*-stem characteristics. The ds. does not occur; the dp. is *songum*, 9b17. Cpds: *mæssosongr*, saying the holy mass, 142a26; *ottosongr*, matins, as., 3b2, *psalmasongr*, singing of hymns. 119b18. *Snior* is found only in the gp., *snioa*, 43b19, and in the cpd. adj. *sniohvitr*. The forms of *sær* are: ns. def., *særinn*, 39b19; ds. *sio*, 32b21, 37a15; gs. *sioar* regularly, 5a22, 7b8, 10b26, etc. In 7a27 the form (of the original evidently) has been changed by cancelling the *v*.

The following neuters occur: *hogg*, cut, blow (with an axe), ap., 76a15; dp. -um, 88a1 and 4; *kiot*, meat, 37a19; *fræ* in the cpd: *oaranstræ*, seed of misfortune, 67b30, and *smior* in the cpd. *smiorgerð*; see p. 86.

II.  $\bar{O}$ -STEMS

The  $\delta$ -stems form a very considerable category of feminines in ON. They are monosyllabic stems, with either consonantal or vocalic ending, and nouns having the suffix *-ing* or *-ung*. The occurrences will be listed according to the usual subdivisions.

a. Pure  $\bar{O}$ -Stems

Of nouns occurring twenty-four monosyllabic stems of the consonantal group belong here, a few monosyllabic words ending in the vowel *a*, and a considerable number of dissyllabic words mainly in *-ing*, for the most part abstracts. The nouns of the first group are:

**al**, strap. Np., 37a10.

**dvol**, delay, prolongation. 130a10. Evidence of stem lacking.

**fjoðr**, feather. Np., 32a22; ap. *fiarðar* for *fiaðrar*, 128b22; dp. *fiaðrum*, 105b7.

Cpds: **storfiaðrar**, pl., large feathers, 32a25; **sunndfioðr**, swimming wings, dp. *-fiaðrum*, 34b1-2.

**flaug**, flight, flying. 32a26, 81b16.

**for**, journey, in the following:

Cpds: **heimanfor**, departure from home. 49b14; **hærfor**, military expedition, ap., 144b26, gp., 126b25; dp. *-forum*, 55a24; **kaupfor**, mercantile journey, dp. *-farum*, 7a2, 49b15, *-forum*, 7a10, 51b7; **sænnðifor**, mission, ap., 54b29, *sænndefarar*, 54a2; **ufor**, misfortune, gs. *ufarar*, 87b1, dp. *ufarum*, 109a5, 136b27; ap. *ufarar*, 136b25. See *ufor*, p. 78.

**fro**, comfort, relief. 30b5.

**gio**, dissipation. 83b24: *þat er oc siðgæði æf gengr i kaupstaðum milli ukunnra manna at væra falatr oc æigi margyrðr, flygia gio oc alla hegomlega dryckiu*. Variant *gja*, Ksp., p. 92, notes 5 and 10. Cf. Icel. *gja*, sensuality, and *gjalifi*, Norw. dial. *gjo*, GnOrdb., and Icel. *gjálfislegur*, adj. dissipated, (Zoëga).<sup>73</sup> Ref. *AfnF*, VI, p. 114 and XXXII, pp. 199-200.<sup>74</sup> See *gjolifi*, n.

**giöf**, gift. Np. *giavar*, 159a14; ap., 159a17. *Giöf* is prevailingly an *i*-stem in KS. See p. 64.

**heiðr**, heath. Ap., 128b29.

**kvæif**, a kind of hood. 83b6. Cf. Icel. *kveif*, "effeminate person," Norw. dial. *kvav*, "Overtak" (Aasen), Fr. *coiffe*.

**kvol**, torment. 133b28, etc., *quol*. 138b12; gp. *kvala*, 139b18. Is also an *I*-stem in ON. Plural *-ar* in Icel.

**leið**, way, direction, manner. 46a11, 88a22; gs., 33a3, etc.

<sup>73</sup> See *giomaðr* below. Cf. *Bachum kalla þeir oc æinn guð sinn oc sanna at hann var nattdryckiumaðr oc meistare allra giomanna oc næmde i brott annarra manna honor, Barl.*, 137.

<sup>74</sup> The  $\delta$ -stem plural is rarely met with in ON. It cannot be said with certainty that *gio* is an  $\delta$ -stem; it may perfectly well be an  $\delta n$ -stem.



**lið**, side. 36b10; ds., *lið*, 74a4.

**laug**, bath. Ap., 74b11 and 12.

**nol**, needle. Ap., 6a10.

**nos**, nose. Dp. *nasum*, 47a25.

**ogn**, chaff. Ap., 65b8; dp. *agnum*, 80b8.

**tru**, belief, faith. 91a29; gs., 91a23; ds., 91b3, etc.

**reið**, riding. Ds., 74217.

**ro**, quiet. 71b15, 48a30; *kæmi ro æpter hvíldarlaus rott*.

Cpd: **uro**, unrest, restlessness. 71a15.

**soc**. cause, matter, thing, reason, accusation, indictment, guilt, wrongdoing, wrong. Dp. *sokum*, 68b18, *sakum*, 94a24, 135b10; ap., 68a20, etc., *sakar*, 85b19, b24, 133a23. Numerous occs. in the preposition *fyrir sacar*. *Soc* also shows *i*-declension forms; see p. 75 and Prepositions. There are seventy-three plurals in *-ar* and sixteen in *-ir*. Cf. *sakaraberi*, *sacarvorn*.

Cpds: **storsoc**, great guilt or wrong, gp., 137a20; **svicræðasoc**, accusation of treachery, 145b5 and 14.

**vel**, trick, wile. Ap. *velar*, 71a2. See *I*-Stems.

**vorr**, lip. Np. def. *varrarnar*, 111a14; dp. *vorrur*, 47a6; ap., 8a27; gp. def. *varranna*, 111b19.

**væiðr**, hunting. Ap., 126b9. Cf. *væiðeskapr*.

Stems in *-á (ǿ)*:

**bro**, brow. Ap. *brar*, 8b24.

**forsia**, foresight, provision, care, oversight, authority. Ns., 46a8, *forsio*, 84b25; as. *forsio*, 46a17, 91a27; ds. *forsia*, 93b20.<sup>75</sup>

**iansla**, iron bar. Ap., 129a13.

**ra**, pole, log. Dp. *rdóm*, 8b29.

**sia**. See *forsia*.

The third group, to which some nouns already listed in the first commonly belonged in ON, preserves the characteristic ds. ending *u (o)* only to a limited extent, namely in the nouns *drotning*, *fylking*, and *paradis*. The occs. are:

**aucning**, increase. Gs., 10a11: *aucnig* (mark of abbreviation overlooked).

**birting**, illumination, brightness. 5a19, 7a27, 48b8. In all three cases: *birting loptz (lopz, in 5a19)*.

**drotning**, queen. 89a15; ds. *-o*, 75a11, *-i*, 89b29, *drotning*, 91a25.

**firiglœyming**, neglect. 123b29.

<sup>75</sup> *Forsia* varies in its form and inflection in ON. I shall cite the following examples: *forsiomaðr*, *Anecd.* ch. 13, (as an *ön*-stem); *kans heilagrar forsiar*, gs. *Barl.* 70, hence as *ö*-stem, var. reading here *forsia*; *forsiarlæysi*, but var. *forsialæysi*, *Barl.* 116; cf. also *forsiolær* and *forsialær*, *Barl.* 63, text of ed. and var. *forsialan*, 9 and 22; nom. *forsio*, p. 113, and dat. *forsio*, *Barl.*, 62. Cf. Icel. *forsjd*, "foresight," "caution," and *forsjdll*, adj., Norw. diall. *forsjaaleg*, "wary," "careful," Tel., and *forsjaal*, Hard. There are no forms in *o*.

**fordœming**, condemnation. Ds., 88b21.

**framflutning**, pleading, plea. Gs., 90b6.

**fylking**, battle array, troops. Ds. -u, 77a25, *fylkinghu*, 77a23.

**haðung**, disgrace. 31b14.

**hafgerðing**, a monster of the North Sea, "sea-hedge." Ap., 34b21.

See *FrOrdb.* and references there given, and *Aarb.* 1871, pp. 123-126.

**hugrænning**, thought. Dp. -om, 110b25, 123b28.

**kenning**, precept, teaching, doctrine. Gp., 71a18; ap., 125a5. Cf. *kennimaðr*.

**klyping**, pinching. Ns., 133b28.

**landzbygging**, development of the country. Gs., 84b26. See *lannd*.

**læcn'ng**, cure. Gs., 144a9.

**læring**, teaching. Dp. -om, 96a20.

**minning**, remembering, memory, mention. 32b5, 130a12.

Cpd: **aminning**, act of reminding, reminder, mention, ds. 68a14, gs., 42b14.

**misdœming**, error of judgment. As., 69b24

**misgerning**, misdeed. Gp., 138b21.

**mœðing**, trouble. 113a12.

**nœring**, sustenance. Gs., 10b7, *nœreng*, 10a3.

**paradis**, paradise. Gen. -ar, 97b7, 98a9; d.-o, 97b9 and 17, 102b2, 103b15. Cf., however, gen. *paradisus*, 115b1. See p. 102.

**ritning**, writing, document. Ns., 89a9; dp. -om, 130a10; ap., 2a9.

**ræfsing**, chastisement. Gs. 94b5; ds., 138a14; dp. -om, 138b30; everywhere -æ-, and -ing (17 occs.). See also *domr* and *maðr*.

**ræreng**, motion, stirring. 7b16.

**samtænging**, covenant. Ns., 10b11.

**skilning**, understanding, discernment. 9a27, 84b25, etc.; as., 11a8; ap., 84b9, *skilneng*, 9a8.

Cpd: **skilningaranndi**, spirit of understanding, 11a20, 125a24.

**skygnig** for **skygning**, act of spying about one. Gs., 8b25. Sole occurrence. *En at komannda morni þa tæcr landnyrdingr at opna samanlagðar brar oc rænner til synar biugt sialldr sva sëm til skygnigar um uprisutima* ("as if to see if it were rising time"). Norw. dial. *sbyggning*, Sæt., (Ross): *stande til sbyggningis*, "act of standing looking to see how something is progressing, or if help is needed."

**skyring**, interpretation. Ds., 110a19. an., 111b6.

**spurning**, questioning, question. Gs., 109a26, dp. -um, 94a4. Nine occs. in -ing.

**svivirðing**, disgrace. 57b5, gs., 84b23. Cf. *svivirðingarnafn*, name to shame one, name or title that is a disgrace to one, 55a21.

**sætning**, rule, regulation. As., 56b30, etc.

**tæyging**, act of showing, evidence. Gs., 77a14: *en ækki hælpu sialfr værcum þinum at ægi bærizt sva til at æpter liðnar stunder værðe a þec*

*hafnda leitat æpter frafall þeirra manna er mikell þotte skaðe at væra oc se a þer hafnt sacar til tæygingar sialfs þins orða* (and revenge be gotten against you by the evidence of your own words). Lex. translate ON *teyging*, "Strækken" ("stretching") only, which will not do for our passage. In the *Völundarkviða*, 18, 1, *teygjask* means "are seen," "come to view," in the expression *tenn honom teygjask*. This and dialectal material make it evident that we have here to do with a different word from the usual *teygja*, "to stretch." Of the existence of such a verb *teygja*, "to show," the form *tæyging* in KS is also evidence.

**þrænning**, trinity. 123b1.

**þyðing**, interpretation. 109a27.

**uplocning**, opening up, delivery. 132a24.

**æining**, unity. 123b1.

**ældding**, lightning. Dp. -um, 47a13.

#### b. *Jō*-Stems

Only the following seven stems belong here:

**fit**, web, web-foot (of water fowl). Ds., 34a28; np., *fitiar*, 37a2. See *fugl*.

**mær**, maiden. Ns., 106a6, *mær*, 106a5; gs. *mæyiar*, 124a10; as. *mæy*, 89b13; np. *mæyiar*, 98a1.

Cpd: **femær**, bondswoman, ns., 91a9.

**nauðsyn**, need, necessity. The forms of the paradigm are:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	nauðsyn	nauðsyniar
Gen.	nauðsyniar	nauðsynia
Dat.	nauðsyn	nauðsynium
Acc.	nauðsyn	(nauðsyniar).

Occurrences: 3b17, 66a29, 66b1, 73a9, 84a9 (dp.-ium), 90b7; 92b26, 93b1-2 (np.), etc., and cpd: *nauðsyniamal*. Cf. Norw. dial. *naudsyn*, "necessity," Nhl., Shl., Ryf., Jæd., and *naudsyn*, "need," "distress," Hall. (Aasen).

Cpds: **lannznauðsyniar**, pl., country's needs. 97a9. Only here; **skyll-darnauðsyn**, pl., important or necessary duties, dp. -ium, 130a20.

**nyt**, use, usefulness, benefit. As., 93b23; gs. *nytia*, 7a17, 91a; dp. *nytiium*, 93b30; ap. *nytia*, 141b26.

**skyn**, insight. As., 50b2. Cf. *skynsæmð*.

**ægg**, edge. Dp. *æggium*, 108b1, 132a16.

**æy**, island. 28a14, *ey*, 28a28; gs. def. *eyiarinnar*, 28b30; ds. *æy*, 28a16, 28b3 and 4; np. *æyiar*, 28b17. Cf. *æylannd* and *biarceyarrettr*. In the latter the ending -iar has been changed to -ar in the Ms. by erasure. See *rettr*.

As far as our occs. go, there are no inflexional differences in the ds. of *jō*-stems; the ds. *æyiu* does not appear, nor the ds. of *egg* and *mær*.

c. *Ið*-Stems

The following seven feminines with long radical syllable belong here:

*byrðr*, burden. As., *byrðe*, 127a13.

*fæstr*, rope. Np. *festar*, 81b1, def., 81b7.

*flæðr*, flood-tide. Ap. *flæðar*, 10b26. Icel. *flæður*.

*hæðr*, pl. only, shoulders. Acc., 33b22; dp. -um, 83b5.

*margygr*, sea troll. As., -i, 34a20.

*æðr*, or *æð*, artery, water-course. Dp. -um, 128b9. Icel. *æð*. Aasen gives the forms *aadr* and *æde*, Sdm., to which Ross supplies *æd* and *æ*, Voss., pl. *æa*.<sup>76</sup>

*æx*, axe. Ds. -i, 142b14. Underlined in the codex.

Cpd: *skeggæx*, broadaxe. Np. -ar, 77b14. See *AW*, 108-110, and *KM*, 215, note 1. The word is also found in *Eg.*, 40. In *KS* the axes in question are described as having long handles (*langskeptar*). The lower part of the blade had a squarish extension, hence the term *skegg*. Cf. Norw. dial. *lykelskjegg*, "the comb of a key." Aasen, *lyklaskjegg*, Vidsteen, *skjeggsox*<sup>77</sup>; also *skjegg* on axes (Ross).

d. *Wð*-Stems

Of the very limited number of *wð*-stems in ON the following two occur in *KS*:

*agnor*, barb. Ns., 91a9. Only here (?). Norw. dial. *agnor*, "Angelhage; mest brugelig nord og øst i Landet; sedvanlig udtalt Agnaar" (Aasen).

*dogg*, dew. See *I*-Stems.

III. *I*-STEMS

Masculines and feminines. A very considerable number of nouns of both genders belong here in ON. The feminines have, however, taken over the *ð*-stem forms in the singular, while many of the masculines have *a*-stem gs. or ds., or both.

*Masculines*

These are, in the main, stems with a short root syllable in ON and the gs. is regularly -ar. However, a number take -s, in the gs., mainly nouns with a long root syllable. The ds. -i is not confined to long stems. Further it may be noted that in ON nouns of the type *belgr*, *drykk*, normally have *j* before the endings of the gs. -ar, and before the gp., and dp. endings.

The following fifty-three masculines with *i*-stem forms and twenty-eight compounds of these appear in *KS*:

<sup>76</sup> As here so in ON in general *æðr* shows both *ið*-stem and *i*-stem forms. Thus in *Barl.*, 72, *sumar æðer*, but texts B, f.: *aðar*, dat. *æð*, 84, but *æði*, 165. Is, however, an *ið*-stem.

<sup>77</sup> *skegg* belongs with a group of words discussed by Hj. Lindroth in the article "Etymologien på ordet *skägg*," in *Anf*, XX, pp. 367-72.

**adryck**, breakers. Pl. -er, 47b5.

**auðr**, property, riches. 85a12; gs. -ar, 8a18, 129a18; as., 67a3.

**axull**, axle. Ns., 81a23; np. *axler*, 68b28. Cf. *oxultre*.

**bulr**, trunk of a tree. Ns., 110a2. The word appears in the nom. sg. def., *bulit* (!), in line 5 of the same column: *þar væx syst upp æinn bulr af rotonum oc kvislaz siðan mæðr marghum greinum oc limum oc hværn er þu læcr liminn oc rannzakar mæð rettri athygli þa er þat iafnan fast við bulit þannerupp er vaxinn firi andværðu af rotonum oc niota allir limirnir oc kvistirnir þeirra rotanna er sialft treet stænnðr á. The t ending in *bulit*, a repetition of the t of *þat* and *fast*. Observe the demonstrative *þann* immediately following.*

**burðr**, birth; burden, unborn offspring. Ds., 92b29; 10a21: *þau ganga mæð getnum burðe mæðan vætr er kalldaztr til þess at þau mege sinn getnað fram leiða at . . . varmo sumre*.<sup>78</sup>

Cpds: **atburðr**, event, happening, ds., 45b16; np. -er, 67a28; dp. -um, 65b13, ap. -e, 90b10; **vapnaburðr**, attack with weapons, bearing weapons upon, ds., 78b11; **vitnisburðr**, testimony, gs., 30b15, 106b5; ds., 140b30.

**bær**, town. Gs. *bæar*, 3b25. See A-Stems.

**byrr**, favorable wind. Gs., *byriar*, 46a5. See *byrleiðe*, n.

**drycc**, drink, drinking. Gs. -iar, 74b28, *dryckiar*, 53a12, 74b28, 83b11, ds., *drycc*, 3b20; as., *dryc*, 74b27; gp. *dryckia*, 74b22. See *adryck*.

**dyn**, din, noise. Ns. *dyn*, 28a7.

**fiandskapr**, hostility. 145b22. -*skiapr*, 145a10 (dittograph of *ia*). The ending -*skapr* appears further in the following words: *hiuskapr*, *hofðingiaskapr*, *kvæðskapr*, *riddarskapr*, *þorparaskapr*, *vapnaskapr*.

**friðr**, peace. 71b14; ds. -e, 9a9. Cf. *friðargerð*.

Cpd: **ufriðr**, disturbance, strife, 71a24; --e, 71a13, ns. *ofriðr*, 70b12, gs. *ofriðar*, 68a27. Cf. *ufriðarkorn*.

**funndr**, meeting, gathering, contact, juncture. As., 31b17, 32a28, ds. -e, 48b20.

Cpds: **fiolðafunndr**, large gathering or meeting, 84a23; **mannafunndr**, meeting of people, 32a19; **samfunndr**, concourse, intercourse, 57a2.

**gelt**, madman, wild man. OIr. *geilt*, pl. *gealta*. Np: *um menn þa er gelt ero kallaðer* (for *gelter ero kallaðer*), 32a10. The occurrence in 32a11, *værða at giellte*, seems to preserve the OIr. plural form.

**gestr**, a retainer of inferior rank. Np. -er, 5305, -ir, 52b27 and 30; dp. -um, 52b29.

**glyggr**, opening. Ap. *glyggi*, 82a15.

**glæpr**, misdeed, sin. Ds. *glæp*, 114a12; gs. *glæps*, 114a20, 115a17; np. -ir, 124a11; ap. -i, 114b11, 116b18; dp. -um, 115a24, 124a6, 123b23.

<sup>78</sup> "They carry their 'begotten burden' while the winter is coldest until they may bring forth the young when the warm summer is at hand." So the Norw. dial. *burd*, "Foster, især Kalv" (Aasen, under *burd*, 3), where it is also noted that *burd* is rarely used with regard to animals in the meaning of "birth," as *kalvsburd*. So above *getnum burð*, "the unborn offspring."

Cpd. *hovuðglæpr*, arch sin. np. -er, 67b14. See *hafuð*.

*gnottr*, abundance, mass. Ns., 40a3, *gnotr*, 35a17.<sup>79</sup> Cf. *gnott*, f., p. 97.

*grunn*, shallow place in water, shallows. Gp. *grunna*, 46a15.

*grunr*, suspicion. As. *grun*, 68a24; np. -ir, 68a24.

*gustr*, a sudden wind, gust of wind. Ds., 43b24. Norw. d. *gust*, Tel., Sæt., Gbr. (Ross) *gusten*, adj., "blustry," Aurland, Sogn.

*haghr*, general bearing, practice, ways. Ds., 73a12. The meaning is somewhat unusual. In ON regularly: situation, condition or means, advantage, and mdn. Icel. *hagur*, state, condition, profit, and in pl., affairs. Cf. Norw. dial. *hag*, "Skik; ofte omtrent = Lag, men mere bevidst og erhvervet end medfødt," Tel., Sogn (Aurl), Shl. (Ross); also *haga seg*, skikke sig, V. Tel. Cf. *hagleic*, *hagspæki*.

*hirmr*, probably for *irm*, fragrance, odour. Ds. *hirm*, 129a29. Cf. *mæð irmandun grasum*, 129b13. Lex. do not record the noun but give *irma* = *ilma* (with reference to *KS*, 129b13) and the noun *ilmr*. *FrOrdb.* cites the variant *hilmr* with occs. in OIcel. texts. The modern Icel. verb is *ilma*, and the noun is *ilmur*. Norw. diall. do not exhibit either the form with *l* or that with *r*, but words with *im*, which may be a contamination of *im* (ON *im*, n.), and *ilmr* (semantic influence of *ilmr*). The two occs. in *KS* seem to show the existence of a form with *rm*, and the instances in *GnOrdb.* show the presence of a form *hilmr* by the side of *ilmr*. While in *KS*, 129a29, the *h* of *hirm* may be an error (the preceding and the following word begin with *h*), it need not be so regarded.<sup>80</sup>

*hiuskapr*, union (in marriage).<sup>81</sup> Ds., 69a10. Cf. *hiuskaparsamband*.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Only the fem. recorded in the Lex.

<sup>80</sup> Forms in *ilmr*, *ilma*, vb., *Homil.*, *Str.*, *Barl.*, *Heilag.*, *Post.*, etc., those with initial *h*, *hilmr*, *hilma*, etc., especially *Homil.*, and *Elucid.* In *Anecd.* the form is regularly *ylma*, vb. chapter 1, and *ylm*, n., chapter 2: *Nasar þeska nu daun en eigi ylm eðr sölleiks*.

<sup>81</sup> The first element is variously *hiún*, *hión*, and *hiú* in ON. In cpds. with -*skapr* the form seems most often to be *hiúnskapr*, of which the gen. ends in -s; so also often in cpds. of *hiúnskaps*- as: *hiúnskapsband*, *hiúnskapsrekkia*, *hiúnskapsslit*. On the other hand there appear many cpds. of *hiúskapr* and of these the gs. is generally in -ar; as *hiúskaparband*, *hiúskaparfar*, *hiúskaparhald*, *hiúskaparmal*, *hiúskaparmenn*, *hiúskaparráð*, *hiúskaparrekkia*, *hiúskaparsamband*, *hiúskaparsamlag* (*hiúnskaps*-, however, in three cpds). Evidently we have to do here with a dialectal or regional difference in usage. The texts that exhibit the form *hiúskapr*, *hiúskapar* (and so cpds.) are mainly: *Barl.*, *Heilagr.*, *Mar.*, *Homil.*, *Stjórn*, besides *KS*. On the other hand the form *hiúnskapr*, *hiúnskaps* (and so in cpds) are the exclusive ones in *Eids.*, *Stat.*, and *Frost*. The *Barl. saga* employs forms with *hiúnskaps*- by the side of those in *hiúskapar*-, while *Str.* shows the type *hiúskapr*. gen. *hiúnskaps*. The facts here given are wholly on the basis of the citations in *FrOrdb.*, but they correspond also to my own citations gathered in connection with a partial examination of the texts. The mod. Icel forms are *hión*, "married couple," *hiúskapur*, gen. -ar, "matrimony," *hiúskaparsamband*, etc., and the simplex *hiú*, "servant," "domestic." In Norw. diall. only *hjun* and *hjon* remain, *jun*, Helg. (but rare), *kjun*, Shl., *sjon*, Gbr. (rare), Aasen, and *hjonfolk*, "married couple," used in Østerdalen (Tønset), *sjoonfolk*, NGBr., and the vb. *hjona seg*; also *hjonsleg*; *hjonslik*, *juunsele*, adj. (Ross).

<sup>82</sup> *Hiúskaparsamband* is cited in *FrOrdb.*, from *Mar.*, 1134, 26. The word also appears in

**hofðingiaskapr**, chieftainship. Gs. -s, 124b13. Cf. *riddarskapr*, *þorparaskapr*.

**hofuðvorðr**, main guard, guard or watch near the king's headquarters. 53a10.

**hugr**, thought, inclination, mind, courage. Ns., 49b3, gs. *hugar*, 416b8, 116b15, ds. *hug*, 33a17, etc., *hugh*, 86b5 and 7. Cf. *hugarlunnd*, *hugþocci*, *athugi*, *athygli*.

**hulfr**, holly. 27a26. Only occ. *FrOrdb.* refers to an occ. in R. Claussøn (*Samlede Skrifter*, G. Storm, 1881, p. 393).

**iorsalir**, pl., Jerusalem. G., 50b14 and 16. Cf. *iorsalaborg*.<sup>83</sup>

**kvæðskapr**, poetry, art of poetry. Ns., 129b2.

**kylr**, cold. Ns. def., 40b13. Norw. dial. *kyl*, "cold," "frost," Tel., Sæt., V. Agder, Rbg., Dal. (Ross), and *kyla*, "to cool," Sogn.

**licamr**, body. 29a10; ds. -i, 104a26, *licam*, 104a23, 106b6; gs., 56a5; dp. *likamum*, 32a22; ap. -i, 3324.

**lutr**, part, share, thing, matter. Gs. -ar, 70a10; ds. *lut*, np. -er, 6a6, 10b30, 10b17; ap. -e, 7b3, 29a23, -i, 1b21, 6a3, 7a3; dp. -um, 1a11, 83a26: *bæðe at lit oc aðrum lutum*, "both as to color and in other respects." Cf. *luttakare*.

Cpd: **fiarlutr**, share of property, ds., 52a17, ap., 52b30.

**lyðr**, people. Ns., 37b6, 149a16.

**læggr**, leg. Dp. *læggium*, 75b20, 128b22.

**matr**, food. 106b2; gs. -ar, 53a12, 9b10; ds. *mat*, 6a27. Cf. *matu-naufr*, *matvist*.

**mun**, difference, amount, moment, advantage. Ns., 67a21 and 24, 55a12; ds., 82b10: *goðum mun hæri en*. . .

**palstafr**, palstave, celt. Ap. -stavi, 77b2; ds. -i, 77b3; np. *palstavir*, 80a26.<sup>84</sup>

**Pharao**, Pharaoh. Nom. 115b15; acc. *pharao*, 116b27, dat. *farao*, 115b23.

**rettr**, right, law. 53b25; 101a8; gs., 107b24. Cf. *loghretta*.

Cpd: **biarcreyarrettr**, the Bjarkey Law, 4a17.

**reycr**, smoke. 42a7; 43a3; ds. *reyc*, 42a9, 43a1, *reyki*, 43b9. See *AnG*, I, §379, note 2.

*Sijörn*, p. 573. Cf. the following passage in *Ridd.*, p. 35: *En þat berr ongum manni at trúa, at hann mundi kyssa hana nema hann gerði meira, þvíat koss lokkar konu til hiðskapar. FrOrdb.*, only "Ægteskab."

<sup>83</sup> *KS*, always *iorsalir* and *iorsalaborg*. *Sijörn*, however, regularly *Hierusalem*, with numerous occs., pp. 513, 527, etc., but now and then *Jorsalaborg*. The *Tomas saga* always *Jorsalir*, and *Jorsalaborg*, as also *Heilagr.*, and in general one of these two forms. *Jorsalaborg* is prevailingly ONorw.

<sup>84</sup> *Stafr* appears both as an *a*-stem and an *i*-stem in ON. See *AnG*, I, §348, 4. and 377, 2 (not listed here, but see Index). *FrOrdb.* cites only the pl. -ir, -i, but *GnOrdb.*: "nom. pl. *stafir*, sjld. *stafar*; akk. pl. *stafi*, sjld. *stafa*." In Norw. diall. *stav* is today usually an *a*-stem. Icel., *stafur* is an *i*-stem, gen. -s, pl. -ir. Cf. *dalr* above.

**riddarskapr**, knighthood, chivalry. Gs., -s, 76b17.

**ryðr**, rust. 85a20. Icel. *ryð*, *n.*, do.

**ryggr**, back, ridge. Gs. *ryggjar*, 29a13.

**salr**. See *iorsalir*.

**sauðr**, sheep. 27b9; gp., 39b4; ap. *sauðæ*, 142b28.

**sigr**, victory. 103b20, 106a5, etc., *sighr*, 106a7; ds. *sigri*, 106a14; ap. *sigri*, 144b29. See *A-Stems*. Cf. *sighrari*, *sigrsæla*.

**staðr**, place, position, state, condition; city. 28a4, 30b26, 71a23, etc.; dp. *staðum*, 65b28 and 29, 111a30, *stoðum*, 9a16, 28a5, 111a30; ap. -e, 6b13 and 26, etc. Observe: *aðr en þat ríki komi apr i sama stað er fyrr var*, "before that kingdom returns to the condition it was in before." (Cf. Norw. *stand*, *tilstand*.)

Cpds: **bolstaðr**, dwellingstead, 40a8, etc.; **havuðstaðr**, capital, 132b8; **kaupstaðr**, commercial city, 73b30, dp. -*stoðum*, 6b25, -*stauðum*, 3a25, ap. -e, 6b27; **linndastaðr**, place for the belt, girdle, ds., 34a22. In the case of *kaupstauðum* there is a dot of erasure below the second *u*.

**strængr**, wire. 32b11, ds., 45a2.

**stulðr**, theft, thievish act. 99b22; np. -er, 136a23; dp. -um, 68a29; ap. -e, 83b25.

**styrkr**, strength, power. Gs. *styrkiar*, 81a15; as., 87a22.

**svæipr**, turn, a folding or buckling around. Ds., 79a6: *gyrða þær um sec tvífalldum svæip*, "gird or buckle it around twice," literally "with a double turn." A rare noun and possibly only here in this sense. Norw. dial. *sveip*, *f.*, "Slyngning," Hall. (Ross), *sveip*, *n.*, do. (Aasen). The concrete meaning "whip," "strap," also. Cf. *sviptingr*.

**sæckr**, sack. Ap. -i, 80b8.

**þeyr**, thaw. As. *þey*, 44a17.

**þorparaskapr**, coarse manners, unmannerly conduct. As., 56b6.

**þræcr**, power. Ns., 149a7.

**ual**, falcon. Ns., 39a10; pl. *valir*, 39a13.

**vapnaskapr**, training in arms, warfare. Gs., 76b17.

**vin**, friend. Ns., 92a17, 119a4; gs. *vinar*, 67a13; ds. *vin*, 135a26; np. *vinir*, 31a12, 68a9; ap. -i, 68a5. Cf. *vingjof*.

Cpd: **æincavin**, confidential friend, 88b5; **uvin**, enemy, 52b26, dp. *ovinum*, 52b29.

**væggr**, wall. Gs. *væggjar*, 118a29; np. -ir, 132b; ap. -i, 81b20.

Cpds: **hallarvæggr**, wall of the hall, as. def., 144b19; **steinvæggr**, stone wall, gs. -iar, 79b22; as., 79b25; ap. -i, 80b11; **kastalavæggr**, castle-



wall, np. *-ir*, 82a2. It is somewhat uncertain whether intended as a cpd., or not.<sup>85</sup>

*vægburðr*, impairment of honor. 159a5.

*væiðeskapr*, hunting and fishing. 42a2.

*ylr*, warmth, sultriness. As., 43a22 and 24; ds. *yl*, 43a17; gs. *yljar*, 8a15; np. *ylir*, 40a1.<sup>86</sup>

### Feminines

Most feminines in ON belong here. See further *AnG.* I, §380, and above p. 62. About thirty nouns take *-o* in the ds; see *Ö-Stems*, p. 58. Feminine *i*-stems in *KS* comprise the following 152 nouns and 72 compounds of these:

*afgerð*, misdeed. Ap. *-er*, 120a1, 125b4. Cf. *felaxgerð*, *friðargerð*, *raðagerð*, *sattargerð*, *smiorggerð*.

*aflan*, acquisition, gain, earnings. Ds. *aflan*, 47b28. Fritzner refers only to ONorw. texts; not in Mdn. Icel.

*akefð*, violence. Ds., 43b17, 85b30. The usual word is *akafi*, which does not, however, appear in *KS*.<sup>87</sup> Used of the severity of the weather in 47b1, but cf. *hvarivæggia um hvassleic væðra oc um akefð frostz oc snioa*, 43b19, "both with regard to the keenness of the wind and the severity of the frost and snow-storms there." Cf. *mikell gnottr isa oc frostz*, 40a3, "great mass of ice and frost."

*alin* or *oln*, ell. Gp. *alna*, 80a9; dp. *alnum*, 80b16 and 17. May be an *ō*-stem. See *FrOrdb.*, *öln*. Icel. *alin*, pl. *alnr* (Zoëga), and usually *aln*, *al*, pl. *alne*, in Norw. diall.

*ambott*, slave woman. 93a15; gs. *ambottar*, 124b10.

*anndlitzbiorg*, face-protection, visor, 79a25. Cf. *briostbiorg*, *knebiorg*. See *auglit*.

*ast*, love, fondness. Gs. *astar*, 125a27. Cf. *astarværk*, *astsæmð*.

*astsæmð*, loving mind, 52a26 and 28. Cf. *nytsæmð*, *skynsæmð*, and *astsæmðarrað*.

*astundan*, endeavor, striving, zeal. 68b28, 70b30. *þvi at hværvætna þærs er æitt folk er skipt i marga staðe með hofðingia astunndan enda værða þeir sunndpyckir þa* — (68), "for wherever a people is divided in many ways by the strivings (activities) of their chiefs, and these begin to quarrel, then . . . ;" *þar sæm fyrr var skipt rikino oc allu folkino unnder blannðaðan*

<sup>85</sup> *kastalavæggir*, 82a2, is possibly not a cpd. The writing *kastala væggir* might also indicate that, but not necessarily, for clear cpds. are often written with space between the two elements.

<sup>86</sup> *KS* also *ylsamligr.*, and *ylja*, "to warm up," *Barl.*, 133, 24. Icel. *ylur*, "warmth," "kind feeling," and vb. *ylja*. Common in Norw. diall. from Tel. to Trondhjem.

<sup>87</sup> Ice. *akafi*, less commonly *akefð*. Cf. *akefðarorð*, *Mar.* 529, 15, and *akefðarótti*, violent fear, *Heilagr.*, II, 104, 14, *Barl.*, 92 and 160, and the Norw. dial. *aakave*, "haste," Tel.

*siðafíolða oc astunndan margra hofðingia*—, “where, before, the kingdom and all the people were divided by a great number of different (mixed) customs and practices and the strivings of many chiefs.”

**atvist**, presence. 128 a18. Cf. *navist*, *viðrvist*, *matvist*, *samvist*.

**auðn**, waste land, desolate place, uninhabited region, state of desolation. Ds., 70b4; gs., 123b12; ap. *auðner*, 8b10. Cf. *auðna*.

Cpd: **lannzauðn**, desolation or depopulation of a country, 66a4.

**biorg**. See *briostbiorg*, *anndlitzbiorg*, *knebiorg*.

**borg**, castle. Ds., 32b4, dp., -um, 144b1; ap. -er, 10a28. Cf. *borgarmaðr*.

Cpds: **iorsalaborg**, city of Jerusalem, 152a2; **konongsborg**, king's castle, 30b22; **rumaborgh**, the city of Rome, 91b8; **skialldborgh**, rampart of shields, 77a18.

**brigð**, change, revision, reversal. 10b18, 101a28. Cf. *misbrigði*.

**briost**, chest, breast. 75b24.

**briostbiorg**, chest protection, 79a15. Cf. *briostafl*, *briostbiorg*.

**bygð**, settlement, village. Gs., 129a15.

Cpd. **heraðsbygð**, rural settlement, district, ap. -er, 129a19; **manna-  
byggð**, human settlement, 28a15.

**bæn**, prayer, plea, petition. Gs., 30a16, 62a25, ds., 62a27, dp. -um, 3b3, 62b14. Cf. *bænahalld*, *bænarorð*.

Cpd: **bolbæn**, imprecation, dp. -um, 83b26. Only here.

**dirfð**, courage, daring, boldness. 88a26 and b13; 2b5, 95a9; gs., 90a23.

**dogg**, dew. Gs. *doggar*, 123b16; ap. *dogger*, 8a24, *dagger*, 128b30. See *Wð-stems*.

**convænt**, society or community of monks. Ns., 28b1: *en i því vatni liggir ey ein litill oc ero þar i reinlifs menn þa er calla ma hvert er vil kanonca eða eremita oc ero þeir mæð sva myclum fíolða at þar er full convænt af*.<sup>88</sup> Two references to occ. in *Heilag.*, II, in *FrOrdb*.

**dæilld**, quarrel. 9b21.

**fatæct**, poverty. Gs., 51b14.

**felaxgerð**, partnership, contract. 6b23; ap. -er, 129a19. Cf. *felax-  
maðr*.

**fiarvist**, living far off. 39a29.

**flaug**, flight, flying. 32a26, 81b16 (of burned clay being hurled through the air).<sup>89</sup>

**flærð**, deceit. As., 102614, dp. -um. 61a23; ap., 72613. Cf. *flærðguð*.

**for**. See *ufor*.

**forn**, offering. Ap. 159b12 and 14.

<sup>88</sup> “And in that lake there is an island where live men of pure lives called canons or hermits, as one chooses; and there are such large numbers of them as to make an entire community (society).” Later the word *konvent* is used of the college of monks, as *NgL.*, V. ON *konventa*, *FrOrdb*.

<sup>89</sup> See *askaut*.

**framkæmð**, fulfilment. 143a4 and 8. 124a26. Form recorded in *GnOrdb.*, but not in *FrOrdb.* Usually *framkvæmd*, but *framkæmd*, *Barl.*, pp. 1, and 94, 5.<sup>90</sup>

**friðargerð**, peacemaking. 9a1b, 46b30. See *afgerð*.

**frægð**, praise, fame. 37b20. Gs. -ar, 70a4.

**fylgð**, service of a king, company, retinue. 71b27, 74a3, *fylgh*, 75a28.

**fyrnð**, antiquity. 101b7.

**fægrð**, beauty. 10a2, 102b10 and 12; ap. -er, 47a8; *fægrð*, ns., 8a29.

**færð**, journey, 32b30. Gp., 51a22; dp. -um, 95a14. Cf. *vigafærðe*.

Cpds: **atfærð**, actions, behavior. 32b18; 48a16; ap., 49a13; gs., 56a3. The other meanings in ON are not evidenced; in *FrOrdb* they are all but one referred to *OIcel. texts*. The modn. Icel. word is *atferli*. Norw. dial. *aatsfærd*, *atsfærd*, "behavior"; **brottfærð**, exile, carrying off, Gs., 68a14; **kaupfærð**, trading voyage, dp. -um, 6b15, 7a8; ap. -er, 6b13. Cf. *kaupfor*; **mæðfærð**, conduct, treatment, 88a11; gs., 56a23 and 27, np. -er, 65a14; ap. -er, 56b1.

**gerð**. See *afgerð*.

**girnð**, desire, greed, cupidity, passion. 2b4, 88a17, *girnd*, 88a19, 127a9; dp. *girndum*, 68b30. Cf. *fegirni*, *ægingirni*.

Cpds: **agirnð**, greed for, selfish desire, 68a27, 69b12, 70a11, 151a20, *agirn*, 69b30, gs. *agirndar*, 136b5, ds. *agirnd*, 70a4, as. *agirnd*, 32a3; **iamgirnd**, justice, equity, gs., 131a6; **kviðargirnd**, gluttony, 124a29; **yfirgirnd**, lust for power, ambition, 87b20, 104a7, *ivirgirnd*, gs., 104b11, ds. *ivirgirnd*, 160b16.

**gíof**, gift. 36a20, 159a25, etc.; gs., 159a23, *giavar*, 159a22; dp. *gíofum*, 11a22, *gíafum*, 97b15, 130b14, 159a18; ap. -ir, 87b13, 139a27, 159a26. See *Ö-Stems*

Cpds: **hafuðgíof**, great gift (of mind). Pl. -ir, 124b5, 151a12, 16, and 22, -er, 8a16; dp. -*gíafum*, 46b29; **vingíof**, friendly gift, ap. -*giæfer*, 8a16, -*gíafum*, 46b29.

**giorð**, strap. Dp. -um, 78b5.

Cpd: **bríostgiorð**, saddle-strap, 78b7. See *bríost*.

**glatan**, ruin, destruction. Gs., 134a16, 135b27. Icel. *glatan*. Norw. dial. *glata*, "to ruin," "lose by carelessness," many (diall.) examples, especially from Eastern Norway (Gbr., Trond.); in Tel. generally in the sense of "reduce."

**gnott**, abundance, mass. Ns., 44b28, 110b28. Cf. *gnott*, p. 72. Icel. *gnott*, ds. Variant reading: *gnogt*, *Ksp.*, p. 10, note 16. In 44b28 used of the time the sun is in the heavens, duration of the "sun's travel"; *Ðat sām fyrr hofum vit um rætt at um vætrum er her solargangr litill en sva mikel gnott um sumarit at naliga er allt sām æinn dagr sæ.*"

**grein**, branch (of a tree), branch or department of study, variety,

<sup>90</sup> Under *framkvæmd* Fritzner cites *Alex.*, 7, 18, where the form is *framkvæmd*, and 16, 13, where it is *framkvemd*.

difference, distinction, degree, grade, import. 50a17 and b10, 83a23; np. -ir, 57b11; dp. -um, 85a8, 89a1 (*grein tungna þeirra*, "the difference in their languages"), *græin*, 129a13.<sup>91</sup>

Cpd: *manvitzgrein*, bough of wisdom, dp. -um, 85b12.

*grof*, grave, trench. 119a7 and 19. Regularly an *ō*-stem in ON.<sup>92</sup>

Cpd: *tæligrof*, trench, pitfall. Np. -ir, 28a14, *gravir*, 82a9 and 24. Only here. The description of the trench is: *Taligravir ero oc goð vapn er gorvar ero umhverfis kastala oc þars bær er þær ero gorvar diupari oc miori oc meiri fjölde er at þar sœm menn draga a hiolum noccerar velir til kastala. Sva skolo tæligrafir allar gorvar vœra at þær skolo hava margha glyggi oc sma oc alla scaraða þa sva at æighi mæghi a iorðu sia en siðan skulu þær fylldar vœra mæðr þeim viði er ælðfimastr er annattvæggia mæð tyrvi eða aðrum ælðfimur viði. En þa er menn bæriast um nœtr til kastala annattvæggia or trekastalum eða or stæghum eða æinni hværri þeirri list er a hiolum stœnnðr þa skal stœla mannnum or kastalanum at þeir mætti ælði komit i taligravir.*<sup>93</sup> Variant reading *tæligrafir*, which also occurs elsewhere in ON. The meaning is literally: "snare-trench," "ensnaring trench."

*gœymð*, attention. Ap. -er, 112a12.<sup>94</sup>

*hafnan*, renunciation. 125a7.

*heipt*, enmity, hatred. 103b28, 104b3.

*hirð*, king's (body) guard. Gs., 2b27, 50b5; ds., 50b10, 127a21; dp. -um, 51a3, 52a15. Cf. *hirðmaðr*, *hirðsiðr*.

*hialp*, help. 109b27; gs. 102a24. Cf. *hialpsmaðr*.

*hofu*, harbor. Ds., 46a5; gs., 46a3; np. -er, 9a16, 46a15.

Cpds: *athofn*, undertaking, activity, 67a16; ap. *athafnir*, 68a14; *yfirhofn*, cloak, mantle, 58b22, 61a4.

*holl*, hall. Ns. def., 31a22; np. -ir, 31a25, -er, 160a16. Cf. *hallarvæggr*.

*huð*, skin. 34a7.

Cpd: *sælahuð*, seal's skin, ap. -er, 38a12.

*huggan*, comfort, joy. 2a16, 30a18, gs., 30a23.

*hvilld*, rest. 129a20; *hvild*, 8b29. Cf. *hvilldarstund*.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *kvisl*.

<sup>92</sup> The word is an *i*-stem in Icel.: *grof*, *grafir*; in Norw. diall. probably always an *i*-stem.

<sup>93</sup> "Concealed trenches dug around the castle are also a good protection; and the deeper and narrower they are the better it is, and (also) the greater the number (the better it is) when engines are being pushed toward the walls. All concealed trenches should be made with a number of small openings and equipped with shutters so that they may not be seen from the ground. Thereupon the trenches should be filled with wood of some very inflammable sort, either resinous fir or other inflammable wood. And if a castle is being stormed at night either from the wooden castles or by means of scaling ladders or some engine on wheels, then they are to steal out of the castles and set fire to the trenches." For *tæligrof* otherwise *tæligræv*; so var. *Ksp.*, p. 90, note 8.

<sup>94</sup> As here so commonly in the pl., as often as in the sg.

**hæð**, height; loud voice. 33b20, 74a13, *heð*, 41b26; dp. -um, 149a3. Obs: *tala við þa i hæð eða i læynnd*, "speak with them aloud or in secret," where *tala i hæð* is used for *tala hátt*. Cf. Norw. dial. *tala i høgð*, and *snakka i høgð* (Aasen).

**hæfnd**, revenge. 4b28, *hæfnð*, 139a22; np. -er, 85b21; ap. -er, 68b15, -ir, 108a4.

**iðn**, occupation. 3a3.

**iðran**, remorse, repentance. 114a24, 101a15.

**iðrott**, skill, exploit, feat, craft, trade, business, occupation. Np. 2b20, 2b16; dp. -um, 2b20, 53a29, *iðrotum*, 76b16.<sup>95</sup>

**iartegn**, sign, proof. Gp., 148a23; dp. -um, 29b; ap. -ir, 115b21.

**iorð**, earth, soil, a piece of land, field, farm-land. The forms are regularly:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	iorð	iarðer
Gen.	iarðar	iarða
Dat.	iorðu	
Acc.	iorð	iarðer

Occs: 7a3 and 8, 9b22, 29a13, 31a24 (ds. def), 42b3, 82a16, 94b14, 95a21, 98a19, 107b25, 109a13, 135b13. Ds. -u, has ca. a dozen examples. See *sol*. Cf. *iarðarboltr*, *iarðarduft*, *iarðardust*, *iarðfall*, *iarðriki*.

**knebiorg**, kneepiece. Ap. *knebiarger*, 79a10. Cf. *briostbiorg*. *anndlitzbiorg*.

**kvisl**, kin. Gp. 76a26: *milli fiarborinna kvisla*.

Cpd: **kynkvisl**, line of descendants, clan, family, branch, type, kind. Np., ap., *kynquisler*, 51b15, -*quislir*, 28a26, 31b24; -*kvislir*, 82b17, 108a6; dp. -*kvislum*, 67b20. Obs: *allar þær kynkvislir vapna*, "all those kinds of weapons," See *kynsloð*.

**kynsloð**, clan, branch of a family. Ap., 106a23. Cf. ON *sloð*, track, trail. See *kvisl*.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>95</sup> The numerous occs. are all written with -ð-. From *ið + þrótt*; *AnG*, I, 215, and 275, 3. The word exhibits a rather extensive meaning development in ONorw. usage; the modern meaning of *ídræt*, "sport" is a modern limitation, or rather *ídræt* is not the ON word *iðrótt*, *iþrótt*, but the ODan. *iþræt*, in this special meaning. The cpd. does not seem to be used in Norw. diall. today, but the simplex *trott*, ON *þrótt*, "strength," "endurance," "courage," is common, especially in Bergen Diocese, in the meanings: endurance, patience, the ability to stick steadily to a piece of work; also as vb. *trotta*, "to hold out," "be capable of," Ber., Tel., etc., and noun *trotte*, "strength," Tel., *traat*, do., Gbr., (Aasen), *trottast* (both vowels *o* and *e*), "to be capable of," Ryf. Cf. *iðn*, above, and ON *ið*, activity, deed, not common except in cpds.

<sup>96</sup> Of the various words so used *kynserð*, *kynserði*, *kynsloð*, and *kynkvisl*, the last is the regular ONorw. term. *Sloð*, ON. *sloð*, Icel. *sloð*, "track," "path," (*sloðir*, parts), is used in several Norw. diall., especially, however, Hall., and Gbr. (Aasen). But for the meaning of the word as second element in our cpd. cf. especially *sloð*, "row," "line," Ma., Gbr. (Ross). Ross gives *vegsloðe* and renders: "Spor efter noget som er slæbt eller draget afsted." I refer to

**lausn**, release, redemption, solution. Gs., 125a18; ap. *-ir*; 131b19.

Cpd: **orlausn**, solution, ap. *-ir*, 132a6, 135b8.

**leitan**. See *æpterleitan*.

**licn**, relief, help, comfort. Gs., 115b14, *liknar*, 100b5. Cf. *licnar-læysi*.

**lifð**, defence. Gs., 78a13 and 14. Norw. dial. *livd*, in the sense of "defense," in Shl., Sæt., Jæd., Ross. The term *lifð* is not used for the "weapon of defense" itself. This is called *lifðarvapn*, q. v. In *Ðiðrekss.* both *lifð* and *lifðarvapn* appear as concrete nouns. See *WTh*, p. 7.

**list**, trick, cunning, skill, device, contrivance. 69a5, 78b30, 82a22, 144b11. Obs: *or . . . æinni hverri þeirri list er a hiolum stænndr* (82), "one of those contrivances . . ."<sup>97</sup>

**lunnd**, wise, manner. 74a19, 78b26, 86b5. Cf. *lunndærni*.

Cpd: **hugarlunnd**, disposition, 69a2.

**lægð**, low place. Ap. *-er*, 123b4.

**læynn**, secret. 74a13. Cf. *læyndarmal*.

**matt**, might. 119b30, *mótt*, 130a28.

**matvist**, food. Dp. *-um*, 39a20. See *atvist*.

**miðlan**, sharing. 129a18: *miðlan mins auðar*, "to share my wealth."

**miskunn**, grace, mercy. 52b1; gs. *miscunnar*, 30a22, 62b4, *-kunnar*, 100b5.

**molld**, dirt, earth. 106b1.

**mork**. See *æyðimork*.

**nann**, vicinity, proximity. 43b28, 73b12. *nand*, 73a14.

**nauð**, distress, misery, oppression, bondage. 100b10; gs., 10a5 and 9; ap. *-er*, 108a9.

Cpds: **anauð**, enslavement, 90a7; **vetrarnauð**, "suffering in the cold of winter," 10a15: *stormsamlegar vetrarnauðar*. Cf. *vetrligrar nauðar*, gs., 10a8.

**navist**, vicinity, presence. 73a27; 4b19. Cf. *navistarmaðr*. See *atvist*.

**niðran**, lowering. 159a1.

**niosn**, watch, watchfulness. 58b6; ap. *-ir*, 52b25.

**nytsæmð**, usefulness, use, profit. 10b5, 37b4, 85b9.

**ogn**, fear. 96b4, *oghn*, 96b8. See *agi*.

**oln**, ell. See *alin*.

**onn**, care, faithfulness in a duty or task. Ds. *ðonn*, 108a22. The accent is to be noted. Not the word *onn*, "hard work," "care," "gain," which has corresponding diall. forms today in open *o*. A form with close *o* does not seem to be listed in Lex. Norw. dial. *on* (*ón*), "det at være

discussion of the various uses of this word by K. Maurer in article in *AfnF*, V, pp. 98-108, further Björn M. Olson, *AfnF*, VI, pp. 105-108.

<sup>97</sup> The concrete meaning of *list* as here (contrivance, engine) is apparently only ONorw. and rare. Today, evidently always an abstract (Icel. *list*, "art," "skill," "dexterity," Norw. *list*, "slyness," "trick," "scheme").

stærkt optagen af en Interesse eller et Arbeide." Ross. The word *onn* is used in the following passage: *þu skaltt oc skyldt at vaita bornum ycrum alla þionosto mæð starfi oc sorghsamligri onn i uppfæði þeirra*, "it shall also be thy duty to give thy children every service in toil and troublesome care while bringing them up." *KM*, 270. Possibly same as *on*, "Lyst, Behag," (Aasen). Origin uncertain. See especially Ross under *on*, and *Nyn EtOrdb.* under *on*, and *ana*.

**onnd**, sigh. *Ds.* -u, 47a4.

**ovund**, envy, ill-will, hatred. 68a18, 86b22, *ofund*, 104b3, *ofunnd*, 104a5, *avvnd*, 144b6, etc. Cf. *avvndarværk*, *avundarmaðr*.

**oxl**, shoulder. *Ap.* *axler*, 33b25; *dp.* *oxlum*, 33b28.

**pasker**, pl., Easter. 53a13.

**pinsel**, pain, torture. 133b27, 138b10; *ap.* -er, 28b25.

**raðagerð**, taking counsel, counsel. 99b2, 107a8; *dp.* -um, 67a7.

**ras**, race, swift forward movement; progress, course. 7b25, 42a28), 45a1, 81b7; *gs.* 44b24; *pl.* -er, 7b14. Cf. *rasarskeið*, *rasari*. The meaning of "swift forward movement" only at 81b in reference to the shooting forward of the catapult. See *scotvagn*. In the other cases in reference to the progress of the sun, i.e., the forward movement of the sun, not the way or path itself, for which *vægr* is used, as 44b30: *Nu skalttu a því marca at vægr solarinnar er æinkum bræiðr oc er æigi ras hennar sva mio eða bein sëm hon rænni iafnan a æinum stræng*. Also 7b: *en sva bær ras hennar til at hon firrizt þa staðe stunnðum er hon nalgæzt stunnðum*, but: *rænnr upp sol . . . oc gengr siðan æpter skipaðum væg*, 9a. So 42a, as also 44b: *þvi at sva æigu þeir norðr at lita til miðs dags oc allrar solar rasar sëm ver æigum suðr at lita er fyrer norðan buum solina*. "For they have to look north to see the midday and the whole course of the sun (i.e., see the sun all day), just as we who live north of the sun must look south."<sup>88</sup> See also *gængr* and *rænnzla*.

*Cpd.* **mæginras**, main course, *gs.*, 40b4.

**raun**, test, trial, proof, experience, example. *Gs.*, 28b24, 33b25.

**raust**, voice. *Ds.*, 129a26.

**rið**, while. *As.*, 3b22, 43b20 (*lilla rið*), 131a14 (*langa rið*); *ds.* a *litilli rið*, 47b28. *Rið* is used only in these expressions and *noccora rið*, "a while," 3b23.

**rodd**, speech, expression. *Gs.* *raddar*, 129b31. *Icel.* *rödd*, *gs.* *raddar*, *pl.* *raddir*, "voice." *Norw. dial.* *rodd*, *f.*, "Sladdersøster," *Tel.*, *vb.* *rodde*, and *rodd* and *radd*, "Sladder" (Ross), *rodde*, "Fortælling," *Rbg.*, *Tel.*, (Aasen).

**sað**, bran. *Ap.* -er, 65b8. See *Ö-Stems*.

<sup>88</sup> The corresponding *raas* is widely used in *Norw. diall.* today with interesting meaning development. In the above sense in North Bergenhus (Aasen), other uses elsewhere, especially "road," "channel."

**sal**, soul. Ds. *sal*, 86b1. Norw. dial. *saal*, Tel. (Aasen). See *sala*.  
**samkund** or *samkunda*, gathering. Dp. *-um*, 72b22. Usual form in ON is *samkunda*, but *samkund* in several ONorw. texts cited in *FrOrdb*.

**samvist**, association, intercourse. Dp. *-um*, 56a8, 64a22. I quote the former: *þeir ero oc iamnan mæð konungi at ali oc at dryckio a malstæfnum oc allum goðum samvistum*, ". . . in all good and fitting intercourse." See *atvisti*.

**sion**, vision, sight, eyes. Ap. *-er*, 8b28. See *syn*.

Cpd: **asion**, countenance, 104a13; **ifirsion**, overseeing, directing, management, *gs.*, 72b30.

**skal**, scale. As., 132a1 and 2; ap. *-ir*, 131b28; dp. *def.*, 131b30.

**skemð**, disgrace, disgraceful conduct. *Gs.*, 56a25, 56b10. In 56a contrasted with *goð mæðfærð*: *at þeir kunni a því goða skilning hværir luter ælskannða ero firi sæmðar sacar oc goðrar mæðfærðar eða hværir luter hatannðe ero firi usæmðar sacar eða skemðar*.<sup>99</sup> Icel. *skemd*, "damage," "injury." Norw. diall. *skjemd*, "insult," "disgrace," Nhl., as: *Hæmd ette Skjemd*. See *skom*.

**skemtan**, amusement. *Ns.*, 51b26; *gs.*, 33a9. Cf. *skemtanarganga*.

**skipan**, order, sequence, arrangement, fixed place, grouping, disposition, plan, regulation. 7b15, 41a5, 41b20, 74b4 and 13, 56b30, 74b7, 75a23. The occ. in KS, 41b is: *En þæsse værðr natura oc skipan a norðr-liosi at þat er æ þæss liosare er siolf er nott myrqvare oc syniz þat iamnan um natr en aldrigin um daga oc optast i nið myrkrum en sialldan i tungl skini*. Here *skipan* means "order," "fixed place," as in the discussion of the proper demeanor at the king's table and when going to and from the king's table. Thus 74b7: *En þa er konungr gengr til borðz mæð hirð sina þa æighu aller hirðmenn hans at fylgia goðum siðum oc fagre skipan at æigi laupi hver firi annan sæm siðlausir menn hælldr a þa hver at vita sina retta gongu oc samsætismann oc hafa þa hina somu skipan i gongu sinni sæm þeir eigu siðan at hafa i sætum sinum*, ". . . have the same fixed order in the procession (their walk) as they are to have later in their seats." *Fagr skipan*, "good order." Further 74b14: *oc ganga sva siðan til borða hværr æpter sinni skipan* (in his fixed place); cf. *oc gengr þar til sætis sins sæm hann a gang rettan oc skipan* 75b, and 40a5, in the discussion of the hot and cold zones: *oc æf ec hæfi þætta ætlat æpter rettri skipan* ("according to the correct order," or "position"). In the passage quoted above from 41b the word *natura* is used of the general behavior of the northern lights, while *skipan* refers to their order or disposition in time in reference to some other phenomenon, here *dagr* and *tunglskin*.

<sup>99</sup> *skemd*, more especially ONorw. as indicated by the many citations in *FrOrdb*. (from *Anecd.*, *Barl.*, *Landsl.*, *Heilag.*, *Hom.*, *DN*, *Mar.*). Cf. *Barl.*, 115: (*þa ero oc uhæveleg afbrigði þin*) *mer til skemðar*, "to my shame," i.e., "such as to shame me," and var. reading *usæmðar*.



Cpds: **laghaskipan**, legislation, 136b10; **landaskipan**, relative position of the countries, geography, 40a20; **orðaskipan**, order or choice of words, manner of expressing one's self, 58a7; **ættaskipan**, grouping or relative position of the heavenly zones, 5a20, 7b7.

**skipssmið**, shipbuilding. Gs., 6a18.

**skom**, shame, disgrace, 56b13, 72a16, 103b22. See *skemð*.

**skript**, penance. Ap. -ir, 94b23.

**skynsæmð**, good sense, the being sensible; insight, discernment; reason; account, accounting, explanation, proof; 1b6, 62a22, 62b13, 135b23. Cf. *skynsæmðaralít*, *skynsæmðarsvar*. This interesting word exhibits a considerable meaning development in ON; see, e.g., *FrOrdb.* III, 408-410. The basic sememe is represented in the adj. *skynsamr*, sensible, *Barl*, 101, 15; 165,30 and *Bp.*, I, 850,5, and the noun *skynsemd*, good sense, common sense, with occs. *Stj.* 20,30, and *KS*, 1b23. Now and then the meaning "consciousness" is met with, but this special use is rare; as "insight" both OIc. and ONorw. occs. are common; as "reason," "basis for something," occs. in *Stjórn* and *KS*, 62a22 and b13 (apparently only ONorw). Finally as "explanation," above 135b: *Stephanus var krafðr skynsæmða firi þat at hann þa æigi* etc. "An explanation was demanded of Stephanus, etc." In cpds. the meaning is regularly "the sensible, reasonable, discerning." *sloð*. See *kynsloð*.

**slægð**, cunning. 69a5, 104a6.

**smiorgerð**, buttermaking. 39b6.

**snilld**, talent, genius. 84a19, 129b18, 128b25. Cf. *snilldarmaðr*.

Cpd: **usnilld**, lack of talent, 64b11.

**socn**, attack; grapnel; parish. 78a22; ap. -er, 6a17, *sockner*, 82b21.

Cpd: **kirkiusocn**, parish, 28a18.

**sogn**, statement. Ds., 127a10.

Cpd: **frasogn**, account, report, gs., 37a21; ap. abbreviated *frasag'*, 35b12, which may be either -ir or -ar.

**soc**, cause, matter, etc. See *Ö-Stems*. The nap. -ir occurs, 69a6, 136a21, etc., -er, 2b5, 5b5, 33a9, etc.

**sol**, sun. Ds *solo*, 8b2, 128a23. Cf. *solargangr*.

**sott**, sickness. Ns. 30a8; np. -er, 30a5; dp. -um, 28b9. Cf. *nauðar-sottarferð*.

Cpd: **vanyflasott**, unusual or severe illness, 114b13. See *vanyfli*.

**sorgh**, sorrow. 86a9, *sorg*, 10a8, 46b5; dp. *sorgum*, 8a3, and 6.

**spæcð**, wisdom, learning, *spæct*, 69b17 and 29; gs. *spæcðar*, 2a6, 2b11. Cf. *spæcðarnam*, *spæktarandi*, *spæktarbrunnr*.

Cpd: **uspæcð**, wrongdoing, misdemeanor, ap., 83b25; gs. *uspæctar*, 136a15.

**starfsismott**, work-clothes. Dp. -um, 108b18. Only here.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Norw. diall. *ismotta*, f., "Aabning paa Klæder," and *smott*, n., do., and as "Fingerhætte,"

**stíorn**, rule, government, command. 55a18, 67b10, etc. Cf. *stíornari*, *stíornarmaðr*.

Cpd. **landstíorn**, government, 5a28; **rikistíorn**, rule, 148a26; **skipstíorn**, command of a ship, 55a1.

**stronnd**, strand, beach. Ap. -er, 9a15; dn. -um, 8b11, 9b11, 38b27.

**stunnd**, while, period of time, trouble or pains that shows interest, interest. Ds. -u. 98a11, 117a7, 131b7, -o, 105b20, *stunnd*, 110b27, 111a2; as., *stund*, 70b5. ap. -er, 41b13, 70b7. Obs: *at þer vilít geva yðr til þærs stunnd oc tom* (94a2), "that you take the pains and leisure for it."

Cpds: **hvilddarstund**, period of rest, 8b8; **svæfnstund**, period of sleep, 126a24.

**sundreif**, flipper of a seal. np. -ir, 37a3. Lex. only as a weak noun. Occurs also *Eb.* 53. *FrOrdb.* gives *selshreifi*, *selssveif*, and *selveif* from *Borg*. Icel. *sundhreifi*, "fin of a seal;" also cf. *sundfit*, "web."<sup>101</sup>

**svæit**, company. 6a30.<sup>102</sup>

**syn**, look, sight, appearance. See *sion*.

Cpds: **asyn**, view, attitude, opinion; face, 69b24, 131b21: *þrír ungir menn friðer at asyn*. Cf. *asion*; **viðræsyn**, precaution, wariness, restraint, carefulness, preparedness against something, something to be shunned, warning. 98a21, 10b8; gs., 7a16. Evidently only occurring in the *KS*, but *viðrsjón*, *GnOrdb.*, "varing, varsemd." The passage in 10b reads: *Oll annur kvikennde hvart sam eru rein eða úrein þa fagna þessum tíma oc leita svo sinnar næringar a varmu sumre mæð allre viðrsyn at þau mæge oruggliga stannðaz allan hasca vatrlegrar nauðar*, "—with every precaution that they may fearlessly endure every danger of winter's trial." Cf. 7a16: *Mun þa alla illa siðu til viðrsyn*, "remember all evil practices as things to be guarded against, things to avoid." ("warning," *KM*). *GnOrdb.* calls attention to the Norw. dial. *vedersjø*, "Odalén og fl." "Vidunder" (Ross). Icel. *veðrsjón*, Zoëga renders: "a warning," "a thing to be shunned." The more abstract use of *KS*, 10b8, seems not evidenced elsewhere. The meaning is always "something to be wary against," "something to be shunned."

**synnd**, sin. 86a9; 86b18; ap. -er, 70b23; gp. *synða*, 124a6, dp. *syndum*, 124a18, *synðum*, 124b9.

**sæct**, wrong doing, violation of rights, guilt. Dp. -um, 69a17, 108a27, gp. *sæcta*, 136b1.

Tel., var. *smokk*, cited by Aasen (cf. Eng. 'smock'-frock). The -ó- and -d- forms, *ismótt*: *smóttu*, "narrow path," are discussed in *AfnF*, V, 124.

<sup>101</sup> ON *hreifi*, otherwise, "palm of the hand; wrist" (*FrOrdb*), but Icel. *kreifi*, "seal's fin or flipper." Cf. Norw. dial. *sundleiv*, do., Tel., and *sumfot*, do., Ryf., *sundlamp*, and *sundvang*, do., Tel.

<sup>102</sup> Thus, or in the meaning of "division of men," "troop," in ON regularly. Obs. especially the Icel. development *sveit*, "district," "settlement," *NgL*, V, *sveit*, 4), *FrOrdb.* *sveit*, 5), and Modn. Icel. *sveit*, do.

**sætt**, agreement, reconciliation. 48a25, gs., 8a25, np. -er, 46b29, ap., 46b17.

**sættargerð**, peacemaking, act of agreement. 9b14; np. -er, 2a2. Cf. *friðargerð*. See *sætt*.

**sœmð**, honor, honored place. Gs., 63b8 and 30, *sæmðar*, 142b3; ds., 50a23, 53b24, 57b2, 87a14, *sæmd*, 102b17; dp. -um, 63b28; ap. -er, 63b22. See *sæmðaratkvæðe*, *sæmðarmaðr*, *sæmðarsæti*, *sæmðarspæll*.

Cpds: **usœmð**, dishonor, disgrace, impropriety, insult; 6a1, 57a29, 57b3, 88b11, *osœmð*, 57b9. See *skemð*.

**tíð**, time; pl., hours (of devotional exercises), church service. Gp., 127a5; dp. -um, 3a30; 3b1 and 4; 119b16; ap. -er, 127a17.

Cpds: **dagtíðir**, pl., mass or service by day, dp. -um, 3b1; **hatið**, holy tide, festival, 9b19.

**tign**, honor, dignity, rank. 75a1 and 4; 127a24; *tighn*, 54a15, 127a7.

**tigunnd**, kind, class, station. Ds., 9b5, *tighund*, 96b25.

**tilgong**, as **tilgang**, *n*. See p. 45. Ns. 116b28.

**tilkæmð**, importance, consequence. 52a8. Cf. *framkæmð*. ON regularly *tilkvæmd*.<sup>103</sup> Cf. *FrOrdb*, *koma til*, 10, "be worth, be of importance," and *tilgong*, above, and *vb. ganga til*, "contribute."

**tilvisan**, guidance. 40a28, 82b25, 127b29.

**tion**, loss, destruction. Ns., 66b19. See *tion*, *n*.

**tægn**. See *iartægn*.

**þökk**, thanks. Dp. *þackum*, 65b11.

**þioð**, people, populace, tribe, nation. 27a11. dp. -um. 3a21, 117a11; ap. -er, 51a6. Cf. *þioðgata*.

**þraut**, suffering, trial, endurance; Ap. -er, 28b25; gs., 77a7.<sup>104</sup> The latter passage is: *Gerstu i allum orrostum goðr þrautar, en æigi alæypinn oc allra sitst hælinn*, "train yourself to be able to hold your own to the end, but be not overready to attack and least of all boastful."

**þrongð**, crowding, thronging. Ns., 73a26. In this meaning commonly *þræng*.<sup>105</sup>

**þrongsl**, suffering. 66a2. Meaning as *þræng*, *FrOrdb*, 5. *þrængsl* is otherwise cited only for *Barl*, 10 and 32 in *FrOrdb*. Also *þrængsla*, *Stjórn*, 495.<sup>106</sup>

**þusund**, thousand. 144b5; dp. -um, 144b4, *þusunndum*, 149b12.

<sup>103</sup> Rare if at all in Icel.: instead *tilkoma* in this as well as in the meaning of "arrival" (ON *tilkoma*).

<sup>104</sup> Variants are: *þrautgoðr* and *þrautar goðr*, *Ksp.*, 85, note 6. Fritzner holds *goðr þrautar* to be an error for the usual *þrautgoðr*. However there is no objection to the expression as it stands. As to the meaning cf. also Icel. *þrautgoðr*, "persevering," and *berjast til þrautar*, "to fight to the end"; somewhat different in the passage: *þetta sverð . . . skal aldri bila i þrautum*, "this sword shall never fail the test in need," *Ridd*. p. 29.

<sup>105</sup> Icel. *þræng*, "throng," "crowd," Norw. dial. *trong*, "Tranghet, Mangel paa Rum. Trængsel," sometimes *træng*. However, *trenge* and *trængd*, *Sæt*. (Ross).

<sup>106</sup> Norw. dial. *trængsl* and *trenge*.

**þyrmsl**, restraint, refraining from something (here one's usual duties) out of consideration for. Dp., 131b6: *konungr var i þyrmslum æpter bloðlat sitt*, "the king was refraining from performing his usual duties on account of bloodletting."<sup>107</sup> In the passage in *KS þyrmslum*, dp., exhibits a use that is nearer to that of the vb. *þyrma*, "spare oneself," or, as in Sæt. dial. today, *tyrma*, vb., "save one's strength."

**ufor**, danger, disaster. Pl., *ofærer*, 9a23. See *ufor*, *Ö-Stems*.

**upreist**, advancement, promotion; rebellion. 52b4, 103a26.

**urt**, herb. Dp. -um, 129b13.

**uræct**, neglect, carelessness, 126a4, ap. -er, 87a28. See *vanræct*.

**utlægð**, exile, banishment. 100b2.

**van**, expectation, hope, surmise, likelihood. 3a12, ds. *vano*, 38a1, *van*, 34b17, 67b9, pl. *vanir*, 101b21; ns. *on*, 57b17.

**vanræct**, neglect, careless use. Gs., 86a15. See *uræct*.

**varkynnd**, extenuating circumstance, excuse. 105b26.

**vatstiorn**, pool of water. 139b21.

**vel**, trick, contrivance, implement, engine. Gs., 80a4, ds. *vel*, 80a28, 81b26, ap. -ir, 82a13. See *Ö-Stems*. For this concrete use of *vel* in *KS* cf. list above.<sup>108</sup>

Cpd: **hafuðvel**, chief artifice, ap. -ir, 129b11 *siau hafuðvelir allskyns haghleics*, "seven chief products of every domain of knowledge," dp. -um, 104a3; **smiðvel**, skill, artifice, dp. -um, 10b14.

**viðrvist**, sustenance. 72a25. *FrOrdb.* offers an example of this use of the word also from *Fm.*, VIII, 159. See *atvist*.

**vilnan**, hope. Ds., 34a16.

Cpd: **orilnan**, despair, ns., 124a28.

**vingan**, friendship, 88a12.

**vok**, hole. Np. *vaker*, 43a30, ap., 36b22.

Cpd: **isavoc**, opening in the ice, as., 35b13.

**vorn**, defence, protection. Gs., 82b14; ds., 46b15; ap. *varnir*, 82b22, 116a9.

Cpd: **sacarvorn**, defence, ds., 100a14.

**vægð**, mercy, leniency. Ds., 70a19; Gs., 47a15; as. *væghð*, 113a24; ap. -er, 101a25.

**værolld**, world, time, age. Ds. *værolldo*, 119a3 and 9, *værolld*, 125a18; ap. -er, 126a9 (*um ænndalausar værallder værallda*). Cf. *væralldarstarf*.

**væsollld**, wretchedness, distress. 100a9. 103b1; gs. *væsallldar*, 104b2.

**æpterleitan**, search, inquiry. 10b19, 55b2.

<sup>107</sup> This word occurs many times in the laws in the meaning: "proper consideration for," "refraining from doing something out of respect for someone" (*ærefrygtsfuld undladelse fra at krænke nogen eller noget*), *NgL*, V.

<sup>108</sup> As a concrete noun also now and then elsewhere, *FrOrdb.* under *vel*, 3.

**ætlan**, thought, thinking, reasoning out, conclusion, forethought. 9b6, 41b17. 42b16. (*æpter ætlan hoskra manna*); 110b29, 110b18; *En æf hann hæfir æpter ætlan hærmil svicligh drambyrði luciferi þa mætti hann væl æpter ætlan skýra sannligh andsvor guðs til hæfndarinnar*.<sup>109</sup> The passage in 9b reads: *Er þat mykel ætlan skynlausrar skepno at sea sva væl við komannda stormi um vatreinn at hann leiðer fram sitt afspringe till þæss at andværdi vare at hann mægi niota kyrrar væðrattu um surmarit oc leita ser matar i goðum friði hia viðum stronndum*.<sup>110</sup>

**ætt**, direction, quarter of the horizon. Dp. -um, 31b29; ap. -er, 8b25, 9a6. Cf. *ætlaskipan*.

Cpds: **austrætt**, the eastern direction, east, gs., *austrættar*, 7b28; **suðrætt**, the southerly direction, dp. -om, 44a13.

**ætt**, race, generation, family. Gs., 10a12; ds. *ætt*, 117b7; ap. -er, 69a14; ap. -um, 56a, -om, 117b6.

Cpds: **hofðingiaett**, chieftain's family, noble extraction, ap. -er, 125b29.

**æyðimork**, wilderness. Dp. -markum, 117b1. May be a monosyllabic stem. In ONorw. *mork* seems to be more often an *i*-stem, pl., *markir*; in OIcel. prevailing monosyllabic. Modn. Icel. *mörk*, pl. *merkur*.

#### IV. U-STEMS

These are only masculines; however, *hond*, preserves a *u*-stem dative, while *fe* shows a *u*-stem genitive. See pp. 106 and 30. The larger number of masc. *u*-stems, those of the type *vollr*, may have either -o, (*u*) or -e (-i) in acc. pl.; those of the type *skioldr* only -o (*u*). A considerable number of masculines in -aðr also belong here; these normally exhibit *u*-umlaut but not *i*-umlaut. Of nouns in *KS* the following thirty stems and eighteen cpds. belong here, besides twenty words and cpds. in -aðr:

**biorn**, bear. Gs. *biarnar*, 39b9; np. *birnir*, 38b10. See *holld*

**blastr**, blowing (of the wind). Ns., 46b26; as. *blastr*, 48a24; ds. *blæstri*, 43b30. Eng. "blast." Cf. *blostsvalar*, adj. pl., "wind-cooled," 8a27.

**bolllr**, ball, sphere, head of a phalanx (of troops). As. *boll*, 42a23; ds., *bælli*, 42a29, 77a17: *oc ert þu staddr i bælli svinfylkðrar fylkingar* (at the point of a wedge-shaped line of troops).

Cpd: **iarðarbolllr**, sphere of the earth, as., 128a20, dp. -um, 41a2. **bunaðr**, garb, equipment. Ds. -e, 8a12.

<sup>109</sup> "And if he has repeated Lucifer's treacherous boastfulness, as he imagines it, then he may also explain God's true answers in his vengeance, as he understands them."

<sup>110</sup> "It shows great forethought for unreasoning creatures to provide so well against the coming storms of winter and to bring forth their offspring so that they may enjoy the calm weather of summer and search for food in peace along the wide shores."

Cpd: **glæðebunaðr**, festive garb, ds. -e, 8a2; **hafuðbunaðr**, head-dress, 46a29; **hæstbunaðr**, harness and other equipment for a horse, 76a2; **klæðabunaðr**, wearing apparel, 58a7, ds. -e, 58b18; **umbunaðr**, arrangement, device, accoutrement. 78b1 and 30; ds. -e, 78b17.

**fagnaðr**, gladness, rejoicing. Ds., 8a5; ns. *faghnaðr* 86b12.

Cpd: **ufagnaðr**, trial, 46b3, ds., 70a16.

**flottastigr**, path of flight. Ap. -u, 148b29. See *A-Stems*, *stigr*.

**fradrattr**, subtraction, reduction. Ds. -*dratti*, 96a7.

**getnaðr**, brood, unborn offspring. 10a22.

**golltr**. See *roðrgolltr*.

**groftr**, burial. Gs. *graftar*, 135a1.

**hattr**, manner, mode, way of doing a thing, knowledge of the proper way or thing. As., 4a24; ds. *hatti*, 45b26; *hattum*, 65b16.

**hiolmurvolr**, tiller (of a helm). As., 93b3.

**hott**, hat, hood. 46b1.

**igulkottr**, hedgehog. A contrivance used in the defence of a fortress. 80b24: *Igulkottr er oc gott vapn þeim er kastala skal væria gor af storum trium oc þungum byrstr með ækilitinndaðu baki*, "a hedgehog is also a good weapon for him who is to defend a fortress; (it is) made of large and heavy beams having pointed oak nails along the ridge" (bristling with sharp oak nails).<sup>111</sup> See *AW*, 199.

**iamnaðr**. See *domr*.

**kostr**, cost, choice, decision, privilege, right, opportunity, means, cost, price, affairs, property, concern. 54b26, 119b3; ap. *kosti*, 126a9; -e, 6a28, *costi*, 148a30, *coste*, 54b13: *hvi hafa þeir ægi þær nafnbætr at heita hirðmenn eða alligar vela heima um sina coste*. Obs: *atti costi lifs hans* (148a30), "held in his hands the decision of life for him" (held his life in his hands).

**kvikfenaðr**, livestock. Ds. -e, 65b26.

**kviðr**, belly. Ds. -i, 106a30; as. *quið*, 78b18. Cf. *kviðargirnd*.

**kviðr**. See *orðekviðr*.

**kvistr**, branch, twig, ramification. 110a12, np. -ir, 98b16, 110a1; ap. -*kvisti*, 85b4, *kvistu*, 30a21, 85b8; ap. -um, 85b2 *quistum*, 10a6, Cf. *kvis-tafjöldi*.

Cpd: **manvitzkvistr**, branch of knowledge, dp. -um, 85b2.

**kvittr**, talk. Np. -er, 68a25.

**limr**, twig, limb. Np. -ir, 109b30, ap. -i, 75b24, 98b14; dp. -um, 28a22, 85a9.

**litr**, color. Ds. *lit*, 10a1, 58b24.

**logr**, water (as an element). Ns., 9b15 (*loptet sām logrenn*).

<sup>111</sup> *Igulkottr* occurs in *Ridd.*, 128, 29.

**lostr**, wrong-doing, sin. 140b28, 141a9; np. *læstir*, 124a12; því at *glæpir minir oc allir læstir minir þeir sœm ec hæfi gorva fra barnsku*;<sup>112</sup> dp. *lostum* 123b23.

Cpd: **hafuðlostr**, cardinal sin, dp. *-lostum*, 124a30. See *hafuð*.

**manaðr**, month. Ds. *-e*, 30a5. Cf. *mani*.

Cpd: **tolfmanaðir**, pl. twelvemonth, ap. *aina tolf manaðe*, 54a18.

**mattr**, might. As. *matt*. 119b30 *mott*, 130a28; ds. *mætti*; 2b1; gs. *mattar*, 130b13.

**mætnaðr**, honor, ambition, conceit, distinction. 86b25, 87a27 and b11. See *mætorð*.

Cpd: **ofmætnaðr**, arrogance, 84a11, 91a8.

**orðzkviðr**, report, repute. As., 88b4, *orzkvið*, 86b2.

**roðrgolltr**, an iron-clad device attached to the prows of ships in naval warfare; used in the attack of enemy ships. Ns., 77b24: *Roðrgolltr er goðr i skipaorrostu mæðr iarnaðum mula*. See *FrOrdb.*, 1 ed., p. 324, 395, *AW*, p. 198, and *KM*, p. 216, note 1.

**ohugnaðr**, discomfort, unpleasantness. Ns., 71b4.

**siðr**, custom, habit, accepted practice, ways, deportment. 67b11; np. *-er*, 52a24, 67a1; gs., 75a7; dp. *-um*, 29, 70b7; ap. *siðu*, 2b27, 3a15, 7a13, 49b17, 71b10, etc. Cf. *siðafiolði*, *siðargezla*, *siðarmaðr*, *siðarnam*, *siðgæðe*, *siðleysa*, *siðvæni*.

Cpds: **hirdsiðr**, custom of the royal guard, court-manners, 65a27; **usiðr**, unmannerliness, bad manners. np. *-er*, 68b19, *osiðer*, 84a22; dp. *-um*, 70b7.

**skiolldr**, shield. ns. as., 77b3, and 4; ds. *skilldi*, 75b24, 77a21, *skillde*, 76a9, np. *skillder*, 78a12; ds. *skiolldum*, 81b13. Cf. *skialldborgh*, *skialldarrond*, *skialldarfætill*, *skialldiatunn*.

Cpds: **liviskiolldr**, protecting shield, ns., 91b30.

**sun**, son. The prevailing forms are the following:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	sun	synir
Gen.	sunar	sunu
Dat.	syni	sunum
Acc.	sun	syni

Examples are found at 1a24, 2a17, 3a9, 67a10, 67a17, 100b7, 123a28, etc. Exceptions: np. *syner*, 53b19, 6b18, forms with *-o-* as follows: ns. *son*, 1b17, 2a19, 27 and 28, as. *son*, 67a21, 67b4, dp. *sonum*, 96a4, ap. *sonu*, 67a21. The caption is always *sunr* (or *sunr*).

**trunaðr**, trust, trueness to a trust, faithfulness; faith. Ds., *-c*, 73b7, *trunað*, 139b15. Cf. *trunaðarmaðr*.

<sup>112</sup> This use is the same as OSw. *laster*. Söderwall, *Ordb. laster*, 5). Fritzner does not seem to recognize this meaning; also the *GnOrdb.* only defines: "last, lyte; mein, skade, lastord, klander." On the words *lqstr*, *glæpr*, and *synd*, see also *AnfF*, XVII, 151-152.

Cpd: **atrunaðr**, faith, belief, gs., 31a21, *atrunaðar*, 132b11; as., 31a1, 132b11.

**uamnaðr**, injustice. Ds., -e, 69b25.

**varnaðr**, wares. As., 86a2. Cf. *vara* and *varning*. See *FrOrdb.*, *varnað*, 3. In this sense, i.e. "that which one has in one's keeping," the word remains today in the dialects of Voss, Sogn, and Sjf.: *varnad*, m., "Paa-rørende, Slægtninger, Familie; især Børn" (Aasen).<sup>113</sup>

**viðr**, wood. 38a8, da. -i, 28a19, -e, 129a3.

Cpds: **aldinviðr**, fruit-tree, ds. -i. 30a13; **beinviðr**, holm, holly, 27a26;<sup>114</sup> **æikiviðr**, oak timber, ds. -e, 80a30-b1, -i, 82a30.

**volr**. See *hiolmurvolr*.

**vollr**, field, meadow. Ds. *velli*, 77a25; ap. *vollu*, 128b18, *vallu*, 128b29.

Cpd: **grunndvollr**, foundation, ns., 113a3, as. 2a, np. *-vællir*, 132b24, gp. *grundvalla*, 43a24, dp. *grundvillum*, 31a23; ap. *grundvollo*, 112a5-6, *grundvallu*, 128b8; **manvitzgrundvollr**, foundation or basis of reason, ds. *-vælli*, 84a27. The last word is not glossed as a cpd. in the Lex., but apparently is one.

**vonndr**, want, whip. Ap. *vænnde*, 85b2.

Cpd: **æikivonndr**, branch of whip of oak, dp. *-um*, 80b4; **ræfsingarvondr**, rod of punishment, 143a30 (143a26, repetition of syllable in *ræfsingingarvondr*).

**vorðr**, guard, protection. 61a18, ap. *-u*, 53a9.

Cpd: **hofuðvorðr**, life-guards, 53a10. Literally "head" or "main guard" of the king. Cf. *hafuð*.

**voxt**, growth, increase, size, shape. 10b24, ds. *væxti*, 27a24, 28a10, 30a21; as. *vøxt*, 6b10, 98b11 (shape).

Cpd: **avoxtr**, vegetation, product of the earth. 65b18; np. *avæxter*, 65b22, dp. *avæxtum*, 63a1, *avøxtum*, 65b20; ap. *avæxti*, 128a28. The dp. *avæxtum* is to be noted. Cf. Norw. dial. *vækster*, sg. (by the side of *vokster*). Hence possibly an early (XIIIc.) *avæxtr*.

**vægr**, way, road, direction. The forms are:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	vægr	vægir
Gen.	vægar	væga
Dat.	væg	vægum
Acc.	væg	vægu(o), væga.

Occurrences: gs., 41a1; ds., 9a8, 40b17 and 26; np., 40b, 41a3, 44a24; dp., 40b21, *tvæim væhginn*, 80a13; ap., -o, 40b9, -u, 128b25, *vægho*, 112a24, *vægu*, 127b16 and 22, *væga*, 29a14, 66b7, 74a16. See A-Stems. *Vægr*, therefore, shows prevailing *u*-stem forms; in the pl. there are seven occs.

<sup>113</sup> Icel. *varnaður*, "protection," "warning."

<sup>114</sup> The passage reads: *tre þat er sumer kalla beinvið en sumer hulfir en a latinu er callat acrifolium (for aquifolium).*



in *-ir*, *u* (*o*) and three in *-a*.<sup>115</sup> In 80a13 the dp. is abbreviated *væghin*, which, in the writer's system of abbreviation, could only stand for *væghinn* (= *væghinn*). A kind of dissimilation of *tvæim vægin* to *tvæim væin*.

Cpds: *brunavægr*, zone of burning heat, ds. def., 40 b24; *farvæg*, track, course, 112a23; *framgangsvæg*, progress, procedure, way of proceeding. 102a19, *vægh*, 109a22, 159b7. In two of these cases *rettan framgangsvæg upphafðrar ræðu*; *mæginvægr*, main road, np. *-ir*, 40a30; ap. *vægho*, 112a24; *mæginrasarvægr*, main course of travel 40b4; *sa man væra mæginrasarvægr solarinnar*. This somewhat redundant cpd. is not listed in the dictionaries; its unusualness was observed by the hand that underlined the MS. It was, however, intended as a cpd. by the writer—*rasarvægr*, course of travel.

*værcnaðr*, work, occupation. Ds. *-e*, 51b3, 120a22.

<sup>115</sup> Icel. *vegur*, pl. *vegir*: in ON apparently most often an *a*-stem. *AnG*, I, §348, 4: "smíðr und vegr. selt. auch als u-stamme." It is to be observed that in cpds with *gs.* of *vegr* as first element it is commonly a *u*-stem: *vegarbot*, *vegarbref*, *vegarganga*, *vegarvisir* (from *Barl.*, *Thom.*, *DN*, *Lands.*, and *JKr.*). Also obs. *vegarudning* (= *vegar* + *rudning*), dial. of Gbr., Ross. The occs. of *a*- and *u*-stem forms with the various uses make up five columns of citations in *FrOrdb.* So under 1), "movement by which progress is made," twelve occs. of *til vegar*; 2), "journey," Lat. *iter*, pl. *vegir*, four occs., acc. *-u*, *-o*, thirteen occs. *-a*, once: 6), two occs. of pl. *vegar*; 3), "road," Lat. *via*, pl. *vegir*, four occs. acc. *-u*, *-o*, thirteen occs. *-a*, once: 6), "manner," "course," pl. acc. *vega*, ten occs.; 7), "direction," acc. pl. four occs., *gs.* *vegar*, three occs.; 8), "side," *gs.* *vegar*, six occs. *vegs*, three occs. acc. pl. *vega*, twice; 9) "region," "zone," *gs.* *vegar*, three occs. pl. *-ir*, once, acc. pl. *vega*, once (this in *Alvissmál*, 11). This limited material can be only suggestive of course, but it points to the following conclusion: *u*-stem forms prevail, but in the meanings of "manner," "course of action," and that of "direction" the nom. acc. pls., are all in *-ar*, *-a*. The Eddic occs. are as follows: 1), "way," *via*, *jólma veger* (Fritzner, 3), *Háv.*, 104, 5, also *veger*, *Sg.*, 19, 2, and *Háv.*, 33, 5; acc. *vega*, *Skm.*, 11, 3, *Alv.*, 10, 3 *vego*, *Fjqls.* 47, 3, *vega Sd.* 18, 3, (but here *vego*, *Vqls.*); 2), "journey," dat. *af vege*, *Hym.* 11, 3, *at vege*, *Sd.* 37.2; 3), "direction," *vegsens*, *Hrbl.* 57, 5, acc. pl. *vega*, *Grm.* 26, 6, and 31, 1. Thus in the meaning of "way," *via*, there are two *a*-stem forms and five *u*-stem forms; in the meaning of "journey" there are two *a*-stem forms; in that of "direction," there are three *a*-stem forms. Hence in all there are seven *a*-stem and five *u*-stems. Here, then, there is a preponderance for the *a*-stems. But the significant thing about it is that in the usual meaning "way," *via*, the *u*-stem forms decidedly preponderate, while, on the other hand, in the meaning of "direction" and "journey" *vegr* is always an *a*-stem. The case form is here in all instances the acc. pl. We are reminded of such standing adverbial expressions as *alla vega*. The acc. pl. *a*-stem forms (*vega* beside *vegu*) seem to remain in later times long after the *a* stem case forms have disappeared. It would appear, therefore, that *vegr* is originally an *a* stem in ON. Cf. Gothic *wigs*, *a*-stem, similarly OHG *weg*, and OE *weg*. It will be pertinent to see what the prevailing forms are in the oldest ON texts as a whole, according to Larsen's *Orðförræddet*. The ds. *veg* occurs once, of ds. *vege*, there is no occ.; the *gs.* *vegs*, once, no instance of *vegar*; the nom. pl. does not appear; the acc. pl. *vega* is found twelve times (six are of the combination *alla vega*), all but one of which are from the *Homiliubók* (Stockholm): the acc. pl. *vegu*, does not appear. As we see there are no *u*-stem forms in the *gs.* or in the pl., all are *a*-stems. But the transference of stem seems already to have begun. It began, possibly, with the dat. *sg.* I may add that in the Norwegian laws *vegr* is in most cases a *u*-stem.

## B. CONSONANTAL STEMS

## I. N-STEMS

The weak declension. The subdivisions are into *an*-stems, *ön*-stems and *in*-stems.

a. *An*-Stems

Masculines and neuters; a very large number of the former. Those appearing in the KS 152 nouns are:

*Masculines*

**aboti**, abbot. dp. *-om*, 124b30; ds. *obota*, 142a19.<sup>116</sup> See especially discussion of OSw. *abbot*, *AfnF*, XIII, pp. 159-161.

**agi**, fear, respect, awe, discipline. 72a3 (*guðs agha eða ræzlo*), 136b26 (*su ræzla oc aghi*), 96b5; 7a12; *af hann er noccors askynia i æsku mæðan hann er unnder aga*.<sup>117</sup> ". . . in youth while still under discipline." Norw. dial. *i age*. Sogn. See *ogn*, p. 72.

**annde**, breath, spirit. So regularly, but *ande*, 128a13 *anndi*, 104a21.

Cpds: **haghleicsande**, skill in handicraft, aptitude for the crafts, 111a21; **manvitzannde**, gift of good sense, 111a19; **mælskoannde**, gift of eloquence, 111a20; **skilningarande**, spirit of understanding, 111a20; **spaleicsandi**, spirit of prophecy, 111a18; **spæctarannde**, gift of wisdom, 111a19. Erroneously *skilnigaranda*, obl., 111a25.

**annskoti**, foe. Gs., 119a1. ON. *andskoti*.

**arfi**, heir. 2a4. See *ærfingi*.

**argalli**, crop-failure, bad year. *-e*, 66a29; *-ar*, 66b17. Cf. *uaran*. *Argalli*, only here (?). The second element is ON *galli*, blemish. Rare.<sup>118</sup> Possibly from Germ., *EtO*, 213.

<sup>116</sup> Usually *aboti* in ON. Cf. OE *abot*, *abbot*, *abbut*. However, there are also the (rare) forms *abbati* and *abbáti* (see Bugge in *FrOrdb.*, III, 1108), as *Heilagr.*, II, 45,2; cf. Lat. *abbas*, *abbatis*. The latter Fischer, *LA*, p. 56, derives from Latin by way of Low Ger. *abbet*, citing also MHG *abbai*. The immediate source is surely the latter, as Kock, *AfnF*, XIII, p. 160.

<sup>117</sup> Var: *undir raðningu*, *Ksp.* 7, 18. Cf. *bauð sik undir hans raðning þegar hann fell i nockora sauk*, *Sijörn*, 548, and *oc hvęða ek at ek skylda velia mer raðning eða refsing*. *Agi* means "discipline," "restraint," "under the fear of punishment (cf. *ogn*.)"; *raðning* means, however, rather "chastisement," "disciplinary measure." Mod. Icel. has both words: *agi* "discipline," *raðning*, "chastisement," "rebuke"; (also otherwise in the meaning of "interpretation").

<sup>118</sup> Also *gallalaus*, "faultless." Cf. OSw. *galle*, "fault," "blemish." The word remains in the Icel. *galli*, "defect," and in the Norw. dial. *d'er galle i alle*, "there's a fault in everybody," "everybody has his faults," *GnOrdb.*, 111. The East Norw. *galle*, "barrenness," Sw. *gall*, adj., seems to be the same: cf. Sw. dial. *gallgrund*, "barren stony ground," *gallstrand*, "barren coast," Germ. *Sandgalle*, "sandy place in the field," Eng. dial. *gauls*, *gauls*, "barren spot in the field," "spot where grass, corn or trees have failed" (esp. Halliwell, 394), and many other forms. See *EtO*. The early history of this word must still be regarded as not wholly accounted for.

**athugi**, thinking about, thought, attention. 94a6; 68a7.

**auki**, addition, extension. 102a13.

**aværci**, injury. 70a15

**bacci**, hill. 76b6.

Cpds: **illviðrisbakki**, storm-cloud, -a, 48a20; **scotbacci**, shooting ground (the hill toward which one shoots), 76b10.

**bani**, death. Gs., 114b25.

**bardagi**, trial, suffering; battle. 31b23, 66b29, 71a14, *barðaga*, 77a25; 147a30.

**blomi**, bloom, blossoming. 65b24.

**boði**. See *yfirboði*.

**boði**, breaker. Np., 47b6; gp., 46a16.

**bogi**, bend, arch, bent condition, 32b12, 134a23.

Cpds: **handbogi**, hand-bow, np., 77b16, -*ghar*, 80a25; **hornboghe** horn-bow, 79b2; **lasboghi**, lock-bow, cross-bow, 79b2, np. *lasbogar*, 77b15, -*boghar*, 80a24. The "horn-bow" is not described in KS. Fritzner merely defines: "Bue som er gjort af eller belagt med Horn." In his discussion of the weapons of KS Blom suggests the possibility of the name being due to some peculiarity of form, and refers to the Latin *balista cornea* or *balista cum cornu*, *AfnO*, 1867, p. 100. It was not necessarily made of horn but probably so in part. Falk, *AW*, 91-92, believes it to have been a double bow, the inner part of which was of horn and this again reinforced by reindeer sinews wound about it. See further literature quoted, *AW*, 92, and *KM*, 220, note. Early German uses in San-Marte: *Zur Waffenkunde*, p. 181. Cf. OE *hornboga* and MHG *hornboge*, *hürnen-boge*. The *lasbogi* is also called *arbyst* and *armbrist* in ON. *Handbogi* is probably from MLG or MDu. *hantbogi* (*AW*, 93).

**bruðgumi**, bridegroom. 129a5.

**bruni**, burning, zone of burning heat. 40b2 and 22: *Nu er þar allt byggiannda under þeim vægum er millum er kulðans oc brunans*.

**buclari**, buckler, small shield. Ds., 76a9.

**dauðe**, death. Ns., 57b10; ds. 86a29. Cf. *dauðadomr*.

**domari**, judge. 88b25, 134a11, etc. Cf., *domarasæti*, *domsæti*.

Cpd: **ivirdomare**, "over judge," judge of a superior court, 129b19. **dropi**, drop. 123b17.

**drottenssviki**, traitor to one's master. 101b17.

**eremiti**, hermit. Ap., 28a30. ON also *ermili*, *hermili*.<sup>110</sup>

**falsari**, impostor. Np., 3a8.

**felage**, associate, companion. Ns. -*ghe*, 83a10: *at væra goð felaghe i samsæti i viðræðu viðr aðra menn* (cf. Eng. "good fellow"), *felagi*, 115b1.

<sup>110</sup> *FrOrdb*: *ermili*, *eremiti*, and *hermili*, *GnOrdb*: *erimili* and *ermili*. The occs. in *Barl* are written *ermitin*, def., 106, 210, *ermila*, acc. sg., 147, 210, *ermilar*, 148, *erimili*, 174, and var. *hermilam*, acc., 147. Cf. *eremilavist*, *Heilagr*, I, 497, 26. The form *heremiti*, appears in *Ridd*, p. 110. In Norw. diall. the word is today *eremil*.

**fiarski**, remoteness. Ds., 38a3: *þat lannd liggr sva i fiarska við annur lonnd.*

**fiolðe**, large number, multitude, mass. Ns., 38a22; ds. 28b1. See *sunndr*, etc.

Cpds: **isafiolðe**, mass of ice, 39b; **kvistafiolðe**, mass of branches, ds., 85a10; **malafiolðe**, large number of suits at law, 64a28; **mannafiolði**, multitude of people, 47b9; **siðafiolði**, variety of customs and usages, 70b30.

**firirrasari**, forerunner. 9a1.

**flaci**, wicker-work sheet of flakes of wood or of branches. Dp., 80b3, ap., 80b6. The latter may be quoted: *þat gera menn oc þeir er kastala vilja væria at gera flaca mæð storum æiki vonndum oc hylia alla steinvæggi mæðr þeim þvifaldum eða fimfaldum oc þo skolo þeir flacar væra væl varðer mæð goðu leiri oc sæighu.*<sup>120</sup> Cf. *flak*, n.

**flotti**, flight. 145b20.

**fylgiari**, follower. Dp. -um, 103a16.

**gangværi**, collective, walking clothes. Ds., 58b19. See *AnG*, I. §392. Variously *gangvera*, f., *gangveri*, m., and *gangveria*, f., in ON.<sup>121</sup>

**geisli**, beam of light, ray. Dp. -um, 9b28; ap. *gæisla*, 109a3.

**graði**, (greediness), desire to devour. As., 32a3.

**granni**, neighbor. Dp. -um. 8a4 and 17.

**gumi**. See *bruðgumi*.

**hafstrambi**, a monster of the North Atlantic. Possibly to be identified with the *klakkekall* of Norwegian fishermen, the *klapmyds* (*cystophora cristata*) of Nordland. See *FAH*, p. 217. As., 33b18. There is a description of some twenty lines of this monster in *KS*. It is described as large and tall and will stand upright in the sea and has shoulders, neck, head and all the features of humans; it has no hands but seems to be increasingly slender from the shoulders down. The author does not know whether it has scales like a fish or skin like a man.

**hali**, tail. Ns. *hari*, 98b15. Dittograph of *r(hyl oll kyckvænndi har eða hari)*.

**haske**, danger. Dp. *haskum*, 47b14, 129b23. Cf. *haskatimi*.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>120</sup> "Those who are to defend a castle make curtains of large oak branches and cover the whole stone wall with two or perhaps five layers of them; these curtains must be thoroughly coated with good sticky clay." The *Alexander saga*, p. 89, speaks of this means of defence against rocks hurled upon the attackers by the besieged: *siðan leir hann gera flaka marga til lifðar við grioti þvi liðemo er hann scipar til at briota borgarveggenn et neðra.*

<sup>121</sup> The word is not given for Icel. by Zoëga. Appears as *gangverja*, f., "en Klædning, især et Sæt Overklæder," Bergenhus Diocese, Norway (Aasen).

<sup>122</sup> The origin of this word is not quite clear. It is significant, possibly, that it is usually written *harske*, (-i) in *Bark.*, as pp. 56, and 60, *saloharske*, 190, but *haske*, p. 6, etc. Fritzner cites some of these occs. under *harske* with a reference to *haski*, and says: "og sandsynligvis den oprindelige Form for dette Ord, for *harðski*, af *harðr*"; also further ref. to *harskleg*, adj., Aasen, 266. However, the evidence of these forms in the *Bark.* is much weakened by the fact that this saga also employs such writings as *hærst* for *hæst*, "highest," p. 126, and 176,

Cpds: **fiarhaski**, danger of loss of money or property, np. 6b30; **hafshaski**, danger at sea, as., 48b4; **lifshaski**, danger of life, 37b3, etc.; **salohaski**, danger to the soul. As., 86a27.

**heilhugi**, righteous man. 149a21.

**heri**, hare. 38b1.

**hiti**, heat. As., 8b16, etc.

Cpd: **ofrhiti**, excessive heat, gs., 40b12.

**hofðingi**, chieftain, governor. Ns. -i, 89b22, np. -iar, 63b27, ap. *hufðingia*, 89b3. Cf. *hofðingiaett*. The reason for the erroneous writing *hufðingia* is not apparent.

Cpd: **storphofðinge**, man in position of great power, high personage, 70a18; np., 104a30; dp. -ium, 72b2, 84b30; **lannzhofðingi**, governor, gs., 5b1. Cf. Sw. *lärddshövding*.

**hofgi**, heaviness. 128a19. Cf. *þungleikr*.

**holmi**, islet. Ns., 27b30, -e, 27b19; ds., 27b24; as., 28a25. Icel. *holmi* and *holmur*. Norw. dial. *holm*, some places *holme*; in Tel. *home* (Aasen) and *haame*, Ma., Li. Rbg. (Ross).<sup>123</sup> The vb. *holme*, "omringe paa Jagt," *NOrdsaml*, may be either form. The latter work also gives *høm*, "en Øe, en Holm," for Tel.

Cpd: **flotaholme**, floating islet, 27b20.

**homlubarði**, rudderless ship, or ship with the rudder bands destroyed. 67b27: *þa ma þa riki kalla homlubarða eða auðnar oðal oc ma þat naliga virðaz sæm tynnt riki*.<sup>124</sup> The word is here, therefore, used about = *auðnar oðal*, "wasted heritage." Hence *GnOrdb.* translates "skipsvrak," however, with a question mark. See *FrOrdb.* The variant: *homlumbarða*, *Ksp.*, 75, note 11, may be noted. Observe that the *KS* adds: *þa ma þat naliga*

*firsk* for *fisk*, p. 169, and *forstrilannð*, for *fostr*-, p. 194. Furthermore, on the analogy of *gerskr*, *gerskr*, adj., (< *Garðariki*), we should expect *harski*, (and *harski*), but this form nowhere occurs. The earliest ON occs. are always written *hask*-. Observe that the OSw. is also consistently *hask*-. Kalkar does not record the word for ODanish. *GnOrdb.* gives only *haske*. Nevertheless the Norw. dial. *harskleg* for *hardsleg*, which Aasen cites for Telemarken is interesting. It is strange that a dial. form *haskleg* should not exist by the side of the form *harskleg*. Is then perhaps, *harskleg*, *hardsleg*, to be separated from *haske*, and the writing *harske* in the *Barl.* merely an variant form of *haske* in this manuscript as *firskr* for *fiskr*? *Haske* is, therefore, possibly to be referred to a stem *hask*-< *hatsk*-, "peril." Cf. the Norw. dial. *heskjeleg*, "frygtelig, forfærdelig," Sdm., Aasen, and as adv. *heskjele kaldt*, "terribly cold." Other occs. of the word are: *heskjeleg*, Hall., *heisleg*, Vald., Aasen. where also the Sw. *hiskleg*, *haskelig*, is noted *hesk*, "greedy," Bergen and Romsdal, Norway, *haasken*, do, Nordland. The Icel. word is *haske*, n. *haskalegur*, adj., "perilous." The connection with ON *hætta*, f., "danger," and vb. "to expose to danger," *hattung*, "danger," was suggested already by Egilsson, *Lex. Poet.*

<sup>123</sup> ON commonly *holmr*, especially in OIc. texts, less often *holmi*; both *holmber* and *holme* in OSw.

<sup>124</sup> The forms are variously *miqrkvi*, *mqrkvi*, and *myrkvi* in ON (*Barl.* also *mærkvi*). Var. *myrkvi*, *Ksp.*, 48, notes 5 and 15. Cf. *Barl.*: *þoka eða mærkvi*, 63 (var. *miqrkvi*); *striuk fra augum þer mærkva ok þoka*, 117 (var. *myrkva*).

*virðaz sām tynnt ríki*, "then such a kingdom may almost be regarded as ruined."

**huggari**, consoler. 123a29. Cf. *huggan*.

**hugböcci**, thought. Ds., 40b28, 114b7.

**hærra**, master, lord; the Lord. Ns., 1a2, 74a26; gs., 92b29; as. *hærra*, 116a27; pl. -ar, 56a10.

**hærsþori**, caltrop. Np., 77b20: *blystæyptir hærsþorar*, "lead-cast," "lead-fastened" or "leaded" spurs, i.e., spurs, the points of which are cast in lead to give them weight. See article by Th. Petersen on "Kongespeilets blýsteyptir hersþorar. En note," in *Kgl. norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter*, Trondhjem, 1915, nr. 6, and illustrations of objects 424 and 5840 from the Trondhjem Museum, with which it seems these *hærsþorar* are to be identified. Referring to the passage in *KS* the author says: "Hermed kan neppe forstaaes andet end fotangler, hvis spidser er støpt ind i bly, og som man kunde kaste over paa det fientlige skib for at hindre motstanderen i hans bevægelser," p. 5. It is a ball-like core of lead with a pair of steel hooks opposite one another.

**hærtoge**, duke. 160b27.

**iafningi**, equal, one of equal rank. As., 5a1.

**iafnoci**, equal. As., 4a20.

**kanonci**. See p. 18.

**kastali**, castle, fortress. 77b13, *castali*, 31a6 and 7.

Cpd: **hunkastali**, top castle, tower-room for armed men in the top of a ship's mast, 77b21; **steinkastali**, stone fortress, 81b21; **trekastali**, wooden fortress, ds., 81b22.

**keisare**, emperor. Ns., 137a1, def. -in, 137a28; ds., 95b5.

**klaustri**, cloister, Ds., def., 142a20; ds. *claustra*, 142a22. Cf. *klaustur*.

**klofi**. See *lanndaklofi*.

**kulðe**, cold, cold zone. Ns., def., 41a9; gs. def., 40b21. See *bruni*.

**kunningi**, acquaintance. Ns., 86a24.

**lanndaklofi**, cleavage or depression in the land, bay. 40a12, 41a21: *þat mala menn þeir sām froðer ero at þat sunnd skerez i hia grænalannde er hit toma haf steypiz inn i lanndaklofa*.

**lifsvaði**, danger to life. -a, 61a11. In the MS. the word *vaða* is written above -haska of the cpd. *lifshaska*.

**loge**, flame. Ns., 41b28; as., 41b24.

**luttakare**, sharer, 2a5. See *lutr*.

**maki**, equal, like. Cap. 50b26. Cf. *iafningi*.

Cpd: **iammaki**, do., Ns., 87a2; as., 64a17; ap *iamnmakar*, 52a22.

**mali**, pay. As., 52b22. Cf. *malamaðr*.

**mangare**, "monger," one who sells for highest possible price irrespective of value. 4a9: *Mat oc varning þinn allan i gott værð oc þo nær þvi er þu ser at taka ma ækki or hofe þa heiter þu ægi mangare*; np., 3a9. See *falsari*.

**mani**, month. Gp., 54s21: *a tolf mana fræsti*.

**marmari**, marble. Ns., 39a8.

**mikileici**, size. 38a26, *mikelleika*, 38a24, *mikelleica*, 28b19. Not recorded. See *mikilleikr*. Cf. Icel. *mikilleiki*; Norw. dial. *storleikje* and *storleike* (Romsdal) with second element.

**missi**, loss. Ns., 63b20. Not recorded. See *missa*.

**miorqui**, fog. 42a8 and 43b12; ds., 43b9. (124). See *myrcr*.

**mugi**, multitude. 69a20.

**muli**, upper lips (of a boar). 77b25. The word occurs in the description of the *roðrgolltr*.

**munndriði**, shield-handle. 75b26. See *handrif*. Cf. *handrid*, *handre*, in Norw. diall. southwest and west.

**mæistari**, teacher. As. def. 7b1; np. def. *meistararner*, 50a13.

Cpd: *hafuðmæistari*, great teacher, 129b12. See *hafuð*.

**oboti**. See *aboti*.

**oroi**, troublous time. As *oroa*, 70b27. See *ro*, *rott*.

**panzari**, a war-coat of linen. 76a12, etc.; ap. 78a14. KS distinguishes between *pannzari* and *brynja*: *Tac þu . . . annat tuægga bryniu eða þungan pannzara*, (76) and: *Bræiðer skillder ero a skipi goðer til lifðar oc allzkyns bryniur. En þo ero pannzarar hofuðvaþn til lifðar a skipum gorvir af blautum lereþtum oc væl svartaðum*, (78).<sup>125</sup> See *kouvertur*.

**pavi**, pope. Ds., *paua*. 91b12; gp. *pava*, 55a6.

**postoli**, apostle. Ns., 11527, *postole*, 111a16; dp. -um, 95b14, 113b6.

**propheti**, prophet. As., 118a2 and 21, b24. . Always abbreviated *ppha*. The nom. sg. does not occur. Appears in the nom. sg. in the form *propheta*, *profeta*, as well as *propheti*, *profeti*, in ON, but generally with the vowel -e(i). See *AnG*, I, §391, 1, but more commonly the regular form. *AnG*, I, §391, 1.

**psaltari**, psalter. As. def., 111b2 abd 21, 112a2.

**raðgiafi**, counsellor. Gs., 107b25; np., 64a12; dp. -*giáfum*, 124b25.<sup>126</sup>

**reiði**, rigging, tackle. As. -a, 5b23. Cf. *saðulreiðe*, n.

**riddare**, knight. Np., 57a6. Cf. *riddarskapr*.

**risi**, giant. 129a6; as., 114a29: *Goliam risa*.

**ropi**, eruption, eructation. 43b7.

**sacarabæri**, plaintiff. Gs., 132a2; np., 133a29, 134a2.

**sighrari**, victor. Ns., 122a27.

**skaðe**, harm. 67a12; as., 46b2; np., 66a15.

**skapare**, creator. 128b14.

**skimi**, gleam of light, sheen. Ns., 42b8; ds., 128a25; np., 42a29. Icel. *skima*, f. Cf. Norw. dial. *skime*, "motion."

**skoli**, school. As., 50b14.

<sup>125</sup> " . . . made of soft linen and well blackened."

<sup>126</sup> By the side of this regular form cf. *raðgiave*, *Bark*, 10, 62, and 75.

**skuggi**, shadow. As., 8b6.

Cpd: **hælvitisskuggi**, shade of hell, gp., 108b29.

**spurdagi**, questioning, inquiry. As., 40a8, 61b25: *at æinnhværr vil mæðan slaz a noccorn spurdaga við þec eða noccorar aðrar ræður.* “. . . make some inquiries of you or enter upon some (other) conversation.”<sup>127</sup>

**spæni**, teat. Ap., 34a23.

**steghi**, ladder. Dp. *steghum*, 81b24, *stæghum*, 82a21.

**stiornari**, ruler. As., 124b18.

**stolpi**, post, pillar. 129b10.

Cpds: **havuðstolpi**, great pillar, np., 129b6; **iarnstolpi**, iron post, ap., 129a12.

**svicari**, cheat, impostor. 4a5.

**svæti**, sweat. 108b13.

**sæssi**, seat-mate. Np., 74b10. See *samsætismaðr*.

**tílværki**, merit, deserts. 109a9; 125b12. See *tílgang*.

**tími**, time, suitable time; hour, prosperity. 28a6, obl., 30a4, 58b13, 66n4, etc. See *tóm*.

Cpds: **haskatími**, time of danger, np., 9a22; **miðsdagstími**, noon-time, 99a18; **uprisutími**, rising-time, time to rise, ns., 119b15; as., 8b27.

**toni**, tune. Ap., 129b2.

**þorpari**, small farmer, cotter; unmannerly person, ignorant person. Ns., 57a24; dp. *þorparum*, 56b12, 64b28. Cf. *þoraraskapr*.

**þrote**, swelling, heaving. 48a29.

**þæli**, frost in the ground. 43a24.

**uppruni**, rise, origin. As., 127b14. Icel. *uppruni*, “origin.” *GnOrdb.* cites Norw. diall. *upprune*, from Sogn; Ross gives the meanings “Spiren, Spiretid,” for Vik, Borgund, etc., and quotes: *i uppruna*, dat., Vik, (= *sbl-rune*, Voss). The passage in *KS* is: *at hugleiða uppruna sialfrar spæki oc hennar væghu oc stiga*, “to consider the source of wisdom and her ways and paths.”

**uxi**, ox. Ap., *yxn*, 143a16; *æxn*, 142b27.

**væði**. See *lífsvæði*.

**vili**, will, pleasure, desire. Ns., 7b2; as. *vilia*, 31a17, 103b18, etc.

**værmí**, warmth. As., 43a24.

**yfirboði**, master, superior. Ds., 124a17, 142a17; dp. *-um*, 125a1.

**ænnde**, end. As., 138b26, *ænda*, 81a1. See *ænder*.

**ærfingi**, heir. As. *-ia*, 125b25. See *arfi*.

#### Neuters

Of the limited number of neuters in *-a* in ON the following occur in the *KS*:

<sup>127</sup> Also in the first occurrence of the word *spurdagi* the reference is to a succession of questions: . . . *firir hvi sva mikell gnottr isa oc frostr oc vil ec at þer lysir mer þænna spurning oc sva um þat sam ec hæfi fyr mæir spurt i occurre ræðo oc um þat er grænlanndingar calla norðrlíos oc vilde ec nu at þer læystit þænna spurdaga firir mer*, etc.



**auga**, eye. Dp. *-um*, 33b15, *augum*, 95a18, *augom*, 87a30; ap. *augu*, 33b23, 46b18, 125b1.

**hiarta**, heart. Ds., 2a30, etc. Cf. *hiartapryðe*.

**æyra**, ear. Ap. *æyru*, 56a28.

#### b. *Ōn*-Stems

These are almost exclusively feminines in ON. For the few nouns of masc. gender see *AnG*, I, §§398-399; none of these appear in *KS*. The occs. comprise the following 137 stems and 53 cpds. of these:

**ahyggiā**, thought, thoughtfulness, worry, concern, care, earnestness, devotion. Ds. *-iu*, 63b15, etc., but *-io*, 63b13; ap. *-iur*, 126b27, 126b15: *þa skal konungr . . . rannzaca mæðr alhugasamlegri ahyggiu*. . . Cf. *athugi*.

**alþýða**, the populace, the people, public. 55b10, *u*, 66b26. Cf. *alþýðu-viðni*.

**anndværða**, beginning. Ds. *-u*, 5b8.

**aptrkvama**, return. Gs. *-o*, 100b6, 109a1.

**apynia**, female ape. Np. *-iur*, 32b1.

**aska**, ashes. 85a21.

**ata**, food. Gs. *ato*, 36a18, Cf. *at*.

**atvinna**, sustenance. *-o*, 9b25, *-u*, 120a23.

**auðna**, quality that brings success, success. *-u*, 49a4: *eru oc vænne þeir til er hugleiða en hinir er glæma en hværia gefu oc anðnu sëm ec bær til at fylgia*. The two members of the couplet: *gefa* and *auðna*, are evidently synonymous. In 48b29 *gefa* alone is used; see below under this word. *Auðna* is usually defined "good luck," or "fate"; cp. *FrOrdb*: "Skjæbne som raader for Begivenhedernes Gang og Udfald, tildeler enhver hans Lod,"—hence "lot." The meaning "good fortune" remains in some regions in the modern use of the word as Icel. *auðna*, and Norw dial. Sogn, *audn*, "lukka," *GnOrdb*, *aunn*, Sfj. (Aasen). But the former of these, cited by Ross for Lustr, Sogn, is also there used for "fortunate instinct, protecting impulse," "heldigt Indstinkt, beskjærmende Drift." as: *dan fudle mann'n hadde dan æuni aa dra seg i hus lol*.

**avusa**, thanks, appreciation. As. *avrsu*, 159a9 and 11.

**beizla**, request. *-o*, 134b1. Norw. dial. *beidsla*. Dal., (*GnOrdb*). Cf. *baizlumaðr*.

**bara**, wave. Np. *-ur*, 47b5; ap. *-or*, 128b19; dp. *barum*.

**bliða**, gentleness, pleasant aspect, friendly attitude, friendliness, allurement, blandishment. *-u*, 10b12; 47a16, 90b6, 106b10. 104a30

**bryggia**, bridge. Dp. *-ium*, 78a9.

**brynja**, iron coat of mail. *-iu*, 76a12; *-iur*, 78a13. Cp. *brynhosa*. See remarks under *pannzari*.

Cpd: **hæstbrynja**, armour for a war-horse, *-iu*, 28b16. The form occurs only here, but *hestabrynja* is recorded for *Trist*. by *FrOrdb*. A "bir-

nied" (*brynjaðr*) horse is mentioned in *Þiðrekss.*, 206 and 438. See *WTh*, p. 74.

**buccavara**, buckskin (wares). *As.*, -*voru*, 38a11. Cf. *nautavara*.

**bylgia**, billow. *Dp.* -*ium*, 8a22; 9a13; *ap.* -*iur*, 46b22.

**bæiska**, bitterness. *As.* -*u*, 104b27. Cf. *bæiskleikr*.

**bærška**, childhood. *Gs.* -*u*, 67a19; *ds.* -*u*, 67a11, -*o*, 118b18; *bærnska*, 67b4, 124a13.

**domsæta**, sitting of court. *Gs.*, -*o*, 130b25. Cf. *domsæti*. See *domr*.

**dryckia**, drinking. *Gs.* -*iu*, 75b10; *ds.* -*io*, 56a7.

*Cpds.* **ofdryckia**, excessive drinking, -*iu*, 73a5; **samsætisdryckia**, drinking festival, -*iur*, 72b21.

**dybliza**, prison. -*u*, 88b14, etc.

**Evva**, Eve. *Nom.* *Evva* 105a15; *Eva*, 105a24, 104a15, *evva*, 106b3, etc. *Gs.*, *Evvo*, 102a3. The name occurs 31 times with forms as follows: *nom.* *Evva*, four times, *Eva*, three times; oblique cases, *Evvo*, 23 times, *Evo*, once.

**fehirla**, possessions, treasury, treasure. *Ns.* *fehirlzla*, 78a2; *gs.* *fehirlzlu*, 68a17; *fiarhirlzum*, 47a18. Cf. *hirlzlomaðr*.

**flætta**. See *sæl* and *griot*.

**folska**, folly. *Gs.* -*o*, 83b30.

**forsia**, foresight. *Ns.*, 46a8; *as.* -*o*, 46a17, 91a17. See, however, *Ö-Stems*. By the side of these regular forms there is a *nom.* *forsio*, and a *dat.* *forsia* (*mæðr guðs forsia*), which may be explained as a levelling of the *sg.* case-forms. Such *nom.* forms in -*u*, -*o*, and *obl.* -*a* occur, e.g., *F. Hom.*, pp. 103 and 106. However, *ōn-stem* feminines do not anywhere else exhibit this levelling in *KS*, hence it seems best to regard *forsia* as having gone in part or wholly over to *ō-stem* inflection. In the latter case -*ia* and -*io* are but orthographic variants. Of this there are numerous instances in *KS*.

**friðla**, concubine. *Dp.* *friðlum*, 142a8.

**fru**, lady. *Gs.* *fru*, 124a9.

**fyrsta**, beginning. *Ds.* *def.* -*uni*, 144a26; *fystunni*, 151a9.

**fœzla**, food, sustenance. *Obl.* 65b7; 65b11 and 12, 108b21, 92a20; *ns.* *fæðzla*; *gs.* *fæðz'a*.

**ganga**, walk, course. *Obl.* *gongu*, 74a20, 74b6.

*Cpds.* **framganga**, going out, issuing forth, -*gongu*, 10b22; **skemtanarganga**, going out for amusement, -*gongo*, 75b12; **uppganga**, entering or boarding a ship, -*gongu*, 77a30; **utganga**, going out of, leaving, -*gangu*, 10a12.

**gata**, road. See *þioðgata*.

**gata**, conjecture, opinion. *Dp.* *gatum*, 42b25.

**gefa**, quality that brings success, good fortune. -*o*, 48b29, -*u*, 49a4. The former passage reads: *oc vænni ec at ec muni mioc hugfæst hafa til minnis flæsta alla þa luti er þar var um talat hværia gefo sām ec bær til*

*fram aleið at fylgia*, “. . . whatever good fortune I may have to follow it henceforth,” or better in Norw. “*hvorlangt det være mig givet at følge det for fremtiden*.” Cf. Norw. dial. *gjæva*, “Held og Yndest som følger en, især for hans Vindende Personlighed.” *Hu æ kje vakker men dör fyre slig gjæva mæ enn*, Ross. Observe that here *gjæva* is used of a personal quality that brings success. The Norw. dial. *gívnad* is used much the same way in that it may be used for “gift,” “talent,” “instinct,” “natural quality,” as well as “good fortune,” “luck,” regarding which latter meanings Aasen says “mindre brugeligt.” See further also Ross. Modn. Icel. *gæfa* means “good luck,” “fortune” (Zoëga). See *auðna*.

Cpd: *ugeva*, misfortune, unfortunate condition, wrong. 71a8; -o, 71a11; -or 6916, *ogefur*, 71b20: *otimar oc*—, “misfortunes and wrongs,” *ogevor*, 69a17: *þa værða oc framðar allskyns aðrar ogevor*, “then all kinds of other unfortunate conditions will result.” Norw. dial. *ugjæva*, “uheldig Tilstand; ogsaa om en daarlig Ting eller Person,” Nedenæs (Aasen).

*geirvarta*, nipple. Gp. -*varina*, 79a16.

*geta*, conjecture, opinion, mention, talk. -u, 37a21; -or, 40a25, 41b18, 42a19.

*gezla*, keeping, protection, watch. -o, 8b5, etc. Cf. *gezlomaðr*.

Cpds: *fiargezla*, accumulation of wealth, property, 2a4; *laghagezla*, maintenance of the law, regard for law, law-imposed obligation, -o, 84b27, 102b13; *lannzgezla*, protection of the country, -o, 84b27; *rikisgezla*, authority over a country, dominion, -o, 103a28; *vangetzla*, negligence, -o, 47b11.

*gipta*, good fortune, success. Ns., 2b15; as. -o, 4b5: *Guð þacki yðr hærra minn at þer synir oss sva astsamlega frændzeme at þer synir mer alla þa luti er mer ero nauðsynleger æf ec bæra gipto til at muna æpter æf numit yrðe*.<sup>128</sup> Cf. *gefa* and *auðna*.

Cpd: *ugipta*, misfortune, -or, 5a17.

*glavia*, lance, glave. As. -u, 79a27. Cf. *glaviualagh*. The form *glavia* is not recorded in *FrOrdb*, but see *GnOrdb*. The source is M. Lat. *glavea* (Fr. *glaiue*).<sup>129</sup> Var. *glefia* (*FrOrdb*), which is also the OSw form: *glævia* (<MHG *glevie*). See *AnG*, II, §424, note 2. On the variant *glavel*<sup>130</sup> as a contamination of *gladiel*, *gladel*, “dagger,” and *glafia*, see *WTh.*, p. 56. Of the *glavia* the text merely says: “. . . goða glaviu oc hvassa af goðu stali oc væl skepta,” “. . . a good and sharp lance of good steel and (it must be) well shafted.”

*glosa*, gloss, definition. Np. -or, 109a27; dp. -um, 112b29.

<sup>128</sup> “May God reward you, sire, for the love of kinship that you show in pointing out to me all these things which are useful for me (to know), if (i.e., provided) I may have the good fortune to remember them when I have learned them.”

<sup>129</sup> On the source of this word in its various forms see Fischer, *LA*, pp. 58 and 69.

<sup>130</sup> Named among the weapons of the *Þiðreks saga*, but only in the form *glavel*.

**gnipa**, mountain peak. Dp. *-um*, 34b27.

**gru**, prostrate position. In *a gru*, 36b7.

**grima**, a mask or head harness for a horse. 78b27: *en utan yfir bæizli oc um alt hofuð hæstzens oc um hals framan til saðuls þa skal vera grima gor a pannzara lunnð af stirðu lerepli*.<sup>121</sup>

**gæzka**, good, value, good quality, goodness, virtue. Gs. *-o*, 2b11, *-u*, 37b5: as. *-o*, 88a29.

**haka**, chin. As. *haku*, 33b23.

**halva**, half part. Ds. *halv*, 130b18: *skipaðr af Guðs halv*, "intended by God."

**harpa**, harp. As. *harpu*, 144a10, etc., *horpu*, 144a14.

**heilsa**, physical strength, health. Ds. *-u*, 4b14, etc., 126b24.

**heimqama**, return home. *-o*, 89a29. See *kvama*.

**heimska**, stupidity, folly. 50b28, *-u*, 64a24, etc.

**hola**, hole, hollow. Ap. *-or*, 103b11.

Cpd. **fiallzhola**, cave, *-o*, 146b8.

**hosa**, hose, legging. Used only in the pl. Gp. *hosna*, 58b23 and 25; ap. *-or*, 79a1.

Cpd: **brynhosor**, pl. greaves, 79a4. From the account of the accoutrements of the warrior on horseback the following description of the hose, greaves and warbreeches may be quoted: *En þænna umbunað þarf maðrenn sialfr at hafa Goðar hosor oc linar gorvar af blautu leræpli oc væl svartaða oc taki þær allt til brocabælltis en utan yfir þær goðar brynhosor sva hafar at maðr mægi gyrða þær um sec tvilsaldum svæip en utan yfir þat þa þarf hann at hafa goðar brynbræcr gorvar mæð lerepli*.<sup>122</sup>

**hovæska**, courteous conduct, courtesy. Ns., 54b1, 65a13; gs. *-u*, 57a7; ds. *-o*, 54a11, *-u*, 64b20; and gs. *hoværsko*, 61a15.

Cpd: **ohovæska**, unmannerliness. *-u*, 56b6.

**hæra**, hair (of the head). Dp. *-um*, 27b14: *En þat er nattura annarar kelldunnar æf maðr þvær ser þar i hvað lit sëm aðr hæfir hann kvart sëm hann var rauðr eða hvitr eða svartr þa værðr hann siðan sniohvitr af hærum sva sëm hann se ælligamall maðr*.<sup>123</sup>

**illzka**, ill-will, wickedness. *-u*, 7b12, etc.: *illzca*, 70a12; *illzkur*, 70a23.

**kapa**, mantle. *-o*, 47a3.

<sup>121</sup> "But outside the bridle and about the whole head of the horse and the neck back to the saddle there is to be a mask made of stiff linen, as the war coat is." Icel. *grima*, mask, Norw. dial. *grima*, Riksmåal, *grime*, commonly for "halter," but also with other meanings.

<sup>122</sup> "The following equipment the rider himself should have: good and soft breeches made of soft and well-blackened linen cloth, which should reach up to the belt, and outside these good greaves which should come up high enough so that, . . ."

<sup>123</sup> "But another spring is of such nature that if a man washes himself in it, whatever color his hair may be before, whether red, or white or black, he will afterwards have snow-white hair as if he were an old man."

Cpd: **loðkapa**, fur mantle, -o, 46b12. See *AK*, 185.

**kapælla**, chapel. -o, 133b10.

**kellda**, spring. Np. -ur, 27b5 and 7; gs. def. *kelldunnar*, 27b13.

**kirkia**, church. -iu, 3a29, 73a16, etc.; -io, 29b16. Cf. *kirkiudyrr*, *kirkiugarðr*, *kirkiusocn*.

\***kona**, woman. Ds. -o, 88b14; pl. -or, 69a12, etc.

Cpd: **frænndkona**, female relative, 69a10; **portkona**, harlot, -or, 5a14. Cf. *portkvænnahus*; *sifkona*, "woman relation (by marriage)," -or, 69a11.

**korona**, crown. -u, 46a30.

**kringla**, circle, orb, sphere. -u, 128b11; -ur, 40a18.

Cpd: **heimskringla**, sphere of the earth, -u, 123b16, 129b30.

**kvama**. See *aptrkvama*, *heimqvama*, *nærqvama*, *samkvama*, *vapnasamanqvama*.

**kvænna**, woman. Gp., 120-a24.

**kunnasta**, knowledge, ability. -u, 125a12.

**quiða**, anxiety, pain. -u, 47a1 and 5.

**kynfylgia**, family nature, peculiar character, kind. Ds. -iu, 9b23. See *kyn*.

**latina**, Latin. Ds. -u, 27a26.

**leiða**, condition of being weary of, dislike, aggravation. -u, 66a21. Rare in ON. Cf. Norw. dial. *leida*, do., Aasen, Bergen Diocese, and *leie*, Tel; also vb. *leie seg*, "exhibit displeasure." Common in the corresponding adj. *lei*, "weary of," "displeased with," as ON *leiðr*, adj.

**licnæskia**, likeness, image. -iu, 124b8, 128a27.

**loclausu**, nonsense, loose talk. -o, 126b20. Fritzner cites no. occ. of this form.<sup>134</sup> Regularly *lokleysa*, as Icel. Not found in Norw. diall.

**loghretta**, provision in the law. 137a28.

**mulluzka**, language. -ur, 4a27.

**Maria**, Mary. -u, 6b16, *mariu*, 124a10.

**missa**, loss. 63b21.

**muta**, bribe. -u, 116b3.

**mælska**, command of language. -o, 92b4. Cf. *mælskomaðr*, *mælskoanndi*.

**mæssa**, holy mass. -o, 3b1, 127a5. Cf. *mæssosongr*.

**nattura**, nature. -u, 9a26, etc. -o, 29a16, etc., *natura*, 37b19.

**nautavara**, beef-hides. -voro, 38a11. See *vara*.

**nærqvama**, approach. -o, 7b25. Cf. *nerkæmi*. See *heimqvama*.

**næyzla**, need, requirement, partaking of, use, enjoyment. -u, 92a23, *næyzlu*, 104b6.

<sup>134</sup> However, *loclausu* is given as a variant form. *KS* reading: *tíð loclausu eða hegomlegrar skemtanar*. Cf. *Njáls saga*, p. 135: *-ok kvaðu vera villausa ok kvaðu geip hennar ekki skyldu standa fyrir þingreið þeirra* (*lokleysa* appears as a var. of *villausa*, ed.). Elsewhere also *villeysa*.

Cpd: **matarnœyzla**, partaking of food, -u, 83b10; **samnœyzla**, intercourse, -o, 94b25. This cpd. also appears in *Barl.* and *DN*, IX., 117. Generally *samneyti*.

**orrosta**, battle. -o, 76b25, pl. -or, 70b4, 76b25; dp. -om, 52a24, 70b10, -um, 70b1.

Cpd: **skipaorrosta**, naval battle, -o, 77b25.

**pipa**, fife. Dp. -um, 152b11.

**riva**, rift, crevice. -ur, 43a29; -um, 43b5.

**ræzla**, fear. 136b26; o, -32a17. Coupled with *ogn* in one case and *aghi* in the other.<sup>135</sup> See *agi* above.

**ræghla**, regulation, order, holy order. -u, 127a2; 142a22: *væra utræ-kinn fra heilagri ræghlu; ræгло*, 127a4.

**rænnala**, course. -u, 45a3; -ur, 45a8.

**rœða**, conversation, discussion, discourse. -o, 29b2, etc.; -u, 7a24, usually this vowel; pl. -ur, always; dp. -um, 2a13; gp. *ræðna*, 109a27; 130a7. Erroneously *roðo*, 64b17.

Cpds: **framgangs-rœða**, continued discussion, -u, 111b25; **fröðleics-rœða**, learned discourse, -o, 94a8; **umrœða**, discussion about, -u, 29b28, -o, 42a18; **viðrœða**, conversation, -u, 92b5, *viðrræða*, 83a10:

**saga**, account, story. -u, 147b21; *sagur*, 35a1.

Cpd: **upsaga**, pronouncing, -u, 132b3.

**samanqvama**. See below: *vapna*—.

**samkvama**, congregating. 160a22; -o, 160a15.

**sala**, soul. Pl. *salor*, 28b26; *salur*, 47b10. Cf. *salotion*, *salohaski*. See *sal*, p. 74.

**siða**, side. -u, 40a11, 81b2, -o, 44b20.

**siðleysa**, improper conduct. 57a4. Cf. *loclausa*.

**siðvænia**, custom. 71a1, -io, 71a8, 144b15; -iu, 126b7.

**sinka**, miserliness, avarice. 84b23; -u, 116b3.

**skepna**, creature, creation. 10a9, 72a24; -o, 9b6, -u, 130b15, -ur, 29b20.

**skeptifletta**, a shafted flint weapon, "shaft-flake." Occurs in the pl. -ur, 77b15. *Ksp.* has the variant *flettiskeptur*, for which *FrOrdb.* gives two citations. It is evidently some kind of an implement to be hurled. The preceding discussion about such weapons as are good to have on ship names first the *langorfsliar* and closes with *staflongur* which is set off by a period. But the last word suggested missiles in general. The sentence that follows reads: *Skeptiflettur oc allskyns annat vapngriot lasbogar oc handbogar eru þar goðer oc allskyns annur skotvapn*. It is therefore a stone weapon. *Vapngriot*, literally "weapon-stones" (not weapons of stone), are presumably stones hurled at the enemy, that is the weapon as a whole is hurled. Similarly

<sup>135</sup> *Ræzla oc ogn*, a frequently recurring couplet.

also with the *skeptiflettur*, hence these are not "flakes" equipped with shafts; such weapons would not be hurled. It may be noted that the word occurs only in the plural. They were in all probability stone flakes fitted for the purpose of the moment into shafts, i.e., into the split ends of the handles, and thus held while the handle was swung, the stone only being hurled. It was a weapon somewhat similar to the *stafslongva* immediately preceding and which possibly suggested its mention next. See *stafslongva* below.

**skikkia**, cloak, mantle. *-iu*, 61a12, and 19, *-io*, 73b25.

**skyllða**, duty, obligation. 94a30, 119a29, *-u*, 90b24. Cf. *skyldarreiða*, *skyldarsysla*. Obs. the use in the sentence: *Nu scaltu a slicu marca at guð vil mæð skylldu heimta hof oc sannsyni litillati oc rellati oc tryggleic af þeim sëm hann hæfr til sëmðar* (90). "From this you will observe that God must demand moderation, fairness, modesty, sense of justice, and faithfulness from those whom he raises to power." *Mæð skylldu* = "properly," "rightly," "of necessity."

**skyldarreiða**, business or activity imposed by duty, bounden duty. 96b11.

**skyrta**, kirtle, skirt. *-u*, 58b30.

**sleita**, trick, trickery. *-u*, 69a28; *-ur*, 84b11.

**slongva**, sling. Ds., *slongo*, 76b12.

Cpds: **handslongva**, handsling, *-ghu*, 76b14, *-gur*, 80a24; **stafslongva**, stafsling, *-u*, 76b14; *-ur*, 80a24; **valslongva**, a siege engine for hurling stones; evidently a trebucket. Pl. *-ur*, 79b24, *-or*, 79b20 and 21; dp., *-um*, 79b27. See discussion *AW*, 193-194, *Aarb.* 1867, pp. 103-104.<sup>136</sup> The first element of the cpd. can hardly be *val*, *n.*, "the fallen," hence possibly "battle-sling, for it is but one of various kinds of missiles used in battle. The name, therefore, probably rather means "French hurler," (Walloon hurler) as *AW*: "wohl wälsche Schleuder."<sup>137</sup> The description of it in *KS*, 79b, may be quoted: *Sa er kastala skal sækia mæðr þeim vapnum er nu ero talð þa þarf hann oc vist at hafa valslongor mæðr sumar stærkar valslongor til þærs at slongia storo grioti a steinvægg oc fræista steinvæggjar æf ovan mætti fella mæðr storum akastum. En linar valslongur til þærs at slongva ifir steinvægg oc briota ovan hus er i ero kastala.*<sup>138</sup>

**slæva**, saliva, froth. *-o*, 46b10.

<sup>136</sup> San Marte: *Zur Waffenkunde*, pp. 270-288, gives a good account of hurling devices and engines of the period.

<sup>137</sup> To be sure we should in this case expect *valsk slongva*.

<sup>138</sup> "He who is to attack a castle with the weapons which I have enumerated will also need trebuckets; a few powerful ones with which to throw large rocks against the stone wall (of the castle) to see if it is possible to destroy it with violent blows (in that way). But one must have lighter trebuckets for throwing (rocks) over the stone wall and thus demolish the houses that are within the castle."

**smaca**, little thing, small matter. *smaco*, 6a6.<sup>139</sup>

**smoga**, hole, retreat. *-or*, 123b8.<sup>140</sup> *FrOrdb.* does not give *smoga*. *GnOrdb.*, however, by reference to *smuga* and the occ. in *KS*; also adj. *smögligr*. Icel. only *smuga*. Aasen for Norw. diall only *smog*. Bergen diocese. Ross cites *smog*, "Bjergpas," for Hard., and *smoga* (open *o*), *f.*, "smuthul," Tel. The latter also in Ryf. and Shl. This is the use in *KS*. Cf. *smoga*, "retreat in a storm," Hard., Ryf., Shl.

**stalhuva**, visorless steel helmet, morion. *-ur*, 78a17.

**stæfna**, meeting, appointed place, gathering. *-u*, 57a4, 91b14, *-ur*, 57a3; dp. *-um*, 84a24.

Cpd: **malstæfna**, conference, *-um*, 56a7.

**staðfæsta**, fixed home; steadfastness; confirmation, *-u*, 103a27; *-o*, 91b22; *-om*, 101a28.

**sýsla**, occupation, office. *-o*, 10b1, 52b20, *-u*, 53b4. Cf. *sýslomaðr*.

Cpd: **skyldarsýsla**, official duty, 119b16, *-o*, 126a1.

**sæta**. See *domsæta*.

**sæla**, happiness. *-o*, 102b30, 104b2.

Cpd: **sigraæla**, quality that insures victory, "victory-luck," *-o*, 151a7.

**tala**, count, reckoning, mention. Obl. *tolu*, 87b24, 36b25: *kalla i tolu mæð hvalum*, "count among whales (include with whales)."

**tiara**, tar. 82a9.

**trumba**, trumpet. 152b11.

**tunga**, tongue, language. *-o*, 4a30, 28b12, *-u*, 4b21, 27a23, etc.; *-ur*, 4a29; gp. *-na*, 89a2. Cf. *tunguskæðe*.

**þarflausa**, uselessness, purposelessness. As. *-u*, 49b23.

**þjóðgata**, highway. *-gatu*, 63a15.

**þionosta**, service. Ns., 57a18; *-o*, 50a1, 51a12, etc.; *-or*, 59b29, etc.; *-om*, 50b10, *-um*, 51a11. Cf. *þionostomaðr*.

**þoca**, fog. *-o*, 42b30. See *miorkvi*.

**þruma**, rumbling (of thunder). *-u*, 28a8, *-ur*, 47a13.

Cpd: **reiðiprumur**, pl., roar of thunder, 47a13; *-um*, 28a8.<sup>141</sup>

Variant: *reiðarprumur*, *Ksp.*, 22, note 18. See *reiði* and *festiband*.

<sup>139</sup> The form is unusual. It appears in *DN*, IV, 359, date 1352, Oslo: *smakur*, acc. pl., quoted in *FrOrdb.* Our passage reads: *Enn ero þeir luter i smaco er hugleiða þarf*, "there are still certain minor matters which it is important to remember." The word is recorded for the Norw. dial. of Indherred: *smaak*, "Smaating, Smaakram" (Aasen), also used of small domestic animals. Cf. Norw. *smækker*, adj. "slender," and OHG. *smahi*, "small," "simple," See *EtOrdb.*, *smaa*.

<sup>140</sup> Var: *smugur*. Cf. Norw. dial. *smugu*, NGbr.

<sup>141</sup> *Reiðiprumur* also, *Barl.*, 172, text C, but *reiðarprumur* text B, as *reiðarþruma*, *Ridd.*, 80; however, *reiðidunur*, *Barl.*, 172, and dpl., 25. In these last cases the first element is *reiði*, (*vreiði*), "anger," according to the *GnOrdb.* But *reiðiprumur* clearly means "rumbling of the thunder('s ride)," and the first part is then to be referred to ON *reið*, *f.*, "ride." Similarly *reiðarduna*. Cf. *reiðihest* for *reiðhestr*. It would seem that *reiði* of *reiðiprumur* is not to be separated from *reið* or *reiðarprumur*. *Reiði* is an *in*-stem.



- bræta, quarrel, dispute. 91a7, -o, 92a3, -or, 5a15.  
 byckia, opinion. As. -io, 44a3.  
 þyða, mingling with, friendly intercourse. -u, 72b15.  
 þæckia, roof. -io, 129b8.  
 uprisa, resurrection. -u, 115a19. Cf. *upreist*, *uprisutimi*.  
 vaka, waking, watch. obl. *vaku*. 8b16, *voku*, 126b5.  
 valska, French. -u, 4a28.  
 vapnasamanqvama, clash of weapons. Ds. -o, 77a18.  
 vara. See *buccavara nautavara*.  
 varta. See *geirvarta*.  
 viðatta, expanse, the open; ground. -o, 98b24, 99a19, 108b19. See *væðratta*.  
 viðrlaga, wager, stake. ap. -logur, 5a15.  
 viðrtaka, act of receiving, reception. -toku, 68b14:  
*þvi næst veiter sa viðrtoku er til væðr flyit*, "then he to whom they flee receives them (and gives them protection)."  
 villa, going astray, error. 125a21; -u, 137b29. Cf. *villustigr*.  
 vinatta, friendship, 46b16: -o, 52a29 and b21.  
 Cpds: *astsoemðarvinatta*, loving friendship, true friendship, -o, 151b16; *uvinatta*, unfriendliness, -o, 68b12.  
 vitzka, sagacity, wisdom. -u, 1b9, 52a26, -ur; ds. *vizku*, 113b28.  
 væðratta, state of the weather. -u, 9b9; ns. *væðratta*, 65b22. See *viðatta*. On this word and other words in -atta, see *AfnF*, VII, pp. 118-119.  
 væðrblaka, breeze. Ds. -u, 48a19.<sup>142</sup> Only occ. (?).  
 væitzla, reward, remuneration for service or support. -ur, 53b12.  
 Cpds: *varðvæizla*, protection, -o, 137a30.  
 æcla, shortage. -u, 45a6.  
 ælska, love. -u, 88a12, 125a8.  
 ærsla, wandering of the mind, raving. Dp. -um, 144b22.  
 Cpds: *havuðærsla*, delirium, -ur, 144a7.  
 æska, youth. -u, 5a11, 67a11. Cf. *æskumaðr*.

### In-Stems

Feminines. Only singular forms are met with. The following sixty stems appear:

- agiervi, raiment. 73b11. Not in Lex., but *gervi*, *görvi*, *gjörvi*.  
 algorfi, fine raiment. 61a2.  
 athygli, care, attention, study. 4b9, 54a28, 85n26.

<sup>142</sup> Norw. dial. *vederbloka* (open o), "a bat," Tel., Sæt., also used of a restless person. The second part of the word is ON *blaka*, "something that one waves," cited in *FrOrdb*, from *Mar.* 919, 12: *tok i brott miskunnsamliga sem með einni blöku þann hita er hon þinaðist af*. See *NEtOrdb*, under *blaffe*. Cf. ON *blaka* "flutter," "waft," Norw. dial. *blaka*, do., Tel., and many varying forms and meanings elsewhere. Icel. *blaki*, "flickering."

**blæyði**, yielding, lenience, fear. 96a30, 115a11.

**bræði**, anger. 137b15, *bræðe*, 4b25.

**byrleiðe**, favorable wind. 32a6.

**daðsæme**, manliness, manly conduct. 72b12.

**dulræmi**, selfdeception, stupidity, folly (especially persistence in), great folly, height of folly. 105b15. Not recorded. *Ksp*: *dulræna* "Indbildning hvormed man hedrager sig," *FrOrdb.*, "tom indbildning," *GnOrdb.* Not found in Icel. Cf. Norw. dial. *dulram*, adj., Tel., "udholdende i at dølge noget" (Aasen). Aasen refers to the adj. *ram*, which, among other uses, means "dristig i at tale," and is used in Sdm. only as second element of cpds., e.g., *kjæstram*, etc. Ross gives the word *dulram* for Shl. and Sæt., illustrating by the sentence: *dai ere so dulrame um luytei sei*, "they are so secretive about their faults." This would suggest for *dulræmi* the meaning, "persistence in concealing their guilt." However, the context does not bear this out: *Ðvi næst foro þau at fæla sec millim tria oc gavo oss dæmi sinnar dulræmi því at þau gaðu æigi at Guði varo sva kunn hanndaværk sin oc allt smiði þat sëm hann hafði gort at æigi mundi ris eða skogar fæla þau fyr hans augliti þar sëm læynilighar roar hælvtis fylsna ero bærar oc syniligar i hans augliti ahværri stunnðo*. To their former folly was therefore added further proof of folly by the effort to conceal themselves from God, thereby showing that they did not understand "that bushes or trees could not conceal his handiwork from him, since even the secret recesses of hell's darkness are bare and visible to his eyes at every hour." Hence *dulræmi* here: (Adam's and Eve's) persistence in folly, utter self-deception. Cf. Faroese *dulur*, "Sanseløshed," ON *duliðr*, pprtc., "foolish," i.e. "held in ignorance," *Helgakviða Hjörv.*, 19, 1, and *dulinn*, adj., "vain, conceited."

**fafræðe**, ignorance. 65a29, 125a22, -i, 65a11.

**fegirni**, greed for money. 72b24. Cf. *fe*, *æigingirni*.

**fesnicni**, greed for money. 87a28, etc.

**festi**, miserliness. 84b23.

**fiolskyllði**, troublesome thing, big task. 113a12.

**forvitni**, eagerness to learn, curiosity. 37b23; as. 49b20: *forvitni þarf lausa*; gs., 94a13: *at spyria fleiri luta þeirra er ec hæfi mer ihug til minnar forvitni*, "which I have in mind to inquire about," "I am anxious to know and ask about." In, at any rate, two of the occs. *forvitni* is a fem. Is also a fem. in Norw. dial.: *forvitni* (and *forvitna*), Aasen.

**friðsæmi**, love, good will. 113b22, 114a29, 115b21, 116b24. Meaning is not "peace" here, as ON *friðsæmi* otherwise. *Friðsemi*, 114a2.

**fræistni**, attempt, act of testing; temptation. 38a20, 87a11, etc., *freistni*, 92a2.

**frændzemi**, kinship. 68a21, *frændzeme*, 4b3.

**fræðe**. See *fafræðe*, *ufræðe*.

**fysi**, desire, inclination, impulse. 2b29, etc.

Cpd: **goðfysi**, good will, 1a12.

**gauðrifi**, abusive language. 83b27: *þat er oc siðgæði at sea væl við munnaðum eða bolbænum eða gauðrifi oc allu aðru tunguskæðe*. Fritzner suggests that our word is the ds. of a noun *gauðrif*. and translates "Tilbøielighed til at udskjælde, haane, spotte." In the OIc. *Homiliubók*, *gauðrifi* is coupled with *bolvon*. Cf. ON *gauðyrði*, cited with one occ. in *FrOrdb*. used of speaking in an unseemly and course manner. It may be noted that *gauðrifi* is underlined in the codex. ON *gauð n.*, bark, barking. Cf. Norw. dial. "Gjæn," which Ross gives for the dial. of Tel., adding: "Mest i *Hoondegou* i gamle Viser," with which is to be compared Icel. *gauða*, "to bark at," "scold," and *gauðrifinn*, adj., "torn asunder." The vb. *gaua* (Ross) has quite a different distribution. Cf. ON *gauð*. The second component is derived from *rifa*, "to tear," hence *gauðrifi* implies a comparison with the barking of a dog. Cf. American slang: *bark at*, "use loud abusive language."

**gersemi**, treasure, valuables. Ap. *gersimar*, 106a11, 129a, 143a16 and 20; ns. *gærsimi*, 39a12. Hence an *ō*-stem in the plural.

**gloghæcni**, shrewdness, penetration of mind. Gs., 110b30.

**glæðe**, gladness, joy, enjoyment. 9b1, 86b8; *glæðe*, 8a8. Cf. *uglæðisklæðe* (*uglæðe*, sorrow), *glæðebunaðr*.

**hagspæki**, practical common sense. As., 10a25. Cf. *hagspækliqr*, "clever in practical matters."

**halldinyrðe**, secretiveness, silence. 73b6: *með vitrlegre*—. Only here. See *bliðyrði, n.*

**hogværi**, gentleness, mercy. Gs., 117b22.

**hœlni**, boastfulness, vainglory. 144a3.

**hovæski**, courtliness, good manners. *Hævæski*, 56a2; *hovæski*, 56a19. *hoværski*, 56b17. The corresponding adjective regularly has the form *ho-*; thus *hovæskr*, 56b14, 19; 57a20, 22, *uhovæskr*, 57a11, 15, 19, 23. Also *hovæskliga*, 57a17. Cf. *hovæska*.

**kristni**, Christianity. 31b10, *cristni*, 31b16, *krisni*, 91b29. Gs. *krini*(!) 91a23.

**kurteisí**, courtly manners. 50b29.

**lafði**, lady, mistress. 88a23, b13, 98a17.

**lostasæmi**, self-indulgence, lust. 104a9 and b15.

**lyðni**, obedience, attention. 95a30, etc., 55a16.

Cpd: **ulyðni**, disobedience, 31b25.

**lygi**, falsehood. 92b7, *lyghi*, 99a11. Norw. dial. *lygi*, Tel., Rbg., (Ross), Icel. *lygi*. Also *lyghivitni*.

**milldi**, mercy. 108b8, 125b2.

**mislynde**, moodiness. 7b9.

**mutugirni**, greed for money to such an extent as to be susceptible to bribes. 72b23.

**nærkæmi**, accuracy, clearness. 94a6, *nerkæmi*, 85a30. Cf. *nærqva-ma*. Not elsewhere found, but *nakvæmi*, *Mar.*, 298, 21. The son says, *KS*, p. 85a, that he has received both clear and helpful answers, and he adds: *oc man hværn mann er noccora skilning hæfir fangit þessi ræða draga til meira nerkæmi um sína skilning en fyrr hafðe hann*, "and this discussion should bring any man, who has (received) some discernment, to greater clearness of ideas than he had before." And on p. 94a: *þessar ræður manu mec leiða til meiri narkæmi um minn athuga en fyr hafða ec*. ". . . to greater accuracy of thought than I had before." Cf. *nakvæmd* in the literal sense of "nearness," "presence," "contact," and adj. *nakvæmr*. The adj. *nærkæmr*, "correct," "exact," "true," occurs in *Barl.*, as well as in *KS*. Norw. dial. *nærkjømd*, adj.

**ordhæghi**, command of language. 84a18.

**paradisi**, paradise. *Ds.*, 98a23. See p. 60.

**prýðe**, ornament. 8a29.

Cpd: **hiartapryðe**, courage, 56a19.

**raðvænnde**, justice, just conduct. 72a5, etc., *raðvændi*, 94a28, etc.

Cpd: **uraðvænnde**, wickedness, 69a15, *oraðvænde*, 84a1.

**reiðe**, anger. 7b12, 31b8, etc. (twelve times), *reiði*, 117a15, etc.; *ds. stilla reiða sinni*, 100b16. The *a* of *reiða* is evidently repetition of *a* of *stilla*.

**rettvisi**, justice. 100a6, etc., *retvisi*, 100b12. Could be neuter.

**sannsyni**, reasonableness, reason, fairness, truthfulness. 55a9, 85b29, 88b10.

**sannænndi**, truth, verification, proof. 115b20; -e, 99a2; gp., 91b22.

**siðvænde**, good manners. 97a16.

**skamsyni**, shortsightedness, folly. 50b28, 61b16. Possibly a neuter. See p. 62.

**sogvisi**, slanderous talk, carrying scandal. 5a5. Not found elsewhere. *FrOrdb.* renders: "overdreven snaksomhed," quoting the passage in *KS*, which is: *Ðat skalltu oc vist vita at ængi er æinn æðri craftr eða styrcre en maðr fai væl hæpt tungu sína fra munnæiðum eða illyrðum oc sogvisi eð ollu aðru tunguskæðe*. See below under *tunguskæðe*. Cf. *Icel. sogvisi*, *f.*, "tattling," and adj. *sogvis*, Norw. dial. *sog*, "Snak, Tale; ogsaa Støi af mange Mennesker som tale paa en Gang," *N. Berg.*, *Nhl.*, (*Aasen*); also there: *søgja*, "tale, især længe og høirøstet."

**spæki**, wisdom. *Gs.*, 1b27, 2a24; -e, 2a22, 127b21, etc. See *spæð*.

Cpd: **malspæki**, wisdom in speech, 63a3.

**staðfæsti**, persistence. 115b28.

**tilhættai**, venturing, risk. 47b10.

**tunguskæðe**, evil or improper language. 5a5. *Icel. tunguskæður*, "evil-tongued," "slanderous."

**þolenmæðe**, patience. 1a10, *þolinmæðe*, 125a20.

**ufræðe**, ignorance. 51a9. See *fafræðe*.

**vigkæni**, skill in fighting. 77a6, etc. Rare; more often **vigfimi**, and adj. **vigfimir**. Cf. Icel. **vigkænn**, adj.

**æfi**, period of time, time, life-time. 54a23, 70b5, 9, 16, 71a15. Observe *af su æfi stænnðr noccora stund*, "if that condition lasts a while," 70b5 ("if those times," etc.). *Friðr oc ro oc goð æfi*, "peace and quiet and good times."

**æigingirni**, self-seeking. 124a28.

**ælli**, old age. 93a22. See *ællimaðr*.

**ætnei**, gluttony. 106b13.

**œði**, uncontrollable rage. 46b20, 129b25.

## II. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

**Masculines and feminines.** The original consonantal stem-forms have been replaced in the singular by those of the vocalic stems.

### *Masculines*

**fotr**, foot. Ds. *fæti*, 77a15, 78b21; np. *fætr*, 29a9; dp. *fotum*, 106b8. Cf. *fotsþor*.

**maðr**, man. The paradigm is regularly:

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	maðr	mænn
Gen.	mannz	manna
Dat.	manni	mannum, monnum
Acc.	mann	mænn

The ds. *manne* occurs 7a4; the dp. shows the mutated forms in about equal number with the unmutated. Occs. of the word: 2b28, 3a5, 10a7, 10a25, 29a9, etc. As first element of cpds: *mannabygð*, *mannation*, *mannðrap*, *mannþion*. For cpds. of *maðr* see below.

**nagl**, finger nail. Dp. *-naglum*, 25a23.

**þræðr**, thread-ball. Ap., 6a11.

**vætr**, winter. 41a30; ds. *vætre*, 9a30; dp. *vætrum*, 44b27; ap. *vætr*, 128a16.

Cpds. of *maðr*: **borgarmaðr**, townsman, citizen, 133a15; **bæizlumaðr**, petitioner, 159a15; **egyptamaðr**, Egyptian, dp. *-mannum*, 117a28; **farmaðr**, travelling merchant, dp. *-monnum*, 48b13. Cf. *farmannaoðal*; **felaxmaðr**, partner in business, dp. *-monnum*, 6b14; **fulltingsmaðr**, helper, dp. *-mannum*, 124b24; **gamansmaðr**, a sociable man, 33a10; **gezlomaðr**, a watcher over, keeper, protector, 55b26, 102b2, pl., 55b28, ns. *gezlu-*, 91b28; **giomaðr**, one given to dissipation, 74a28. See *giolifi*; **guðspiallamaðr**, evangelist, 111b14, *guðz-*, 114b12; **hirðmaðr**, member of the king's entourage, courtier, pl., 54b12, etc.; **hirzlomaðr**, protector, keeper, pl., 55b26 and 28; **hialpsmaðr**, helper, 87a15. The form is also found in *Barl.* 100, 18 and 207, 19. More often *hialparmaðr*, as Icel. *hjalparmaður*, but Norw. dial *hjelpe mann*, by the side of *hjelpemann*; **hærmaðr**, warrior, gp., 120a12; **karlmaðr**, man, ds. *-manni*, 97b5; **kaupmaðr**, merchant, ds.

-e, 10a29 and other forms; **kennimaðr**, priest, ds. -i, 124b29, pl. 39a25; **klaustramaðr**, monk, ap., 142a19; **konungsmaðr**, king's man, one in the king's service, 52b8, 53b26, etc.; **lanndstiornarmaðr**, governor of a province, member of the government, 72b6, pl., 56a12; **lannzmaðr**, inhabitant of the country, native, 39a15; **leicmaðr**, layman, 142a23, 148b4, player, jester, pl., 53a30; **malamaðr**, one who serves for pay, pl., 51a18, 52b22; **mæðalsiðarmaðr**, a man of ordinary manners, np., 50a5; **munndangsmaðr**, a man of moderation, ns., 96b24; **mælskomaðr**, good speaker, 64b7; **navistarmaðr**, a man who stands near to someone, is on terms of close friendship with someone, pl., 56b26; **orðvarpsmaðr**, spokesman, 83b29; **ovundarmaðr**, an envious man, pl., 61a9; **qvænmaðr**, woman, 34a21; **reinlifismaðr**, one who lives in celibacy, pl., 28a29; **rikismaðr**, man in high position, man of means and influence, pl., 64a29, ds. -e, 86b24, dp. -*mannum*, 85a2, *rikissmonnum*, 64a20: **ræðesmaðr**, manager, steward, 51a21; **ræfsingarmaðr**, one who chastises, instrument of punishment, 136b15; **samsætismaðr**, table companion, 74b10; **siðarmaðr**, well-bred man, 71b5, np. -*mæn*, 138b17; **skilamaðr**, good and trustworthy man, 3b13;<sup>143</sup> **snilldarmaðr**, able man, 92b4; **sœmðarmaðr**, honorable man, 94a2, *somðarmænn* (*om* for *æm*, possibly by reason of the immediately preceding *koma*), 57a30;<sup>144</sup> **sænnðemaðr**, messenger, commissioner, pl., 56b15. Cf. *sænnðifor*; **syslumaðr**, king's steward, 53b30; **trunaðarmaðr**, one who is in somebody's confidence, ds. -e, 73b4; **umboðsmaðr**, representative, steward, pl., 5a27; **þionostomaðr**, member of the king's official family, one in the royal service, dp. -*monnum*, 5429, *þionostu*—, 94a27. Cf. OSw. *þiænistumaþer*, modn. Sw. *tjänstman*, "official," "functionary"; **usiðarmaðr**, wicked man, dp. -*um*, 68a25; **uþurftamaðr**,<sup>145</sup> doer of harm, 68a22; **yfirmaðr**, master, superior, 55a16, *ivirmaðr*, 93a3; **æinkamaðr**, single person, np., 55b9; **æinsætomaðr**, hermit, 29b27; **ællimaðr**, aged man, gp. def., 67b6; **æskomaðr**, youth, ds. -i, 112b6.

The following passage from the discussion of the duties of a *hirdmaðr* may be quoted: *En þeir er þat skipaða firi anndværðu þa sattu þat a goðan grunnðvoll firi því at hirðmaðr þyðez sva sœm hirzlomaðr oc gezlo oc skolu þeir er þætta nafn vilia mæð retto æignaz væra retter hirzlomænn oc gezlomænn konungs oc alls konungsdomsens*,<sup>146</sup> 55b23-29. In 91b the emperor is styled *gezlumaðr heilagrar krisni* (= *kristni*). While *gezlumaðr* also oc-

<sup>143</sup> So Norw. dial. *skil*, f., "justice," and adj. *skila*, honorable, as *ein skila mann*, "a good man," "a respected man," Nhl., etc. (Aasen).

<sup>144</sup> A contamination with *somi*, "honor," and *somamaðr*, "honorable man," is likely here. Obs. Norw. dial. *sæmeleg*, and *someleg*, "fitting," "suitable."

<sup>145</sup> Only here.

<sup>146</sup> "But those who originated it placed it on a firm foundation, for "hired-man" means the same as "keeper" and "guardian," and those who wish to possess this title rightfully should be true keepers of the king and of all his kingship."

curs elsewhere and in modn Icel. in the sense of "keeper," the word *hirzlumaðr* is not recorded and was probably coined for the occasion.

The word *leicmaðr* occurs in the following lines: *En þæsser menn varða hans menn af allskyns iðrottum sumer bænnðr en sumer kaupmenn oc sumer leicmenn*, "but these (king's) men are recruited from all kinds of occupations some (are) yeomen, and some merchants, and some players," i.e., professional, itinerant entertainers. *FrOrdb* suggests =*leikari*, but this with a query, and *KM* renders "laymen." However, *leicmaðr*, "layman," is excluded, it seems to me, meaning as it does the laity in general, whereas the speaker enumerates specifically certain occupations.<sup>147</sup> In 148b4: *leic.ψ*.

*Orðvarpsmaðr* is in *FrOrdb*. recorded only for *KS*, and is defined: "Talsmand," with a reference to the expression *verpa orðum*, p. 894b60 ff. This combination may mean "to speak to," as also *kasta orðum a*,<sup>148</sup> hence in a good sense "address," as well as in that of speaking in antagonism, "hurling words at." Cf. occ. in *Heilagr.*, I, 692,<sup>20</sup> where *verpr orðum á* is used of Bishop Turpin's addressing the devils. Further cf. Vafðrúðnir's challenge of Óðin in *Vafðrúðnismál* 7, 1: *Hvat er þat manna, er i minom sal uerpomk orði á?* The passage in *KS* is: *þat er oc siðgæði at sea væl við munnæiðum eða bolbænum eða gauðrifi oc allu aðra tunguskæðe. Sva sia oc við því at væra orðvarpsmaðr firi heimska menn oc oraðvannda*.<sup>149</sup> The word *upurstamaðr* (only here?) is contrasted with *vin oc frænnde* in 68a: *oc tæcr þa frænndzemi at spillaz oc er þar þa ællaðr upurstamaðr sëm fyrr var kallaðr vin oc frænnde*, . . . "is considered a doer of harm who before was called friend and kinsman."

*Sæmðarmenn*, "men of honor, honorable men," and so men who are a credit to one, *KS*, 57a30: *En sva kann þo til at bæra at hovæskr hofðingi liote micla skom firi uhovæskz mannz sacar oc usiðugs. oc væri firi því mykit unnder at þeir kynni goða skilning a ollu hvart væl bæri eða illa er þærs girnast at væra nagonglir konungi mæð fogru nafni oc sëmilego því at sa a ægi mikillar sæmðar van af konungi siðan hann værðr hanum at usæmð þar sëm mærger koma somðarmenn saman*.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>147</sup> The form *leicmaðr* appears in *Þidrikss.* 308, 31, in the meaning of "player," instead of the usual word *leikari*. The usual word *leikmaðr* means "layman" (*leikr*, "lay," Latin *laicus* and *maðr*).

<sup>148</sup> As *orðaframkast*, "loose talk," "twaddle," *Eyrb.*, p. 60.

<sup>149</sup> "It is also good breeding to carefully refrain from profanity, cursing or insulting words and all other pernicious talk. Likewise do not act as spokesman for stupid and dishonest men."

<sup>150</sup> "And so it is possible that a chief will suffer great shame on account of an unmannerly and course man, wherefore it is very important that those who wish to enjoy a fair and honorable name in the royal presence should be well informed as to what is becoming or unbecoming, for he cannot hope for great honors from the king who becomes a disgrace to him, where many honorable men assemble."

*Samsætismaðr* would seem not to occur elsewhere in ON. In KS it is used as a synonym of *sæssi*: *Ganga tvær oc tvær saman sæssar eða samsætismann laugar at taka*. Cf. *samsæti*. *Reinlfismaðr* occurs in the following passage: *en i því vatni liggr ey ein lítill oc ero þar i reinlfismann þa er calla ma hvart er vil kanonca eða eremita* (28a), "and in that lake there is an island and in it are men who live a celibate life, who may be called as one chooses, canons or hermits." The more general term of "one who lives in celibacy" comes then to mean a "monk" specifically (or also "hermit"), just as *reinlfiskona* came to mean especially "nun." With *yfirmaðr* cf. *ivirhafuð*.

### Feminines

The number of nouns belonging here is fairly considerable in ON, but it is to be observed that the distinguishing mark of the stem, *i*-umlaut of the root-vowel in the gs. and nom. acc. pl., maintains itself only in the plural. In the sg. the larger number have gone over to the *ō*-stems of the type of *søk* (cause) or of *brú*, "eye-brow," hence in the gs. -*ar*. The forms and occurrences in the KS are:

**bok**, book. Dp. -*um*, 4a13, 91b21; ap. *bæcr*, 2b19.

Cpd: **logboc**, lawbook, ap. -*bæcr*, 4a16, 113a1.

**bot**, improvement, money, atonement, fine. Gp., 69b20.

Cpds: **nafnbót**, title, ap. -*botr*, 54b11; **rikisbot**, value to the kingdom, 68a19; **yfirbot**, atonement, restitution, 116a8, gp., 124a26, 138b9. The passage in 54b is: *Hvat snuð sia þeir menn ser i konungs þionosto er bæðe æigu yfrit fe oc kyn at skylda sec til konungs þionosto mæð huscarls nafni æinu saman því hafa þeir æigi þar nafnbætr at heita hirðmenn*.<sup>151</sup>

**broc**. See below.

**brynbræcr**, pl. war-breeches. Acc., 79a7. Cf. *brocabælli*.

**brun**, eye-brow. Ds., 8b4; dp. -*um*, 47a26; ap. *brynn*, 7b30, 8b30, 47a11.

**dyrr**, door. Gp. *dura*, 135b20.

Cpd: **kirkiudyrr**, churchdoor, dp. def. -*durunum*, 32b12;

**honnd**, hand. Ds. *hænndi*, 144b17, -*e*, 8a21, *hænde*, 47a14; as., 90b7, *hond*, 75b25; gp., 86b7; dp. -*um*, 34b6; ap. *hænndr*, 3b30, 8a4, *hændr*, 86b20, *hænðr*, 142b9. Cf. phrases: *af þinni hænnde*, 54b16, etc., *af yðarri hænnde*, 58a13, *af allra manna hænnde*, 92b9.

**kinnr**, chin. Dp. -*um*, 34b14; p. *kinnr*, 47a26.

**morc**, mark (a coin). As., 52a5; ap. *mærccr*, 53b13, abbreviated *mærccr*, 53b14, etc.

<sup>151</sup> "What advantage can such men as have an abundance of wealth and kinsmen find in the king's service and in binding themselves to his service with the name of house-carl as their only title? Why do they not rather seek the distinction of being called courtier ("hirdmen")?"



**nott**, night. 41b1 and 21; dp. *nattom*, 132b24; ap. *natr*, 41b22, 56a6.

Cpd: **miðnott**, midnight, ns., 45a16

**rot**, root. Gp. def., 110a8; -*um*, 10a6, 85a6.

Cpds: **grasrot**, grass-root, -*rætr*, 9b30; **manvitzrot**, root or source of knowledge, dp., -*um*, 85a7.

**skialldarrond**, shield's edge. As., 77a21.

**syll**, sill, beam. Ap. *syllr*, 82a29.<sup>182</sup>

**ta**, toe. Pl. *tær*, 75b21.

**tonn**, tooth. Ap. *tænr*, 37a6.

Cpd: **smatsennr**, pl., small teeth, 37a7.

**æik**, oak. Ds., 80b4, 82a28. Cf. *æikiviðr*, *æikivonnd*.

### III. R-STEMS

Masculines and feminines. Nouns of relationship. The following stems and compounds occur:

**broðir**, brother. Ds. *bræðr*, 138a29; np. *bræðr*, 144a22. as. *broður*, 152b2.

Cpds: **foðurbroðer**, father's brother, 89b27; **fostbroðir**, foster-brother, gp. -*bræðra*, 52a15, 147a20.

**dottir**, daughter. As. *dottur*, 144a26; napl. *dættir*, 67a22 and 25, 98a6; dp. *dætrum*, 106a6.

**faðer**, father. Ns., 144a21; ds. *faður*, 146b16, 147a20; ds. *fæðr*, 98a6, 131a2, 138a29; as. *foður*, 1a26, *faður*, 67b5, 126a1; dp. -*fæðrum*, 51b7.

Cpds: **faðurfæðer**, paternal grandfather. As. -*faður*, 28a25; **læri-fæðer**, teacher, np. -*fæðr*, 62b15.

**moðir**, mother. As. *moður*, 93a20; ds. *mæðr*, 91a25.

**systir**, sister. Np. *systir*, 99a15, 100b10, 101a12, etc.; ap. do., 100b23. gp. *systra*, 101a8.

### IV. ND-STEMS

These are a limited class of nouns in ON, mainly the words *bondi*, *frændi*, and *fandi*. Of present participial origin. On the extensive development of this type in the language of the scalds see *NISkj.*, pp. 67-68. It shows little vitality in ONorw. prose but is favored more in, e.g., OSw. prose. The occs. are as follows:

**bonnde**, freeholder, yeomen, farmer, husband. 2b23, 10a26, *boannde*, 65b6; -*a*, 10a29, *bonða*, 88b11; *bonda*, 54b27; np. *bænndr*, 53a29, 54b13; dp. *bonndum*, 52b10, 69a12.

Cpd: **husbonnde**, householder, as. *hubonnda* (!), 6a25.

**fiannde**, the devil. -*a*, 5a13.

**frænnde**, kinsman. 30a18; np. *frænndr*, 56a9; 57b26; 69b13, etc.; dp. -*um*, 57b1, etc.; *frænda*, 52a14. Cf. *frændalat*, *frænndzemi*.

<sup>182</sup> There is a comment on the distribution of this form (ON *svill*, *syll*) in *VM*, II, 2, p. 27.

**iarnrækendr**, pl., iron chains. Dp. *-um*, 88b15, *-rækendūm*, 81a13, *-rækendum*, 80b10. The forms, to be sure, give no indication as to gender and stem. Cf. *rekendi*, and *rekendr*, *AnG*, I, §412, note 2. Generally fem. in ON; *rekendr*, masc. in OGutnic, *AnG*, II, §441,2.

#### FOREIGN NAMES WITH FOREIGN DECLENSION AND NAMES WITHOUT DISTINCTIVE CASE ENDING

I shall first speak of a small number of proper names of foreign origin, whose case forms may formally be either foreign or Old Norse.

The name *Abel* appears only once, namely at 145a8 in the acc. case in the form **abel**. In the *Ordf.* this name exhibits native declension, gen. *abels*, *Homiliubók*, 154, 35, but also gen., *abel*, *Eluc.*, 30,10 (*Ordf.*, p. 402). It may be regarded as having been early naturalized in Old Icelandic. **Absalon**, Absalom, appears, in this form, in *KS* at 142a7, **absalon**, 149a27, both nom., and dat., **absalon**, 149a30; oblique case forms are not found. ON declension in *Eluc.* There are further the names **ionas**, nom., 118a5, acc., same form, 118a2; and finally **samuel**, nom., 143a3, **famuel**, 143b26. I shall now list in order the remaining foreign names with their occurrences.

**abiathar**, Abiathar, Hebrew priest. Nom., 146b7, 10, **abyathar**, 152b15. This name is regularly written *abiathar* in the *Homiliubók*, six occs., but twice in the form *abiapar* in *AM*. 645. No oblique case forms occur. The name was not in use in either OIc. or ON.<sup>153</sup>

**Abiron**, Abiram. Nom., 113a24, 116a1, and **abiron**, 115b16.

**abisagh**, Abishag. Acc., 152b3.

**Abisay**, Abishai. Nom., 148a1.

**Adonias**, Adonijah, David's son. Nom., 152b4, **adonias**, 152b8, 12, 29; acc., **adoniam**, 152b2.

**agag**, Agag, king of Amalech. Acc., 142b25.

**amalech**, Amalech, land of the Amalechites. Dat., 115b18, 142a13; acc., 116a5, 142b7, **amalech**, 139a9.

**amorea**, Amorea. Acc., 139a9.

**artasærxes**, Artaxerxes. Nom., 89a3.

**assverus**, Ahasuerus. Nom., **assværus**, 89a13, **assverus**, 93b9; dat. **assvero**, 89b23.

**athenis**, Athens. Gen., **athenis**, 134a7, b29; dat., 133a16. The form is the locative plural *Athēnis*.

**Bananas**, Bananijah. Nom., 152b17.

**Bersabee**, Bersheba. Nom., 152b16, **Bersabe**, 141a17; dat., **bærsabee**, 141b24. See Addenda.

<sup>153</sup> It is a characteristic of Ms. 645 to write the *th* of foreign names with the letter *þ*, thus also *Astaroth* is written *astarop* in all the five occs. This name is properly classified with names having foreign declension in *Ordf.*, pp. 402ff. Similarly, the name *abiapar*, which occurs twice in this form in the nom., should not have been listed with words having ON declension, *Ordf.*, p. 4, but under *abiathar*, p. 402. Cf. further in Ms. 645 the foreign names: *baldap*, *berip*, *bipinia*, *galapia*, *nazarep*, *peocristus*, etc., but usually *theophilus*, and alway *bartholomeus*.

**Bethania, Bethany.** Nom., 119a15, **bæthania**, 119a7.

**blaðma**, A mountain in Ireland, *Bladma* in *Sliad Bladma*, now *Slieve Bloom*. Nom., 27b6. The editors of *Ksp.*, p. 22, note 5, observe: "blaðma ell. blaðina," while Brenner prints *blaðina* and adds the note: "blaðma?"<sup>154</sup>. Kuno Meyer says: "blaðma (miswritten blaðina)."<sup>155</sup> As the Facsimile shows, however, the name is written *blaðma* in the main Ms., which is exactly the OIr. *bladhma*. *Ksp.*, adopts the reading *Blandina* in the text and is followed by *KM*, p. 107.

**bæthleem.** Bethlehem. Dat., 144a14. This name shows both foreign and native case endings in *Ordf.*, there being seventeen occs., all from the *Homiliubók*, of which thirteen are listed with ON declension. There are four occs. of the dat., all without ending.

**cherubin**, cherubim. Acc., pl., 108a28. Regularly this form in ON (*Ordf.*, seven occs., and one of *cherubim*).

**cloena**, town in Ireland, *Clúin maccu Nois*, the modern *Clonmacnois*. Nom., 32b4.

**Constantinus**, Constantine. Nom., 93b15: gen., **Constantinus**; 91a25; -um, 93a19. Only foreign forms of this name also in the *Ordf.*

**Craton**, Craton, Roman philosopher. Nom., 92a16, 93a23; acc., **Cratonem**, 92b15.

**dathan**, Dathan. Hebrew rebel. Nom., 113a25, 115b, 116a1. In *AM 645* the name appears once written *dapan*.

**diermicus**, Irish saint, Diarmid, Bishop of Inis Clothran. Nom., 29b15.

**ebron**, Hebron. Nom., 139b22.

**ely**, Ely. Hebrew high priest. Gen., 145b12.

**ester**, Esther. Nom., 89a16 and 19, **Ester**, 90b11; gen. **ester**, 89b27.

**finees**, Phineas. Gen., 145b11.<sup>156</sup>

**gelboe**, Mount Gelboa. Gen., 148b26: **fioll gelboe**.

**glumelaga**, *Glendaloch*, a town, the modern *Glendalough*. Nom., 29b26. Kuno Meyer identifies *glumelaga* with OIr. *Genn-da-locha*, for which it is a miswriting, *Ériu*, IV, p. 15; also further that the final *a* is the final *a* of the genitive dual *-locha*. The distortion of form is interesting. The misreading of *inn* as *um* is very easy and often met with, but *um* could not go back to *enn*, nor *ume*, to *ennda*. The original of our codex then had *glinne*-. But *glinne*- (*glinnelaga*) could not be explained as a mistaken writing of *glenn-da*-(*glenn-da-loch*), but is an inexact writing of the OIr. pronunciation of the name *Glenn-da-loch*. This error seems to me to be a clear substantiation of K. Meyer's view that in the account of the wonders of Ireland the author of the *Speculum regale* did not have written sources

<sup>154</sup> *Speculum regale*, p. 36.

<sup>155</sup> *Ériu*, IV, p. 15.

<sup>156</sup> *finees*, not *fines* as the *Facsimile* has it.

but "is entirely based on oral information obtained in Ireland itself," p. 16 of article in *Ériu*, IV.

**Golias**, Goliah. Nom., 145b19; acc., **Goliam**, 144a29.

**inisgluer**, Island in Ireland, OIr. *Inis Glúaire*. The modern *Inishglory*. Nom., 28a15.

**inisclo dran**, *Inis Clothran*, now *Inchclerann*, or Quakers' Island in *Lough Ree*, County Langford. Nom., 29b14.

**Isayas**, Isaiah. Nom., 118a23 (changed from **Isays**), **ysaias**, 118a26; gen., **ysay**, 144a14; acc. **Isayam**, 118b24.

**Jericho**, Jericho. Nom., 113a28; acc., **ierico**, 115b17, **iericho**, 116a5.

**Jonathas**, Jonathan. Nom., 149a6 and 9; gen., **ionathas**, 148b23; dat. **ionathe**, 148b28.

**iosue**, Joshua. Nom., 113a26.

**Judas**, Judas. Nom., 116a24, b2, 9, 16; dat., **Juda**, 116a23.

**Justinus**, Justin. Nom., 113b13, 30, **iustinus**, 133b21, 134n18 and 23; acc., **iustinum**, 133b8.

**kain**, Cain. Nom., 145a8.

**kevinus**, Kevin. Irish saint. Nom., 29b25, **keuinus**, 30a14; gen., **kevinus**, 30b2 (*hins hælga kevinus æpli*);<sup>157</sup> dat., **kevino**, 30a7.

**kertinagh**, an island in Loch Erne, Ireland. Nom., 28b17 (written *kerti nagh*). The variants are: *kertanag*, *kertmach*, and *kiartenag*, *Ksp.*, 23, note 17. The name has not been identified.

**kiranus**, Kieran, Irish saint. Nom., 32b6.

**klefsan**, Clessan. Irish jester Nom., 33a12 and 25. OIr. *cless*, "feat, trick."<sup>158</sup>

**Laurencius**; Laurence Nom., 133b5, 20, 26, **Laurencius**; 133b16, **laurencius**, 134a1, b23; gen., **Laurencij**, 133b2, 29, 135b14; acc., **Laurencium**, 133b15 and 22, **laurencium**, 134b18.

**lazarus**, Lazarus. Nom., 119a4 and 6; gen., 119a13; acc., 119a8.

**logheehag**, *Loch Eachhach*, the modern *Lough Neach* (from *Loch nEachach*). Nom. 27a23. The variants are *logechag* and *logecag*, *Ksp.*, 22. Our form stands nearest to the OIr. form *Loc Echag* which appears in the Fragment of the Book of Leinster, chapters VIII, and XVI.<sup>159</sup>

**loghica**, Loch Íca, lake in Ireland.<sup>160</sup> Nom., 27b19. Less exact variant, *Ksp.*, 22, *KM.*, p. 107.

**Logri**, Lake *Loch Ri* (*Ribh* or *Rai*) in Ireland; now *Lough Ree*. Nom., 28a2, *loghri*, 29b12. The variant is *legri*, *Ksp.*, p. 23, note 8.

**loghærne**, *Loch Eirne*, lake in Ireland. Nom., 28b12. The present *Lough Erne*. K. Meyer suggests that *loghærne* is perhaps a miswriting for

<sup>157</sup> *Kevinus* is the Latinized form of the OIr. *Caimhghin*, *Ériu*, IV, 15.

<sup>158</sup> *Ériu*, IV, 14. The explanation is plausible, and the name is then a nickname. In this case the *fs* of *klefsan* is a scribal error for *ss*, an error that is easily explained if we assume that the name in the original had the first *s* written with the Carolingian *f*.

<sup>159</sup> Todd, l. c. 224 and 228.

<sup>160</sup> Loch Íca, "Lake of Healing."

*lognærne* = *Loch n Eirne*. But the *n* could not very well be mistaken for an *h*, and the author regularly elsewhere writes *logh* for *loch*. Cf. also above *logheehag*, OIr. *loch Echach*, not *loch n Echach*.

**luciFer**, Lucifer. Nom., 103b15, **lucifer**, 108b28; acc. **LuciFer**, 103a24.

**mardocheus**, Mordecai, Hebrew chief at the Persian court. Nom., 89b25, 90a6, 90a21, **Mardocheus**, 90a6; dat., **mardocheo**, 90b22, **mardoheo** changed to **mardocheo** by superscription of the *c*, 93b13; acc., **mardocheum**, 90a16, 90b18.

**Moyses**, Moses. Nom., 114a17, 117a25, b26, 137b6, 13, 26, 138a17, 160a4, **moyses**, 117b26, 138a27; gen., **Moyses**, 114a25; 117b23, 160a2; dat., 114a20, 21, 116a2, **moysi**, 138b4; acc., **Moysen**, 117a23 wrongly for the nominative (*þo bæiddiz Moysen læyfis*).

**nathan**, Nathan. Nom., 141a28, b14, 152b17.

**ninive**, Nineveh. Dat., 118a2, **niniue**, 118a4.

**nobe**, the city of Nob. A., 146a15.

**patricius**, Patrick. Nom., 31b10.

**Pharao**, Pharaoh. Nom., 115b15, **farao**, 115b23.

**philisteis**, The Philistines. Acc., pl., 144a28.

**sadoch**, Zadoc. Hebrew high priest. Nom., 152b17.

**scirus**, one of the names of Artaxerxes. Nom., 89a4 and 9.

**semey**, Shimei. Acc., 151a28, **semei**, 152a16, **Semey**, 150b23; nom., **Semey**, 152a9, **semei**, 151b17.

**sinai**. *mons sinai*, Mt. Sinai. Nom., 117a8.

**sirach**. Gen. without ending, 130a5.

**stephanus**, Stephen. Nom., 133a19, b25, **Stæphanus**, 133a16, b17; **ftephanus**, 134a12; 15, 21, 26, b5, 9, 29, 135, a23, b23, **Stæphanus**, 133b16; gen., **ftephani**, 133b2; dat., **ftephano**, 134b26, 28, 133a **Stephano**, 133b30, **stæphano**, 134a5, **Stæpano**, 133a30, **ftephani**, 134a9; acc., **ftephanum**, 134a18, 135b12, **ftæphanum**, 133b7.

**tarkvinus**, Tarquin. Nom., 134a22, 24, 28; dat., **tarkvino**, 135b24.

**urias**, Uriah. Gen., **urie**, 141a18, 142a6, 143b24, **Vrie**, 140a14, **urias**, 114b6, 143 141a5; **Vrias**, 114b5; nom., **Urias**, 141a24; acc., **uriam**, 141a18, 142a5.

**temere**, the city of *Temair* (*Temhair*), modern *Tara*. Nom., 132b6; dat., **temere** 132b15 and 17, 136a1; however, nom., **them**, 30b20. The three occurrences of the dative **temere** may have lead the writer to use erroneously to use this form also in the nominative. The form **Them** in the early part of the Ms. is striking.

**ur**, Ur. Hebrew priest. Acc., 116a14; nom., **Vr**, 114a11.

**wastes**, Vashti, Persian queen. Nom., 89a15, 26, 30, **wastes**, 91a6, **Uastes**, 93a9, **Vastes**, 93a17; gen., **wastes**, 89b17, acc., 89a17, 93b9, **Wastes**, 89n11.

**ysboseth**, Ishboseth. Acc., 139b4; gen., **ysboseth**, 139b11.

**Ysidor**, Isidore. Gen., **ysidori**, 40a27.

**Zenophilus**. Nom., 93a23, **zenophilus**; 92a30; acc., **Zenophilum**, 93b16.

## II. THE DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

Most ON adjectives may be declined strong or weak in the positive and the superlative. The comparative is declined weak only; further also ordinals and present participles have only weak forms. The adjectives *allr*, "all," *annarr*, "other," *sumr*, "some," *sialfr*, "self," and *miðr*, "middle," are inflected strong only. Defective forms will be noted below.

### A. THE STRONG DECLENSION

It will be convenient here to divide as usual into pure *a-ō*-stems, *wa-wō*-stems, and *ia-iō*-stems. The great majority of the adjs. are pure *a-ō*-stems; the *wa-wō*-stems and the *ia-iō*-stems form a very limited class, the disintegration of which is indicated by the absence of the stem characteristic in some of the occurrences, while other adjs. originally belonging here have passed over wholly to the pure stems. These will be listed under the pure *a-ō*-stems with citation of forms, and also under their own class, with the respective forms. For the sake of brevity only the ns. masc. form that is the normal one in KS will be given under each adjective, if the occurrences exhibit no departures in their declension from normal ON; also nom-acc. neuters will be referred to merely under neut. as abbreviation. An attempt is made to take note of all the meanings of the various adjectives; here the cpds. are often especially interesting. Adjectives that do not show any noteworthy forms or meanings will not be listed.

The assimilation or reduction of certain consonant groups, as in ON in general, is to be observed. Such groups are: *lr*, *nr*, *sr*, *ðr*, *ðl*, *ggr*, *ldr*, *ntr*, *rnr*, *rtr*, *str*, *ttr*. See *AnG*, I, §§262, 267, 273, 274, and 417. Examples: *dæll*, masc., "easy," *fagr*, masc., "beautiful," *fastr*, "firm," neut. *fast*, *kaldr*, "cold," neut. *kalt* or *kallt*, *bræiðr*, "broad," neut. *bræitt*, *sletr*, "smooth," neut. *slett*, etc. The reduction of forms often passes beyond its scope in normal ON, as citations below will show. Adjectives in KS exhibit considerable irregularity as regards the vowels -o or -u and -e or -i in endings, as well as in the matter of later *u*-umlaut forms. This fact is here mentioned but will not be further discussed.

#### a. Pure *A-*, *ō*-Stems

The prevailing forms are those exhibited by the following paradigm of the adj. *langr*, "long."

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. Nom.	langr	long	langt
Gen.	langs	langrar	langs
Dat.	langum, longum, -om,	langri, -e	langu, longu, -o
Acc.	langan	langa	langt
Pl. Nom.	langir, -er	langar,	long
Gen.		langa	
Dat.		langum, longum, -om	
Acc.	langa	langar	long

Like *langr* are declined by far the greater number of the adjectives. It is the declension of nouns ending in a consonant, whether of one or more syllables, barring, however, those with a short derivative suffix. See below. Even a few adjs. with a short suffix go like *langr*. Observe especially that those in *-aðr* belong here. The following adjectives will be listed, with the occurrences of each as the second element of compounds. Derivatives will be listed under the suffix in question; the scope of the various compound and derivative formations is to be noted. The occurrence of the adjective in noun compounds will not, as a rule, be indicated.

**a-** Adjs. with the prefix *a-* are: *afastr*, *agetr*, *agiarn*, *asynn*. See the simplex in each case.

**-aðr**. Formally these are pprts. of the first weak conjugation,—type *kastaðr*. The following will be given: *aftignaðr*, reduced in honor or power, 46a28; *aumhiartaðr*, tender-hearted, 140b25; *brunaðr*, dark-colored, 58b24; *fagrskapaðr*, of beautiful form, 128a26; *firiskipaðr*, fixed or established beforehand, 8a11; *goðviljaðr*, of good will, 96a26, 124b23; *graskyaðr*, hidden in gray clouds, 47a3; *heilhugaðr*, of good disposition, kindly disposed, 27a18; *hobogaðr*, “high-bowed” (referring to the saddle), 78b5; *hosaðr*, with socks or leggings (of a certain kind, then described), 58b20; *iafnhugaðr*, of even temper, 4b16, *iam-*, 61a21; *iarnaðr*, iron-clad, 77b25, 79b30; *ioclaðr*, covered by or matted into icicles (said of the frozen beard), 47a21; *kalldskyaðr*, wrapped in cold clouds, cold and cloudy, 47a27; *magnaðr*, waxing strong, grown to full vigor, in *at magnaðum dægi*, “when the day had grown strong,” 8a11; *margqvíslaðr*, having many branches, 85a6; *miclaðr*, paid homage to, 96a29; *rífskipaðr*, well manned, with a capable crew, neut., 5b21; *siðaðr* (with *væl* or *illa*), “well-” or “ill-bred,” 54a20; *scaraðr*, covered, 82a16; *skvaðr*, shod, 58b21, 82a4, *skaðr*, 78b3; *skvaðr*, cloud-covered, 8b14, 47a3, *skyaðr*, 46b12; *svartaðr*, made black, dp. *-aðum*, 78a15; *tinndaðr*, made with prongs, dp. *-aðum*, 81a13; *tæmpraðr*, tempered, 40b7; *þyccskyvaðr*, *-aðum*, heavily shod, 46b20; *viliaðr*, “willed,” disposed, 63b26, with *væl*, “well”; choice, fine, pleasing, superl. *villiastr*, 58b22; *æikitinndaðr*, equipped with oak prongs, 80b26 (see *tinndaðr*).

**afhæendr**, out of one's hand, separated from. 66a22.

**akafr**, violent. 149b12.

**al-**. Adjs. with the prefix *al-*, meaning "wholly," "completely," are: *algorr*, *alheill*, *allikr*, *alæstr* (pprtc).

**all-**. Adjs. with the prefix *all-*, meaning "very," "most," are: *alsar*, *-fróðr*, *-fróðligr*, *-margr*, *-mikinn*, *-nær*, *-skyldr*, *-viss*, *-vitr*-. See these below.

**-all**. Derivatives with this suffix are: *margsmogall*, "penetrating", ds. fem. *-alli*, 102a22, *margh-*, 112a17 (used with *athygli*, "thought," in both cases), 130b9 (used with *skilning*); *sottall*, "unhealthy," 28b3 (ns. fem., *-al*); *spurall*, inquiring, of an inquiring nature, in *uspuralir*, pl., 65a22.

**allr**, all, but *alr*, 3b9. The prevailing forms exhibit the following declension:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. Nom.	allr	oll	allt
Gen.	allz	allrar	allz
Dat.	allum	allre, -ri	allu
Acc.	allan	oll	allt
Pl. Nom.	aller	allar	oll
Gen.		allra	
Dat.		allum	
Acc.	alla	allar	oll

The gs. masc.-neut. *alls* occurs once, 55b29. Forms with single *l*, aside from that of 3b9, are: *alrar*, gsf., 1b10; *alt*, n. 6b27, 7a8, 32b13, 38a1, 38b10, 41b28, 66b18, 78b25; *alz*, 2a2; *alra*, 4a11, 12, and 28, 5a26. Mutated dative forms are fairly frequent: *ollu*, 5a5, 2a30 (twice), 50b22, 57a25, 61b4, *ollum*, 2b1, 4a21 and 25, 8b7, and 13, 29a8, 30a13, 31a23, 56a10 and 18. The form *allo* occurs at 28a23.

**auð-**. See *auðnæmr*, *auðvalldr*.

**auðr**, desolate, empty, uninhabited. 28b29, 30b22 and 25.

**beinn**, straight. Neut. *beinnt*, 76b7, *beint*, 76b13.

**bitr**. Occurs only in the cpd. *ælldbitr*, literally "with biting fire," used of the edge of a "fiery sword," 108b1.

**biugr**, bent; bending forward, bowed, curved. 29a14: *gengr biugt*. In 8b26, *biugt sialldr*, "curved or round eye-ball." *Mæð biugum ring*, 41a1, is varied to *boginn ring*, 44b16.

**blauðr**, weak, gentle, easy. 96b30 (contrasted with *striðr*), 97a15.

**blautr**, soft, yielding, gentle, weak. Regular; but at 78b12 *blotum*, dp., apparently a case of anticipating the vowel of the ending; used of the wind, 44a14.

**bliðr**, pleasant, friendly, kindly; used of one's words as well as of the countenance. Neut. *blitt*, 8a4, but *blit*, 7b30. Cf. *bliðyrði*, n.

**braðr**, sudden. 137a12.

Cpd. **ofbraðr**, over hasty, 137b1 (of verdict).



**brœyskr**, brittle, fragile, weak, infirm. 107a15, 124a20 (of man), 140b17 (of man's nature).

**byggðr**, pprtc. Cpd. **þynnbyggðr**, sparsely settled, 8b11.

**bæiskr**, bitter, painful. 149a3 (of grief). Cf. *bæiskleicr*.

**bærr**, bare, exposed; manifest. Ns. fem. *bær*, 43b2, *bærir*, np. masc., "manifest," 124a14. As second element in **opinbærr**, *m.*, 146a14.

**dauðr**, dead. Cpd. **sotdauðr**, having died from sickness, 27a16.

**diarfr**, bold, impudent. 61a10, 98b28. The cpd. **rikisdiarfr**, rebellious, 69a18, is to be noted.

**-doggr**, covered with dew, appears in the cpd. **tardauggu**, ds. neut., 46b19.

**dyggr**, worthy. Ap. fem. *dyggar*, 106a13. See *Wa-*, *wð-*Stems.

**dæll**, easy, comfortable. Ns. neut. *dællt*, 97a1.

**fagr**, fair, beautiful. Also *faghr*. Dpl. *fagrum*, 8b3, etc. Cf. *faghryrðr*, *fagrskapaðr*.

**fahœyðr**, rarely heard. 112b2.

**-falldr**, corresponding to Eng. suffix "-fold," appears as follows: **fimfalldum**, dp., fivefold, 80b5; **margfalldu**, ds. neut. 63b4, 64a9, *margfolldu*, 64a1, *margfollð*, ns. fem., 71a8, *margfallðri*, ds. fem., 63b29, *margfallt*, neut., 63a26, *margfallðar*, npl. fem., 49b29; **tvæfalldr**, *tvífalldr*, *þvífalldr*, twofold, as *tvæfallðri*, ds. fem., 46b4, *tvífallð*, ns. fem., 152a22, *þvífallt*, neut., 83a5, *þvífalldum*, dp., 80b5; **þræfalldr**, ns. fem., 37b18, *þrævallðre*, ds. fem., 86b17, *þrívallt*, ns. neut., 83a5; **æinfalldr**, onefold, simple, 49b28, 63b5. Cf. *æinfallða*, "to address in the singular," and *margfallða*, "to address in the plural form."

**fastr**, fast, firm, hard. 133b21. As first element in *fasthænndr* and *fastorðr*.

Cpds: **afastr**, adjoined to, continuous with, 38a28; **borðfastr**, eating regularly at the table of, gp., 53a9, np. masc., 53a20, etc.; **samfastr**, fast together, joined, 28a3; **staðfastr**, steadfast, unalterable, 119a9. In the last case the passage is as follows: *Nu man sva synazt um lazarus sëm alla aðra þa er dæyia or værolldo at staðfastr domr var kominn amal hans þar sëm hann la flora daga dauðr maðr i iorðu*, "Now it may seem in regard to Lazarus, as regarding all others who die and leave this world, that an unalterable judgment had been meted out to him, having been dead and buried for four days."

**forn**, of old, ancient, traditional. Neut. *fornr*, 49b27; pl. *forn*, 87b29, ap. fem., 70a16.

**frials**, free, unhampered, protected, immune. 115a4, etc. The adj. does not show the form with *-æ-*. Cf. noun *frialsi*, *frælsi*. Der. *frialsligr*.

**froðr**, wise, well-informed; sensible. Numerous occs. 2b21: *af iðrottum væðr (væðr) maðr froðr*.

Cpds: **allfroðr**, very well-informed. 6a5, 97a25, 102a16. Cf. *allfroðligr*; **fafroðr**, illy informed, ignorant, 65a22, 136a18; **iamfroðr**, equally well-informed; **margfroðr**, knowing many things, learned, 96a26; **ofroðr**,

ignorant, 29a20; **sannfroðr**, knowing the facts, being conversant with the true facts, 40a16, 58a27.

**frægr**, noted, famous. Np. masc. *frægr*, 72a15. See *Ja-*, *jð-*Stems.

**fullr**, full, complete. Gs. masc.-neut. *fulz* and *fullz*; gs. fem. *fullrar*, 8a25; ns neut. *fullt*, 43a11, 150b9. As prefix in the following words: *fullgoðr*, *fullsæfti*, *fullvaxta*, *fullvitr*, and *fullkominn*.

Cpds: **ahyggiofullr**, troubled, worried, 90a6; **gœzkufullr**, full of goodness, 149b21; **haglsfullr**, full of hail-stone, 47a22; **kappsfullr**, aggressive, ambitious, 113a8; **licnarfullr**, helpful, 149b29; **ofunndfullr**, envious, 104a21; **rastafullr**, full of eddies or currents, 46a12; **sacafullr**, guilty, 69a28; **svicafullr**, treacherous, 98a29; **þionostofullr**, ready to serve, helpful, 83a9; **œscufullr**, youthful, 67b19.

**føerr**, passable, accessible, in a position to, capable, able, 9a23, 64b23; neut. *ufært*, impassable, 9a14.

**fuss**, eager, ready, Ns. masc. *fus*, 2a15. Cf. *fysilegr*.

**-føettr**, -footed, in *fiorføettum*, dp., four-footed, 128b2. Cf. *formynntr*.

**gilldr**, payable at a fixed price, valued. Simplex not found. Cf. *gillde*, *n*.

Cpd: **skatgilldr**, liable to be taxed, 95b11 and 22.

**giarn**, willing, eager, covetous. See *giarnsamlega*, adv., adjs. in *-leggr*, and nouns *agirnd* and *agirni*.

Cpds: **agiarn**, covetous, impetuous, 70a8; **fegiarn**, avaricious, 5b6, 140b, 143b13; **goðgiarn**, good-willed, kind, 140b24, 55b7; **drapgiarn**, lustful for murder, 27a12 and 13 (*-giorn*, ns. fem., *-gjarn*, np; **illgiarn**, bent on evil, of evil nature, 104a25; **iamgiarn**, fair, just, 72a6; **mutugiarn-ligr**, capable of being bribed, 87a27; **skipgiarn**, eager to devour ships, 46a23; **uiamgiarn**, unfair, partial, 69a26, *uiafngiarn*, 55b7.

**gloggr**, shrewd, sharp. Adv. *glogt*, precisely, 34a5. Comp. *glæggara*, as. masc., 49a27. As first element in *gloggþæckliga*, adv.

**gnogr**, abundant, sufficient, 39a13, 47a19, 52a6. Cf. *nogr*.

**goðr**, good. As first element in *goðgiarn* and *goðviljaðr*.

Cpds: **fullgoðr**, wholly good, excellent, 45a27; **kyngoðr**, of good family, 67b22, 70b11 (superlative); **iamgoðr**, equally good, 7b2; **siðgoðr**, of good habits, 50b8, 65b2; **væðrgoðr**, being characterized by good weather, 41a28.

**gyrðr**, girded. 79a21: *gyrd*.

**græiðr**, ready, prompt. 5b2.

**grænn**, green. Neut. *grænn*, 106a16, *gæns* for *græns*, 10a3. As first element in *grænsainn*.

Cpd: **grasgrænn**, grass-green, 10a7, where *grænn* *gras lauf* appears, but with transposition to *grasgrænn* indicated.

**haghr**. See *haghsþacligr*.

**hallr**, sloping. Only in *rashallum*, dp., sloping steeply, 81b5, *rasholl*, ap. neut., 81a25.

**harðr**, hard, severe. 140b23.

Cpd: **stalharðr**, hard as steel, 77b24 and 79a11 (both, dp. -*harðum*).

**heill**, whole, hale, well, in good health. 27b28, 30a28. As first element in *heilhugaðr* and *heilsamr*.

Cpd: **alheill**, complete, absolute, 123a30. But see p. 128.

**heitr**, hot. Neut. *heitt*, 82a1, but 81b28: *heitt glær eða heit bly*.

**-holl**, for *-oll*, in *heimhollt*, due one, one's just due. 53b9.\* See **-ill**.

**hollr**, friendly, gracious. Cf. *holligr*.

Cpd: **asthollr**, loving, 140b24.

**hoskr**, wise. 42b17.

**hvass**, sharp. Neut. *hvast*, 34a3: *hvorsu*, ds. neut., 34b13, pl. *hvors*, 82a5. dp. *hvassum*, 41b26, as first component in *hvastæntr*, np., 80b30. Derivative *hvasligr*.

Cpd: **tunguhvass**, of ready tongue, 64b3.

**hvitr**, white. Neut. *hvitt*, 27b11. The cpd. *sniohvitr*, 27b16, is noted.

**hœgr**, comfortable, 8b16, *hœga*, 8b15. See *Ja-*, *jō-*Stems.

**-hænndr**, in *fasthænndr*, niggardly, close-fisted. 84b21.

**hætttr**, exposed to (a danger), subject to. *Hætr*, ns. masc., 78b9.

Cpd: **iamhætttr**, equally dangerous, 106b14.

**-igr**, in *kunnigr*, known. As. masc. *-igan*, 4a17. See *kunnr*; *þurftigr*, needy, pl. 92a22.

**-ill**, in *heimill*, fitting, one's due. 57b9.

**illr**, ill, bad, hostile, evil. Ns. neut. *illt*, 135a28; dp. *-um*, 4b30, 124a3 and 6. As first element in *illgiarn*.

**iamn**, iafn, even. Ns. fem. *iomn*, 147a13, np. neut. *iofn*, 45b27. Occurs extensively as a prefix in the form *iam-*. The following are the words found: *iamdyrr*, *iamfroðr*, *iamgoðr*, *iamharðr*, *iamhætttr*, *iamheilagr*, *iamhugaðr*, *iamkalldr*, *iamkringr*, *iamlangr*, *iammargr*, *iammikill*, *iamrettvis*, *iamskiotr*, *iamstorr*, *iamstriðr*, *iamsynðligr*, *iamvarmr*, *iamvagr*, *iamskylldr*, *iamunn-darligr*, *iamvirkiligr*, *iamþungr*; also adv. *iamfrialsliga*.

Cpd: **misiamn**, uneven, of unequal size, 41b26, dp. *misiamnum*, 85b9, *misiamna*, ap. masc., 87b7, *misiofn*, np. neut., 77b1; **uiamn**, unfair, unjust, 69b26.

**kalldr**, cold. Neut. *kallt*, 43b22; *calldum*, dp. 9b14. As first component in *kalldskvaðr*; see *-aðr*.

Cpds: **helokalldr**, cold with hoarfrost, neut. *-kalt*, 8a28; **iskalldr**, ice-cold, 47a21: **iamkalldr**, equally cold, 44a29.

**-kendr**. In the cpd. *qvænkendr*, female, 29b23 (neut. *-kent*).

**kerr**, dear. Superlative *keraztr*, 131a23.

**-kringr**. In the cpd. *iamkringr*, equally well, 76b18.

**kunnr**, known, familiar (to), 3a15, 4a17, 31a12. Cf. *kunnigr*. The following occs. will be noticed: *Gerðu þer allar logbæcr kunnar, en mæðan þu villt kaupmaðr vera þa ger þer kunnigan biarcreyar rett. En ef þer ero log kunnig*, etc., 4a15-19; *vinir hans oc kunner menn* ("men known to him," "acquaintances"), 31a12.

**kurteiss**, courtly, courteous. 50a30, 54a25.

**kvíkr**, **kvícr**, **qvícr**, living, alive. 28a21, 32b4, 28a21, 113a29, and b2, etc. See *Wa-*, *wō-*Stems.

**-kvæmr**, **-kœmr**. In the cpds: **halldkem**, good, useful, ns. fem., 76b12, **halldkæm**, np. neut., 85a28, 99a1, **hallkæmt**, ns. neut., 76b9; **halldkæmir**, np. masc., 85b15, **halldkæmum**, dp., 77a1; **nakvæmr**, accurate, 85a27, **nærkœmr**, 113b28.

**kyrr**, quiet. 9b9, 35b26, 83a30. Also *ukyrrum*, dp., 41b27.

**kœnn**, capable, skilful. In the cpd. **væðrkœner**, pl., clever at understanding the weather signs, 46a2. See *vigkæni*.

**lagðr**, pprtc. Cpds: **niðrlagðr**, laid aside (of anger), 8a22; **samanlagðr**, closed, 8b25.

**-laghr**. See *lægr*.

**lagr**, low, in a low voice. 74b18.

**langr**, long. Occurs as first element in **langskeptr**.

Cpds: **iamlangr**, equally long, 133b27; **ænndilangr**, along the length of, 29a11: *at ænndilongu baka*, along the back.

**-latr**, as suffix in adjs. of manner or disposition. The occs are: **falatr**, reticent, reserved, 83b23, 92a24; **hœfilatr**, unassuming, 83b17; **letlatr**, of pleasant disposition, genial, 4b16, **letllatr**, 3a26; **litillatr**, modest, 92b5; **miuclatr**, sleek, insinuating, 98a10; **ranglatr**, unjust, 138b15; **retlatr**, just, righteous, 95a4, **retllatr**, 131a11, 139a3.

**lauss**, loose. Regular; but *laus*, ns. masc., 32b30.

Cpds: **argallalauss**, without guile, 65b24; **felauss**, without property, impecunious, 86a12; **flærðalauss**, free from deception, 129a27, *-lauss*, ns. masc. 129b4 and 20, *flærðalaus*, ns. masc., 3b10;<sup>161</sup> **frænddlauss**, without kinsmen, *frændlaus*, ns. masc., 134a8; **galauss**, heedless, stupid, ns. masc. *-laus*, 61b9; **glœpalauss**, without sin, 5a19; **hoflauss**, ill-mannered, immoderate, unbridled, 90a14, 148b12 (ds. fem. and as. neut; **hovæskulauss**, ill-bred, 50b7, 51b4; **hvilddarlauss**, without rest, not affording rest, 48a30; **hæfndarlauss**, revengeless, without retribution, 152a27; **iðrottalauss**, without special training in some craft or occupation, untrained, 5a7; **ivirhafnarlauss**, not wearing an outer garment, 73b16; **klæðlauss**, without clothes 145b8; **kyrtillauss**, not wearing a "kirtle" or tunic, ns. masc., *-laus*, 58b21; **lastalauss**, free from vice, faultless, 5a18; **lauglauss** (*log-*

<sup>161</sup> *Flærðalaus* is here used of the wares (*vörningr*).

*lauss*), lawless, 69a19; *licnarlauss* (*likn-*), without mercy, 100a22, 198b28; *manvitzlauss*, not having the reasoning faculty of human beings, 9a27, *monvitz-*, 29b20; *miskunnarlauss*, mercyleless, 113b26; *ræfsingarlauss*, *-ingalauss*, free from punishment, 117b14; 135b17; *sac-lauss*, guiltless, 68b2, 116a27, *-laus*, ns. masc., 88b21; *sið-lauss*, ill-bred, of evil habits, 50b6, 74b5; *skickiulauss*, not wearing a mantle, ns. masc., *-laus*, 61a14, *skickkiolaus*, do., 61b16; *skilningarlauss*, unreasoning, foolish, witless, simple, 9a25, 50b19; *skuggalauss*, shadeless, 129a3; *skynlauss*, ignorant, 50b13, *-lausrar*, gs. fem., 9b6; *syndalauss*, sinless, 95a2; *sæctarlauss*, unconvicted, guilt-free, ns. masc. *-laus*, 120a2; *traustlauss*, helpless, without protection, powerless, 51b22 and 30; *barflauss*, useless, purposeless, 49b20, 77a4; *vapnlauss*, without a weapon, ns. masc., *-laus*, 145a25, 145b8, 151a24; *væghðarlauss*, without mercy, 101b24, (dp.) 116a11 (ds. fem.), *væghðar-*, 116a4; *æinarðarlauss*, unreliable, devious, 72b10; *ænndalauss*, 102b30; *ærmalauss*, sleeveless, dp. *-um*, 79a19.

**-legr, -ligr.** The adjs. with this suffix are: *agetligr, -legr*, excellent, 103a22, 127a22; *agirndligr*, eager, 147a28; *agiarnlegr*, avaricious, greedy, 68a28, 99b23, 104a8; *akafliqr*, violent, 137b2; *allfroðligr*, very wise, 62b5; *allicligr*, quite like, 137a21; *almænnligr, -legr*, general, common, 70a24 (twice); *andligr*, spiritual, 160a20; *auðnæmlegr*, easily learned, neut. *-lect*, 2b14; *brigðligr*, changeable, unsteady, neut. *-ligt*, 42a6, ds. *-ligo*, 128a24 (in both places, of the moving constellations); *bærnskligr, bærnslegr*, childish, childlike, 101b27, (62b9, adv.); *daglegr*, pertaining to day, 8b8 and 16 (*daglegan hita*, "heat of the day"); *dalighr*, bad, 93b24; *dauðlegr*, mortal, deathlike, in death, deadly, fatal, 105a10 and 13, 108b21 and 29 (*i dauðligho faðmlagi iarðar*), 108b29 (*til dauðligha hælvis skugga*, may be rendered "to the shades of the dead of hell"), 119a12 (*dauðligra felagra* "dead companions," "companions in death"); *diarflegr*, bold, 88a19; *diuplegr*, deep, 109a21 (in transferred sense, used with *ahyggia*); *dyrlegr, -ligr*, precious, excellent 136b30, 149a8, *dyrligigir* for *dyrligir*, 149a15; *fiallegr*, mountainous, 8b10; *frialsligr*, free, unrestrained, 102b19, 126a6; *froðlegr, -ligr*, wise, sensible, 48a4, etc.; *fysilegr*, desirable, attractive, 5b20; *gagnskœytilegr*, shaped or situated so that one can shoot through it, 78a6; *gagnstaðligr*, helpful, useful, 31b12; 68b8, etc.; *girnligligr, -legr*, desirable, prompting the desire to have, tempting, 30b7, 97b17; *grelighr*, convenient, 79a26; *grimligr*, grim, fierce, 103b28; *guðdomligr*, divine, 119b29; *guðlegr, -ligr*, divine, holy, pious, 63a9, 95a23; *gullegr*, golden, 8a1, 46a30; *hafliqr*, pertaining to the ocean, 123b12; *haghspacligr*, skilful, trained in the crafts, 128a18; *halldkœmlegr*, useful, helpful, 76a16; *hatiðlegr*, festive, 90a30; *hegomlegr*, vain, empty, 77b10, 83b24; *heimsklegr, -ligr*, stupid, 61b11, 123b27, *heimsligr*, 83b25; *hunanglegr*, honey-like, 128b30; *hæðiligr*, despicable, 57a9; *hœfilegr, -ligr*, suitable, proper, rightful, 2a3, 9a1, 10a11,

28b18, *hævillegr*, 76a15; *illgiarnligr*, of evil will, malicious, 85b29; *iamunn-darligr*, equally wonderful, 30b15; *iarðligr*, earthly, of this earth, 95b8 and 27, etc.; *kennimannligr*, clerical, 146a14; *konunglegr*, *-ligr*, kingly, 54a15, 67b26, 90b14; *kvælldigr*, pertaining to the evening, 8a29, 47a8; *leiðligr*, loathsome, 103b7; *likamlegr*, bodily, corporeal, 102b3 and 11, 104a12 (*likamlegan mann*, "a man in the flesh"); *licnligr*, comforting, helpful, 101b20, 148b30; *linligr*, light, gentle, 128b21; *liotligr*, repulsive looking, 104a13; *logligr*, lawful, 78a16, *logh-*, 78a22; *loptlegr*, airy, 128a29; *lygilegr*, *-ligr*, false, trumped up, 33a16, 100a14, etc.; *lystiligr*, delightful, 105a28; *lœyniligr*, secret, private, 73b1, 93b20, *leynilegr*, 10b14; *maclegr*, *-ligr*, fitting, 112a24, 149b22; *mannligr*, manly, masculine, human, 86a21 and 28, 104a16, 106a25; *mildlegr*, mild, 47a17; *moðlegr*, exhausting, 48a24; *moðurligr*, motherly, 108b8; *mutugiarnligr*, so greedy for money as to be susceptible to bribes, eager for bribes, 87a27; *mœyligr*, maidenly, 98a12; *natturulegr*, natural, 108b22; *nattligr*, *natlegr*, nocturnal, 8b15, 126a5; *nauðsynligr*, *-legr*, necessary, 3b26; 4b4 and 7; *nogligr*, abundant, 125b2; *ogurlegr*, terrible, horrible, 47a13 and 14, *ogorligr*, 103b7, 132a15; *osynilegr*, invisible, 104a10; *oprotligr*, never-failing, perennial, 102b29, *uprotlegr*, 123a29, 129a23; *raðulegr*, advisable, 48b3; *ramleggr*, firm, strong, 82a28, *ramlegr*, 81b2; *rolegr*, quiet, 47b25; *ryghligr*, sorrowing, sorrowful, 46b26, *ryggligr*, 108b10; *ræðilegr*, terrible, 34b12; *rægnligr*, rainy, 123b16; *sannligr*, *-legr*, true, truthful, 41b19, 63a22, etc.; *silfrligr*, silvery, 7b30; *skamsynilegr*, short-sighted, foolish, 56b8, 70a12, 123b30; 124a15, *-leggr*, 56b8; *skiotlegr*, sudden, 47b12; *skylldegr*, *skyllegr*, obligated, in duty bound, incumbent upon, 9a21 (neut. *skyllect*), 130a13; *skynndiligr*, swift, 101b20; *smalegr*, petty, 6a12 (neut. *smalagt* for *smalegt*, corrected by underdotting); *smaraglegr*, having the color of emerald, 10a1; *smoglegr*, penetrating (used of drifting snow), 47a28; *spaclegr*, wise, sensible, 48b22; *staðfastlegr*, steadfast, 87b5; *striðligr*, severe, 148b15; *svicligr*, treacherous, 103a26, etc.; *syndligr*, sinful, 86b20, *-synðligr*, 138a20; *synligr*, visible, 105b19; *sæmilegr*, suitable, becoming, honored, honorable, proper, seemly, 52b4, 57a28, 57b6, 58b28; *tilsoghligr*, drawing to itself by suction, 128b8; *torfærilegr*, difficult to pass, 44a25, *torvælligr*, difficult, 127b20; *udauðligr*, immortal, 102b10; *ukynlegr*, not strange, 52b7; *umræðelegr*, deserving to be spoken of, 29b1; *unndarlegr*, strange, 27b21, 29a26; *utalligr*, countless, that cannot be counted, 123b26; *utrlegr*, incredible, 31b7; *uskiptilegr*, indivisible, unchangeable, 123b2; *vingiarnligr*, hostile, 103a7; *vaðvanligr*, perilous, 9b20; *viðrkæmilegr*, useful, convenient, becoming, 79b8, 84b13; *vinndligr*, windy, 123b10 (*vinndligar fjaðrar*, "windy feathers," (with) "the wind for wings"); *vitrlegr*, sensible, discerning, 73b6; *vægiligr*, gentle, merciful, 116b24, *vægiliga*, adv., gently, 48a18; *vænlegr*, such as may be expected,

reasonable, 41b19; *værallegr*, worldly, 72a26; *vætrligr*, wintry, pertaining to winter, 8a6, 10a5 and 8, 10b10; *yfirgiarnligr*, having an unbridled desire for, 104b18; *ymisligr*, various, varied, different, 6b26; *æigurlegr*, worth owning, 142a17; *æilifligr*, eternal, 128a16; *ælligr*, fiery, flaming, 108a30, 149b15; *æitrigr*, venomous, 106b5; *ærfoðlegr*, wearisome, 48a24, and the following

Adjs. in *-samlegr*: *aburðarsamlegr*, boastful, pompous, 84a9, 87b11; *annsamligr*, irksome, 108b20; *astsamlegr*, loving, 1a8; *athugasamlegr*, thoughtful, studious, noteworthy, 84b5; 91b29: *framdragha athugasamleg dæmi*, "cite noteworthy examples; *avitsamlegr*, censorious, 114b19; *bærghisamlegr*, lustful, 104a8, 104b14; *drambsamlegr*, *-ligr*, haughty, arrogant, 87a27, 90b16; *falsamlegr*, treacherous, 78b19; *flærðsamlegr*, *-ligr*, deceitful, 104a28, 106a3; *gamansamlegr*, playful, furnishing amusement, frivolous, 33a15, 127a8 (used with *rikdom*); *glyssamlegr*, glittering, with blandishment, smirking, 104a6 and 27, *-leggh*, *f.*, in both cases; *glœymisamlegr*, forgetful, 87a8; *harmsamlegr*, regretful, grievous, 8a3, 46b27, etc.; *hascasamlegr*, dangerous, 46a14, 41b11, etc.; *hofsamlegr*, courtly, 87b12; *kappsamlegr*, *kap-*, in rivalry, embattled, 46b24 (of the anger of the waves), 91b16; *kvalsamlegr*, *qual-*, painful, tormenting, 103a6; *lostasamlegr*, lustful, 108a18; *miscunsamligr*, *-legr*, tempered with mercy, merciful, 107a16, 109a11; *mætnaðarsamlegr*, arrogant, 99b24; *niðsamlegr*, villainous, 88b3; *nytsamlegr*, useful, beneficial, 48a5, 48a23; *ottasamlegr*, terrifying, 46b15; *skaðasamlegr*, harmful, 66b24, 86a1; *skemtansamlegr*, amusing, enjoyable, 76b4; *sorgsamlegr*, sorrowful, distressing, 108a9 and 22; *stormsamlegr*, stormy, 10a14, 47b1, *syndsamlegr*, sinful, 138a15; *vil usamlegr*, seductive, beguiling, 104a6; *ylsamlegr*, warming, warmth-giving, 9a28, 46b13: *ylsamlegar fehirzlrur*, "treasures of warmth," "wealth of warm rays." The nom. acc. sg. neut. of these adjs. regularly ends in *-lect*, *-lict*.

The following adverbs in *-lega*, *-liga* are here noted. The corresponding adjectives do not appear: *auðvælliga*, easily; *braðliga*, suddenly; *blíðliga*, pleasantly; *fastliga*, firmly; *forkunnleggha*, fervently; *giarnsamlega*, eagerly; *giersamlega*, thoroughly; *gláðliga*, with delight (10a3); *gloggþæckliga*, with discernment; *gorsamlega* (changed to *giorsamlega*, 62b13) thoroughly; *háleilliga*, sublimely; *harðlega*, heavily, severely; *háðulegha*, shamefully; *hogværliga*, gently; *holligha*, graciously; *hvasligha*, sharply; *iðulega*, incessantly; *íamvirkiliga*, with equal care; *kalldleggha*, coldly; *lettiga*, lightly; *litillatliga*, modestly; *mæðiliga*, wearily; *nyliga*, recently; *opinbærlichga*, openly; *orleggha*, richly; *oruggliga*, steadfastly, firmly; *rangliga*, wrongly; *reiðulega*, angrily; *reintliga*, cleanly; *rettliga*, rightly; *rumliga*, spaciouly; *rækiliga*, carefully; *sannnyndasamlega*, truthfully; *siðarlega*, late, *siðsamleggha*, properly; *skamliga*, with shame; *skilvisliga*, explicitly; *somasamleggha*, properly, rightfully; *skyldulega*, dutifully (see adj. *skyldlegr*);

*tryglega*, faithfully; *þacsamlega*, gratefully; *þiostsamlega*, furiously; *þræcliga*, forcibly; *þungliga*, severely, heavily; *uaflatligga*, incessantly, *utarlega*, on the outer side; *vacrlega*, quickly; *vandliga*, well, carefully; *varliga*, scarcely.

**-leitr.** The suffix appears only in *haleitr*, exalted; *holeitt*, neut. 95b20, *haleitri*, ds. fem., 96a30.

**lettr, letr**, light, free from burden, easy, agile. Ds. fem., *lettre*, 8b4, 2b25: *ec em nu a lettazta aldre*, "I am now in my best years."

**licr, likr**, like. 6a1, 28b7, 42b30.

Cpds: **allicr**, quite like, likely, 137a27; **þvilicr**, such, "such-like," similar, 8a9, 34a28, 36a28.

**-lifr.** Only in *æilifr*, eternal, 103b24, 124b2, 139b18, etc., and its derivative *ælifligr*.

**linr**, gentle, slender, light, small. Pl. *linar*, 79b24. 144a18 (of sickness), 146b3 (of guilt).

**lioðr**, attentive, quiet, composed. 75b2: *i lioðara lagi*, "in moderated tones," "quiet."

**liotr**, homely, ugly, repulsive. Neut. *liott*, 106a27, superl. 136a22 (of *sakir*).

Cpd: **gialfrliotr**, with violent surging of the sea, neut. *-liott*, 39b21.

**-lyndr.** The suffix appears in the following

Cpds: **braðlyndr**, quick-tempered, 47a6; **mislyndr**, moody, of changeable temper, 4b17, *-lynndr*, 55b7; **skiotlynndr**, quick to think and act, impatient, 139a29; **æinlyndr**, obstinate, self-willed, 83b17.

**-lægr.** The suffix appears in **nalægr**, neighboring, located near, 43b27, and **utlægr**, "outlawed," 100a29; **utlaghr**, do., 100b2. See *Ja-*, *jð-*Stems.

**lænnr**, landed. With *maðr* several times, as *lænnder menn*., 55b18, and *lænndra manna*, gp., 53b18 and 20.

**-lænnzkr.** The suffix appears in **hærlænnzkr**, of this country, native, 76a10, and **utlænnzkr**, foreign, 76a10, *utlænnzcr*, gp., 54a3, *utlænnzcr*, do., 54b29.

**lær**, mild. Used only of the weather; occs. only in the comparative: *læri*, 44a14 and 19.

**lærðr**, studied, learned. 119b2, gp., 120a12, 4a16. Also *ulærðr*, not learned, 119b2.

**margr, marghr**, many a. Neut. *mart*, 39b5, etc., np. neut. *maorg*, 119a17. Many occs. of other forms. As first component in *margfroðr*, *marghsmogall*, and *marghyrðr*.

Cpd: **iammargr**, "equally numerous," ns. masc., 27a9.

**miucr**, soft, yielding. Only in *miuclatr*. See above.

**moðr**, weary. Dp. *-um*, 129a20.



**mynntr** (<*munnr*). 34b10: *mioc mynntr*, "with a large mouth." As second element in *fiormynntr*, having four mouths, 77b23, used of the four "mouths" of the war-beam. Cf. *fiorsættr*.

**-mælltr**, "-voiced," and as this only in suffixal use. Examples occurring: **langmælltr**, long-winded, speaking long, 64b12; **sannmælltr**, truthful, 92a24.

**mætr**, good. 146a1 (superlative).

Cpd: **femætr**, valuable, neut. *-tt*, 142b16 and 18. Cf. *festærkr* and *femikill*.

**mætttr**, having eaten one's fill, 58b17.

**noctr**, naked. Gp., 105b13 and 108b16; *nocðra*, 105b5; *necta*, ap. masc., 105b8.

Cpd: **skamnoctr**, shamefully naked, dp. *-um*, 98b17.

**nogr**, ample, plentiful. 28b15, 45a4.

**nytr**, useful. 56a3, neut. *nyt*, 50a15. Also *nytsamlegr*.

Cpds: **fanytr**, of little use, neut. *-tt*, 50a15, *unyttr*, useless, 124a3.

**-næmðr**. Cpd: **hærnæmðr**, carried off illegally, abducted, pl. fem. *-ar*, 69a7.

**næmr**. The simplex does not appear. Cf. *nam*, *n*.

Cpds: **auðnæmr**, easily learned, 50b27 (superlative); **siðnæmr**, apt, quick to acquire good manners and proper conduct, 54a16; **tornæmr**, difficult to learn, 54a27 (np), comp., 50a14.

**-orðr**, "-worded." In *fastorðr*, reliable, true to one's word, ns. masc., 140b27. See *-yrðr*.

**-ottr**. See *-uttr*.

**pruðr**, fine, distinguished. Only in the Cpds. **gangpruðr**, with stately gait, 83b18; and **siðpruðr**, dignified, reserved, 75b2.

**rackr**, careful, attending properly to. 84a6: *væra rackr at husum æf hann á eða skipum eða hæstum*.

Cpds: **daðraccr**, doughty, manly, 72b16; **hugraccr**, courageous, 84a8.

**rangr**, wrong, false. 2b3 and 4, 69b24; *ranglega*, adv., falsely, dishonestly, 3a9.

**reinn**, clean, pure, free. 49a21. Ds. fem. *reinne*, 65b6, neut. *reinnt*, 66a26.

**rettr**, retr, right, proper, correct, true, real. 30a24, 44a28, etc., 2a17: *at retr sun minn*, that my own son; 3a6: *likes haldr þeim er kaupmann ero retter eða þeim er ser gefa kaupmanna nofn oc ero þo mangarar eða falsarar*.

**rikr**, ricr. 57a8, etc. Dp. *rikum*, 61b12, 124b20. Usually contrasted with *fatakr*. See *Ja-*, *jō-*Stems.

**ruggr**. Only in *uruggr*, firm, secure, reliable, trustworthy, 78b6; neut. *urugt*, 78b22, *uruct*, 81a16, *oruggr*, 8b15, 72b11, 125b13, *uruggan*, 5n23, *urugger*, 92a6.

**ryggðr**, depressed, sad. 33a17, 108b28. As. masc. *ryggan*, 4a15, neut. *ryggð*, 4b15, ds. neut. *ryggv*, 33b2. See *Wa-*, *wō-*Stems.

**-ræddr**, pprtc., discussed. 30b13 (*ver hofum þa . . . luti rædda*). As second element in *fiollrætt*, much discussed, 131b2; *vanrætt*, undiscussed, unexplained. 55b11. Cf. *vanspurtr*.

**saddr**, sated. 8b28, 96b12, 119b14, in all used with reference to sleep.

**salltr**, salty. 39b19, neut. *sallt*, 39b16.

**samr**, same. Ds. neut. *samu*, 127b6. Extensively as a prefix (mostly in nouns), and a suffix (corresponding here to Eng. *-some*, *-like*, *-ly*). As prefix in *samfastr* and *samþyccr*. See also adjs. in *-legr*.

As suffix in: **aburðarsamr**, boastful, aggressive, 84a9; **drambsamr**, arrogant, 143b11; **flærðsamr**, deceitful, false, 63a7; **friðsamr**, peaceful, peace-loving, **gamamsamr**, playful, 129b15; **gialfrsamr**, with violent surging of the sea, 39b15; **groðrsamr**, growth-giving, quickening, 8a24; **heilsamr**, wholesome, healthful, ns. fem. *-som*, 28b3; **hofsamr**, courteous, well-bred, 72a6; **siðarsamr**, well-bred, 50a25, **siðsamr**, do., as. masc., 3a26, superl., 56a18; **stormsamr**, stormy, 37a27 (comp); **svarfsamr**, troublesome, disorderly, 6a29 (the reference is to men who disturb the peace).

**sannr**, true, 125a25. Neut. *satt*, 2b9., gs. *sannz*, gs. fem. *sannrar*, 2b10. As prefix in *sannfroðr* and *sannmalltr*.

**sattr**, reconciled, at peace. 101a3.

Cpds: **samsattr**, concordant, harmonious, 61a21, 101a21.

**siðr**, long from above down, low-hanging. Neut. *sitt* (*har*). 34a25.

**sincr**, self-seeking. 143b13. Cf. *sinca*, f.

**-siall**, "sighted." Only in *forsiall*, careful, observant, 84a8, 95a4. Cf. suffix **-all**.

**siucr**, sick. Ns. neut., 5b16.

Cpd: **ovvundsiucr**, envious, 84a10, *avund-*, 150a8.

**skaddr**, pprtc. *Uskaddo*, Dsn., 28a22, *uskodd*, ns., fem., undiminished, 123b1.

**skaðr**, declivitous. Dp. *skaðum*, 45a3.

**skammr**, short. 138b12. Adv. *skamt*, 30a20. As first component in *skamskeptr* and *skamsynn*.

**skarpr**, in *brunskarpr*, merry with drink. 76a30.

**skelför**, pprtc. Cpd. *sunndrskelfðan*, as. masc., shattered, 79b28.

**skeptr**, "shafted." In *langskeptr*, long-shafted, 77a28. 77b6, and *skamskeptr*, short-shafted, 77a29.

**skirr**, clear. Ds. fem. *skirri*, 129a26.

**skiotr**, quick, swift. Neut. *skiott*. As first component in *skiotlyndr* and *skiotsvarðr*.

Cpd: **iamskiotr**, equally swift, neut. *-tt* (adv.), 32a30.

**skylldr**, obligated, due, incumbent upon, right, urgent; related (by blood). 89b29. Neut. *skyllt*, 1b3. Other forms 94a27, 130a24. etc. Obs:

*þvi at skyllt væri tal occat um marga luti*, "for it were fitting for us to discuss many things" (1b3).

Cpds: **allskyldr**, very incumbent upon, neut. form, 94b3; **fiolskyldr**, having many duties attached to it, neut. -*skyllt*, 7b23; ds. fem. -*skylldri*, 52b19; **iamskyldr**, equally incumbent upon, neut., 127a1: *iamskyllt er konunginum*.

**slettr**, smooth, level. 128b18, gp. *slettra*, 128b20.

**slicr**, such. 10b19, 28a9.

**slægr**, sly. 98a10. See *Ja-*, *jō*-Stems.

Cpd: **orðslægr**, cunning in words; **tvislægr**, double-faced, 72b9.

**sniallr**, ready of speech, eloquent, 64b3, etc.; *usniallr*, 64b8.

**snarpr**. See *æggiðr*.

**snotr**, wise, intelligent. 64b18.

Cpd: **raðsnotr**, resourceful, 66b28.

**spacr**, thoughtful, sensible, self-possessed, discreet, calm, quiet, peaceful, gentle. 6a25, 69a23. 136a12, 139a3, 140b13, *uspacr*, unruly, 6a28.

**smogall**. See *-all*.

**sottall**. See *-all*.

**spiltr**, pprtc., *u-*, not damaged, 3b10.

**spurall**. See *-all*.

**spurðr**, pprtc. In *vanspurt*, insufficiently inquired about, 10b18, 39b11. Cf. *vanræddr*.

**staddr**, pprtc., placed, stationed. 4a25, 32b26, 34b30, 119b20: *er a bæn er staddr*, "who stands praying," 138b1: *i þui værki staddr*, "engaged in the work," 141a8: *var æinnsaman staddr*, "was alone," *staðr*, 64a10.

**stirðr**, stiff. 78b28, 128b22.

**stirndr**, starry. As neut. *stirnt*, 128a17.

**storr**, big; violent. 34b3: *storum stormum*, gp. *storra*, 148a16, etc. As first element in *storfioðr*, *storphofðingi*.

**-stygggr**, in *andstygggr*, repulsive. Neut. -*ggi*, 106a28.

**stærkr**, *styr*cr, strong. 78b4. as. fem. *stærka*, 129a12, np. *stærcar*, 37a10, 81b3, dp. *stærkum*, 9a22, 78b5, comp., 117a20, *styr*cr, 129b16, and comp., 5a3; *ostyr*cr, "weak," "frail," 107a14; *ustyr*cr, 107a19. See *Ja-*, *jō*-Stems.

Cpds: **festærkr**, rich, 67b22, dp. -*kum*., 56a15 (cf. *femætr*); *ostyr*cr, ds. neut. 107a14, *ustyr*cr. ns. masc. at 27a25, 29b4.

**stæyptr**, pprtc.

Cpd: **blystæyptr**, "cast in lead," 77b20.

**sumr**, some. Neut. *sumt*, 27a28, etc.; ns. masc. at 27a25, 29b4.

**svalr**, cool, refreshing. Neut. *svalt*. 8a17; dp. *svalum*, 8b17.

Cpd: **blostsvalr**, cooled by the wind, 8a27.

**-svarðr**, "sworn." In *skiotsvarðr*, "quickly sworn to," dp. -*svarðum*, 124a1.

**svartr**, black. Dp. *svortum*, 43a1. I note the cpd: **kolsvartr**, "coal-black," 27a12.

**synn**, evident, clear, certain. Neut. *synnt*, 71a11, *synt*, 130a23.

Cpds: **asynn**, visible, evident, neut. *asynt*, 38a29; **auðsynn**, perfectly clear, neut. *-syndt*, 71a4; **skamsynn**, short-sighted, pl. *-syna*, 51a8, *-synir*, 63a10.

**sækk**, guilty. Comp. **sækkari**, 105a13. See *Ja-*, *jō*-Stems.

**sæll**, blessed, happy. 129a21, 27, etc.

Cpd: **vinsæll**, blessed with friends, beloved, 3a27.

**sættr**, pprtc. Obs: *at sættri solo*, "when the sun had set," 8b2.

Cpd: **firisættri**, ds. fem., established, 7b14; **nasættr**, situated near, 46b11: *nasættra granna*.

**-sœrr**. Only in *usœra*, ap. masc. not to be sworn to, that should not be sworn to, 84a3.

**traustr**, secure. 82b10.

**tryggr**, true, faithful. 145a21; np. *trygger*, 6b26, 52a25, *tryggan*, 148b20. See *Wa-*, *wō*-stems.

**-tækr**, in *fatækr*, poor (in possessions). As. masc. *fatækan*, 89b28, dp. *-kum*. 129a17. See *Ja-*, *jō*-Stems.

**þactr**, pprtc. 37a29. Cpd: **skyþactan**, as. masc., cloud-covered, 46b1.

**þiðr**, thawed. Ns. fem. *þið*, 43a19, neut. *þitt*, 38b21.

**þiarfr**, fresh (of water). Dp. *þiarfum*. 128b6.

**þiuccr**, **þiuckr**, **þyckr**. As masc. *þiuccan*, 8b12; ap. fem. *þyccar*, 46b22, Comp. *þyckri*, 82b2, thinner. As first component in *þyccskyvaðr*. See *Wa-*, *wō*-Stems.

**þungr**, heavy, severe, painful. 30a3, *þungliga*, adv., 140a5. Cpd. *iamþungr*, equally heavy.

**þyckr**, thick. See **þiuccr**.

**-þyckr**, in **samþyckr**, agreeing, in concord. Np. fem. *-þyckar*, 101a3; **sunndþyckr**, "discordant," "divided in views," 68b28. See *Ja-*, *jō*-Stems.

**þynn**, thin, as first element in *þynnþygðr*.

**-ugr**, **-ughr**. **Siðughr** (with *væl*) "(well) bred," "(well) mannered," 57a16 and 21, *usiðvgs*, gs. "not well bred," 57a24, ap. masc. *usiðuga*, 65b4; **syndugr**, sinful, ap. masc. *synduga*, 115a1; **værðugr**, deserving, as. masc. *-ugan*, 149b22. See contract forms.

**-uttr**. The suffix occurs only in **ballutr**, spherical, 74a5, and **akufottr**, round, gs. fem. *-ttirar*, 128b28. Cf. Norw. dial. *kuv*. "round"; **marghqvislottr**, having many branches, 112a7.

**vacr**, awake, watchful, alert, active. 4b13, superlative.

Cpd: **arvacr**, early awake, 3a28.

**vanndr**, careful, particular, difficult, 6b13, 135a29, *vandr*, 140b26, neut. *vant*, 135b6, *vandlega*, adv., 3b6, *vannðliga*, 4b20, etc.

Cpd: **raðvanndr**, reliable, honest, 94b20, *oraðvanndr*, dishonest, 83b29.

**tængðr**, pprtc. Cpd. *samantængt* (with *saltmal*), fixed, established, 9a6.  
**villdr**, choice, fine. 58b20 (superl.).

**vanr**, accustomed. 58a15, 131b9.

**vaskr**, adroit, agile. Superl., 140b22.

**varr**, aware, wary, cautious, watchful against. 5b4, 29a6, 46b16, 53a5, 147a9.

Cpds: **glœpvarr**, watchful against committing sin, righteous, 72a4.  
**lastvar**, free from wrong-doing, 4b17.

**virðr**, valued, accounted, regarded. Np. masc. *virðer*, 52a12, *virðdir*, 52a15.

**viss**, certain, known, wise. 7b1, 49b8, 54a30, etc. Neut. regularly *vist*, 49b11, etc. Further: *þa hafa menn oc vítað vísan storm i hafi æpter*, 34a9; *mioc visir af* "well versed in," 54a30. Also *oviss*, "ignorant," 51a30, *ovis*, ns. masc., 54b18.

Cpds: **rettviss**, just, righteous, ns. masc. *retvís*, 138a19; **talviss**, skilled in arithmetic, as. masc., 5a25.

**vittr**, knowing, sensible, discreet, intelligent, informed, capable, accomplished. 1b9, 2b16, 4a23, 5b30, 64b22, 129b21, etc. Where the emphasis is upon possessing broad information or upon practical knowledge the word *vittr* is commonly used. I quote the following passages: *En þar munu þo mærgir luter værða fylgia þeir er til iðrotta heyra æf maðr skal vittr heita* (2b); *En þo at ec ræða nu flæst um logmal þa værðr ængi maðr til fulz vittr nema hann kunne goða skilning oc goðan hatt a ollum siðum* (4a); *Ðat skalltu oc vist hugleiða at aldri gange sa dagr yfir þec at ægi namer þu noccorn lut þann et þer se gagn i æf þu vilt allvittr heita* (5b).

Cpd: **margvittr**, informed about many things, 64b19; **fullvittr**, learned, 44a23, 44a23.

**vægr**, nicely balanced. 131b28. See *Ja-*, *jō-*Stems.

Cpd: **iamvægr**, of equal weight, pl. 132a10, b1, 135a14, 16, *iamn-*, 132a5 and 18.

**væikr**, **veykr**, weak. 100b26.

**-vælldr**. In *auðvælldr*, easy, neut. *-vælli*, 64b4. Cf. adv. *auðvælliga*.

**værðr**, worth, worthy 52a13 (*mikils værðer*, "of considerable account"), 159a4, etc., neut. *vært*, 50b18, *uværðr*, unworthy, 124b12.

**vænn**. In *arvænn*, promising a good year, neut. *-vænni*, 68a26 (*þyckir mounum arvænni*, "it seemed to men that a good year was to be expected"); *banvænn*, indicating likelihood of being near death, literally "expecting death," ns. masc., 30a4. Cf. *vaðvænligr*, and *vænligr*.

**-værr**. In *hogværr*, gentle, meek, 138a19, 150a6 (superl.), *hoghværr*, pl., 138a14.

**-værðr**. In the words *andværðr*, initial, in the beginning of, 46a22 (*andværðr october*), as. masc., 126b3, ds. neut. *-o*, 112a15, *-u*, 152b4, etc., *annd-*, 10b15; *ovanværðr*, which is above or at the upper end of, ds. neut. *-u*, 43a25; *sunnanværðr*, southerly, 44b15.

**-yrðr.** In *faðgryrðr*, of fair words, polite, 83b9, and *marghyrðr*, using many words, 83b23.

**-æskr.** The suffix occurs as follows: *hovæskr*, well-bred, 50b8, 56b14, 56b19 (comp.), 57a20, 22, 65a7, 14, 65b1, 3, *hoværskr*, 56b10 (dp, -um), *uhovæskir*, np. masc. 54a20, *uhavæskir*, 50b12 (np. masc.); *himnæskr*, heavenly, 95b25; *rumvæskr*, Roman, 134a6.

**ætr**, edible. 37a4, 37a16 (pl. *ætir*), 37a17 (*æter*).

**æstr**, pprtc. stirred up. Dp. 117b18, and *alæstum*, dp., "wholly aroused," 48a30.

Most dissyllabic adjs. with a short derivative suffix elide the weak vowel of this suffix before those case endings, that begin with a vowel. Those derivative suffixes that were originally long, however, retain the weak vowel; such are those in *-aðr*, and the adjs. *heimill*, *heimoll*, *smogall*, *spurall* and *sottall*. See above. Numerically the most important class belonging here are those in *-enn* (-inn), and past participials in *-enn*. Pprtcps. in *-iðr* exhibit generalized contract forms, as *talðr* < *taleðr*, *framðr* < *frameðr* (pl. *framðar*, 69a15), etc. The following forms will here be noted:

**almattugr**, almighty. As. masc. always *-matkan*, as, 2a24, 6b4.

**auðigr**, wealthy. 67a6, *auðgu*, ds. n., 51b19.

**gamall**, old. Cpd. *ælligamall*, aged, 27b17.

**gofugr**, honored, excellent. Contract forms *gofgan*, 1a9, *gofga*, 64a8.

Cpd: *kyngofugr*, of noble extraction, *-gofgum*, dp., 56a15.

**hæilagr**, holy. Ns. fem. *heilog*, 125a26, gs. neut. *heilax*, 123b30. Numerous occs. of regular contract forms (*hælgan*, *hælgu*, *hælgum*, etc.). The form *helaghrar*, gs. fem., 93b18, shows the unintentional intrusion of the vowel of the contracted case forms into an uncontracted form.

**mikill**, big.

Cpds: *briostmikill*, "heaving, swollen," pl. *-myklar*, 46b22; *femikill*, wealthy, 51b16.

**nagongoll**, being near to one, present. Np. *nagonglir*, 57a27, -er, 65a25, ap. masc. *nagongla*, 65a30.

**nauðegr**, compelled. 65b10, pl. *nauðgar*, 69a7; with prefix *a-*, *anauðegr*, "oppressed," as. masc. *-ðgan*, 89b28.

**nærgongoll**, as *nagongoll*. 73a25, *-gonglir*, 65a2. In the first occ. the word means "troublesome," "importunate."

**nockviðr**, naked. 98b13, 99a16 and 22, *nocqviðr*, 99a25, np. neut. *nocqvið*, 106b21 and 29. Cf. *noctum*, dp., 98b17 and *necta*, ap., 105b8.

**noctr**, contract form of *nockviðr*. Gp. *noctra*, 105b13, 108b17, *nocðra*, 105b5. Cf. *noctum* and *necta* above.

**offugr**, strong. As. masc. *oflgan*, 8b19, dp. *aflgum*, 128a22.

**saurigr**, filthy. 106b1, *saurgu*, 103b23.

**simalogr**, speaking long, long-winded. Only ns., 64a21. Cf. *simalgi*, n.

**vasall**, wretched. 141b2, pl. *væslir*, 139b10.

**ymise**, various. This adj., the only one with long suffix normally belonging here, exhibits almost exclusively uncontracted forms in *K.S.* See above. The pl. *ymsir* occurs, however, at 7b24. Otherwise as follows: *imisir*, 41b27, *ymisum*, 39a3, 66b23, 67a2 and 4, *imisum*, 39a9.

Of adjs. in *-inn* (*-enn*) the following appear: **alcœypinn**, over eager in attack, 77a7, 84a8 (*forsiall en ægi alcœypinn*); **allnainn**, closely related, pl. *-nainir*, 67a27; **arœðinn**, venturesome, 61a10; **fæginn**, pleased, elated, 50b21; **heiðinn**, pagan, 30b29, etc.; **hœlinn**, boastful, 77a8; **fræistinn**, venturesome, 28b23; **iðinn**, diligent, 84a13; **opinn**, open, exposed, *opner*, 36b9. Cf. noun *opnosall*; **rockinn**, wrinkled, dp. *rocnum*, 34b13; **ufælinn**, unafraid, 76b30; **yfrinn**, abundant, 45a8, neut. *yfrit* regularly, **œfrinn**, 28b15; **œrinn**, abundant, *œrin*, ns. fem., 80b1, *yrna*, as. fem., 143b24. *œrinnar*, gs. fem., 36a16, *ærna*, ap. masc., 6a11.

The following past participles in *-inn* will be noted:

**buinn**, ready, prepared for, dressed, equipped for, trained. 8b14, 61a1, pl. *bunnir*, 92a14: *kvarki bunnir i kristinna manna logh ne i gyðinga tru*. Also *arbuner*, pl., ready early, 45b10.

**borinn**, born. Cpd. *fiarborinna*, gp., distantly related, 67a26; *naborner*, pl., closely related, 56a8.

**dræginn**. Pl. *dragnar*, 29a13, scribal error for *drægnar*. Cpd: *hundræginn*, "drawn to the top" (of sails), 77b23.

**drifinn**. Cpd. *sniodrifno*, ds. neut., covered with driven snow, snow-covered, 47a24.

**druckinn**, drunk. 74b24.

**fallen**, fitted, by nature, suitable. 6a9, 54b28, 61a6, etc., **tilfallenn**, do., 53b30; **niðrfallnar**, np. fem., broken down, destroyed (of laws), 70a22.

**fainn**. Cpd. *grænfainn*, colored green, 39a10.

**fænginn**. *En at fængnum rognum*, "when they have gotten their spawn," 9b2. Cpd: *nyfænginn*, newly received, 46b2.

**frosinn**. Cpd: *rimfrosnum*, dp, covered with hoar-frost, 47a26. Error: *frostet* for *froset*, 39b28.

**funninn**. 57a10, etc.; *funnden*, ns. fem., 57a15, pl. *fundnir*, 92b12.

**genginn**. Cpd: *handgengenn*, attached to the king as a retainer, 55a3, pl. *-gengner*, 51a13.

**getinn**, begotten. 10a21: *mæð getnum burð*; ns. masc. *getin*, 128a10. Cpd. *æingetinn*, "only begotten," 123a27, 125a17.

**halldenn**, considered, regarded. 57a13; *værðr sva halldenn sœm æinn hværr þorþari*, 142a20.

**kominn**. Cpd: *fullkomenn*, perfect, 4a26, 76a17, *nykominn*, "newly arrived," dp. *-num*, 10a23.

**kvæðinn**. Prefix *a-*: *akvæðnum*, ds., "specified," 48a11, 74a23 (*aquæðno*).

**latenn**. Cpd. *liflatenn*, deceased, 28b9.

**lokinn.** Dp. *locnum*, 3b4: *at locnum liðum*, "when the hours have been finished."

**lyðinn**, obedient. ds. *lyðnum*. 1a6; pl. *lyðner*, 55a16; *ulyðnir*, "disobedient," 69a17.

**læsinn.** Cpd: *samanlæsna*, np. fem., gathered together, raked up, 68a20.

**spurinn.** Cp. 1a13: *svara . . . spurnum lutum*, "answer the things asked about."

**staðenn.** 5a29: *sæm þu værðu þu staðenn*, "where you are then located," or "happen to be." Otherwise always *staddr*, as in the same sentence at 5a27.

**rækinn.** Cpd: *brotrækinn*, driven away, 8b20: *æpter brotrækit sky*.

**tækin.** As fem. *tæcna*, 8b29: *æpter tæcna hvíld*, "after having rested." Cpd: *brauttækinn*, ns. masc. 46a29: *æpter brauttækinn hafuðbunað*, "after having removed the head-dress"; *hærtækinn*, illegally carried off, captive, 9129 and 93b14, *-tæcna*, 89b12; *nyttækinn*, newly assumed, 8a12, *nyttækinne*, ds. fem., 10a2.

**þrotinn.** Cpd: *vinndþrotnum*, dp. swelled with wind, 47a25, *vind-*, 128b13.

**vaxinn**, grown, shaped, formed. 29a8, 30a23, 34a24, etc.

Exceptions: The following adjectives with a short derivative suffix, normally therefore belonging here, exhibit only uncontracted forms: *kunnigr*, *þurftigr*, *siðughr*, and *værðugr*. See above under the respective suffixes. For *saddr*, "sated," *staddr*, "stationed," and *þactr*, "covered," which exhibit generalized contract forms, see pp. 124, 125 and 126.

A third group is made up of a small number of adjs. ending in a long vowel which is assimilated with the initial vowel of the ending if the two vowels are of like quality. The adjs. occurring are: *far* "few," *fam.*, dp., 4b12, 64b5, *fom.* 64b10. *fa.* ap. masc., 35a10, etc., or with dissimilar vowel *faer*, 5a16, 45a27, etc., and *allfaer*, 97a26; *smar*, "small," np. fem. *smar*, 68a20, 80a23, *smam*: 76a28, *smom.* 5b3; *uppskar*, "loose tongued," 73b6 (no other instance). Neuters of *far* and *smar* are: *fatt*, 4n24, 65a, *smatt*, 67a26, 81b10; npl. is *smo*, 45b28. Obs. stem *sma-* in the cpds: *smabatr*, *m.*, and *smakonungr*.

Such instances as *faam*, 102a77, *smaam*. show assimilation and probably also contraction, so that they are to be explained as merely orthographic variants of the forms *fom.* *smam*, above. But the writings may represent dissyllabic pronunciation, by the influence of other datives. Such an instance of analogy it seems must be assumed for *faom*, 89b20. Cf. dp. *ráðm* of *ra. f.* p. 59.

#### b. *Ja-*, *jð-*Stems

The *ja-*, *jð-*stems, limited in number in ON in general, are further reduced in *KS.* by levelling under the pure stems. The adj. *miðr* "middle" retains its earlier form, as *miðium*, dp. 8a14, and *miðiu*, 74a6; similarly



**nyr**, "new"; 3b25, *nyiu*, ds. neut., 100b8. The *ja-*, *jō-*stems are, however, mainly made up of adjs. with stems ending in *g* or *k* and these retain their historical form only partially in *KS*. Those occurring are the following:

**nyr**, new. Ns. masc. 3b25; *nytt*, neut. 31b4, ds. neut. *nyiu*, 108b8; gs. fem. *nyrar*, 48a20. Frequently as prefix with participial forms (*nygorr*, "newly made," *nykominn*, "newly come," *nytakin*, "newly taken," *nyvigðr*, "newly consecrated").

**rikr**, **ricr**, rich, influential. Dp. *rikium*, 88b30, 93a16. *rika*, ds. masc. wk. 96b19, etc.

-**stærkr**, **styrkr**, "strong." Dp. *stærkium*, 76a1.

**sækkr**, guilty. As. masc. *sæckian*, 124a5, *sækkian*, 129a8.

-**tækr**, in *fatækr*, poor. As. masc. wk. -*ia*, 96b22. See p. 126.

-**þyckr**, in *samþyckr*, in harmony, agreeing, -*iar*, np. fem., 113b24. See p. 126.

On the other hand all these adjs. also show pure *a-ō-*stem forms, and in some the latter are the prevailing ones. See above, pp. 123–126. *Frægr* and *hægr* are represented by levelled forms only, while *lægr*, *slægr*, and *vægr* are found only in cases whose endings would not show the *j* of the stem. See these above.

#### c. *Wa-*, *wō-* Stems

The *u* of the stem ending *ua* appears normally before endings beginning with a vowel, and an original radical *a* suffers primary *u*-umlaut. The forms of *gorr*, "finished," "complete," occurring in *KS*, are as follows:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. Nom.	gorr	gor	gort
Gen.		gærre	
Dat.			
Acc.	gorvan	gorva, gerfa	gort
Pl. Nom.	gorvir, -er	gorvar	gor
Gen.		(gorva)	
Dat.		gorfum	
Acc.	gorva	gorva	(gor)

Occurrences: 30b14, 31a7, 35a1, 45b2, 56a17, 69a19, 69b15 and 24, 79a2, 15, and 18, 78a12, and 27, 78a16, 80a5 (*gorr*), 8a7 (*gorr*), and *gor*, 8a11, 80a25, and 29, 81a7, 12, 22, 23 (*gorr*), 82a10, 11, 14. 82b22. Cpds: *algorr*, "completely made or established, dp. *algorfum*, 9a9; *nygærr*, "newly made," 9b17 (ds. fem. -*gærre*).

Of other adjs. originally belonging here the occurrences are limited and these show a definite tendency toward levelling under the pure stems. The following adjs. are to be noted: **harr**, high, ap. fem. *hajar*, 79a5; **docqr**, "dark," as. masc. *decqvan*, 47a19, comparative *docquare*, 42a7;

*myrkr*, dark, comp. *myrqvare*, 41b21; *þrøngr*, "oppressive," "distressing," *þrøngvar*, np. fem., 65b13.

On the other hand *dyggr*, "worthy," *gloggr*, "sharp," "shrewd," *kvikr*, "alive," *ryggr*, "disconsolate," *tryggr*, "faithful," and *þiuccr*, "thick," show only *a*-stem forms in the few occurrences met with; see above. Of *mior* "slender," and *styggr*, "shy," the case-forms in question do not occur. Occs: 33b29, 45a1.

### B. THE WEAK DECLENSION

*The positive and the superlative.* The occs. in KS exhibit with almost absolute regularity the normal ON endings. These are in the sg. the endings of the *an* stems for the masc. and the neut., and those of the *ön* stems for the feminines. In the plural the ending is *-um* in the dative, elsewhere *-u* (*-o*). Except in the ns. masc. the occs. for the several cases are rather limited in number, being represented mostly by superlatives, ordinals, and adjs. of position or direction. The adjs. appearing are the following: ns. masc. *agiarni*, *heimski*, *rellati*, *spaki* (*ospaki*), *vitri*, all on p. 69, the ordinals *þriði*, *fiórðe*, *fimti*, *sette*, *siaunnde*, on p. 63a, and the following superlatives: *agetazte*, *milldazte*, *miskunnsamaste*, 123a24,<sup>101</sup> *hogvarazti*, 150a6, and *hæsti*, 91a1; the ns. fem. of the ordinals *þriðia*, *fiórða*, *fimta*, *setta*, *siaunda*, appear at 97b29 and 104a1-8; the ns. neut., regularly *-a*, as *kít toma haf*, 41a20. The obl. cases, masc. and neut. sg., always end in *-a*, as *heimska*, 69a24, *heita*, 44b1, *hælga*, 134b18, etc., *kallda*, 44b1, *rika*, 96b23; superlatives: *hæsta*, 95a24, *næsta*, 48b20, *masta*, 67b29, *lettasta*, 2b25. The fem. ending is everywhere *-u(o)*: *hælgv*, *liottligr*, 104a13, *næsto*, 48a3, *samo*, 75b1, *síðarsto*, 111a2, *æfsto*, 110b27, and *fyrsto*, *bæsto*, *ystu*, etc.

The ending of the plural, nom., gen., acc., is *-u* (*-o*): *bæstu*, 3a4, *-o*, 94a28, *auðgu*, 51b19, *næsto*, 43a25, *næðstu*, 129a9, *stærsto*, 48a13, and *ystu*, 42a24, and 45a7. The dp. is regular: *yztum*, 41a4 and 45a5. However it ends in *-o* once: *i þæssom síðarsto domum*, 135a22.

*Indeclinable adjectives.* These have regularly the wk. endings *-a*, or *-i* (*-e*). Those occurring are: *algangsa*, general, prevalent, 143a2, *algangsi*, 41a12, 70a24; *askynia*, "possessing knowledge of," "familiar with," 5a11, 49a3, 50b27, 64b16, 65a21, and 26, etc.; *fullsæfti*, fully rested from sleep, 97a7; *fullvaxta*, sufficiently large, 7a12; *ofgangse*, overwhelming, 60a5; *æinka* (= *æinga*), 1b1, *ærvasi*, decrepit, 152b7.

Examples: *þegar fe þitt er fullvaxta*, 'As soon as your property has accumulated sufficiently (is sufficiently large); *Nu þarf konungr fyrir þui þessa luti oc margra aðra hugleiða um nætr þegar hann er fullsæfti*, "therefore it is well for the king to ponder over these things and many others by night as soon as he has had sufficient sleep." The adjective *askynia* occurs

<sup>101</sup> In 150a6 written *miskunnsamasti*.

a number of times both with and without a dependent genitive. I shall cite the following instances: *þa sækia þeir þægar sína maka oc næma þat af þeim er þeim er auðnæmast oc hann var aðr orðenn mæst askynia*, "then they at once seek out their equals and learn from them what is easiest for them to learn, and which they had already before gained most familiarity with." *Því at þa er hálst van at maðr halde sec noccot til monvitz eða iðrottar þægar hann tæcr sialfr ræðe af hann er noccors askynia i æsku mæðan hann er under aga*," 5a11; *um þa konungs huscarla er nu er at ræða er hálst værða askynia hvat goðe siðer ero i konungs forunæti*; *at þeir se marger mæð konungi længe oc hanum nagongler at þionosto oc værða þo ægi askynia hvat hovæski er* ("and still do not learn what good manners is").

*Comparatives.* Normally the ending is *-i*, (*-e*) in the ns. masc. and in all four cases of the fem; it is *-a* in the oblique cases of the masc. and in all four cases of the neuter. In the plural the dative retains the ending *-um* (*-om*); the other cases all have *-i* (*-e*). This condition is preserved in the great majority of comparatives occurring in *KS*. Thus the ns. masc. everywhere ends in *-i* (*-e*), as also all fem. forms in the singular. There are ca. twenty occs. of the masc. and nine of the fem. Examples at: 5a2, 8b9, 30a9, 37a12, 41b21, 44a29, etc. Further the oblique cases of the masc. show *-a* in all instances (8a19, 37a8, 49a27, etc., fifteen occs).

The neuter sg., however, exhibits its regular ending only in the oblique cases. There are seventeen examples (50a14, 52b10, 54b9, etc.). A departure from this is found only once, along with two regular forms in the same line: *oc vil ec fa þer folk annat bæðe myclo bætra oc þo stærçari oc meira*, 117a20. But in the sg. the neuter ending is prevailingly *-i* (*-e*). I shall cite the samples: *æitt kyn er myclo var hanum gagnstaðligare en [ann]at folk*, 31b12; *En þasse væðr natura oc skipan a norðrliosi at þat er æ þæss liosare er siolf er nott myrçvare oc syniz þat*, etc., 41b20; *En sva er þætta lios brigðiligt at þat þyckir stundum væra docçvare*, 42a7; *En þat er unndarligri er þer ræddut*, etc., 65a24; *þa ero þeir lecar (for leicar) er maðr ma væl uti fræmia af hanum syniz þat skemtansamlegre*, 76b4; *oc lass hans er misiamnari, griot er iborit sumt stort en sumt smatt*, 81b10; *mer væri þætta liosare firi aughum*, 101b3; *þvi sannari þycki mer þat*, 119a20.

The normal neut. nom. sg. in *-a* remains in the following passages; *þætta haf man væra stormsamara en hvært annarra*, 37b27; *allt er þat oc tornamara*, 50a14; *at firir þa soc se ægi hægra unnder þeim at bua*, etc., 40b11. Also the following may be so regarded: *En af grafsvin eða æinhværr annur vel er drægin at kastala, sva at ægi ma þeim heitt vantn (for vatn) granda, oc er þo lægra en kastala væggir*, 82a2. Here the writer has in mind the *grafsvin*; it is this engine which he suggests should be 'lower' than the castle walls: the 'other device,' *annur vel* (fem.), is not to be regarded as the antecedent.

The neuters, then, retain their own ending only in the oblique cases but here almost wholly so; however, in the nom. case the neuter *-a* has in ca.

60% of the instances been given up for the ending *-e*. There can be no doubt as to what the levelling influence is here, since the *-a* of the oblique cases remains: the neuter is being levelled under the masculine form.

In the plural the dative *-um* remains; the examples are 62a16 (*mæð fleirum orðum*), 78a18 (*af fleirum*) and 116a13 (*i hinum siðarrum dæmum*). But the form in *-i(-e)* is found once: 64b27: *mæð hovaskari monnum*. In the other cases the ending is *-i(-e)* regularly, -in all, ca. sixty occurrences.

*Present participles.* The declension of present participles is ordinarily identical with that of the comparatives, -hence *e* throughout the sg. fem. and *-a* throughout in the neuter. But the levelling of forms has here gone considerably farther than with comparatives. I shall first note the condition in the masculines, where the historical inflexion is least disturbed, in fact there is only one irregular form to be noted, namely in the passage: *Hvat skyldi mér gamlum karli at liva rænnandi a hvarium dægi en þu son mín Absalon skyldir dæyia i bloma alldrs þins*, 149b1-3. The oblique cases otherwise always have *-a* (8a6, 13, and 18, 8b19, 9a30, 9b7, and 12, 128b13, 129a20, 31, and 22, 132a22). In the nom. the ending is always *-i(-e)*. The fem. ending is *-i(-e)* in the nom., five times, and in the oblique cases, twice (9a3, 93a11, 98b21, 100b7, 159a24, 46b10, and 93a13). But the oblique case ending is otherwise *-a*, 8b1 (*moti komanda hafið*), 9b21 (*sva sœm komanda hafið*), 128a22 (*Buðum ver skinanda solo*), 128b24 (*. . . þa er ec lærða þægiannða logn*), and nom. at 104a5: *annur* [var] *brænnanda heipt*. The fem. form is *-a*, therefore, in 41% of the occurrences.

The neuter nom. sg. is usually *-i(-e)*, the ending *-a* appearing only twice. There are nineteen examples. I note the following: *þa kæmr . . . geislannde hvel*, 9a3; *þa kom þar sigannde or lofti ofan æitt acker*, 32b8; *æigi er þat nafn firi litannde*, 55a20; *En þat er vitannde hvarium*, 80a17; *þa er nu skyrannde þat*, 102b7; *oc er þat vist hvarium konungi at huga leiðannde*, 130b29; *þa er þat nu skyrannde*, 137a9; *þa er þat æigi væitannde*, 159a6; *þa er þat . . . aptir tacande*, 159a7, and three other similar constructions (63b30, 159a20 and 23). Other occs: 8a24, 39a5, 40a30, b9, 18 and 19, 46a21. On the other hand we find *-a* at 40b19: *nu er þar allt byggiannda*. The tendency, evidenced above for the comparatives has here then gone much farther: the ns. neut. has practically given up its regular ending *-a* for the *-e* of the masculine. In one single instance this change also enters the oblique case form: *mæð fulllingiannde briostafti*, 75a28.

In the plural there is likewise an active tendency away from the normal endings. The *-i(-e)* of the nom. gen. acc. is represented by nine examples, two neuters 9b30, 128b9; one feminine, 159a14, and six masculines: 50a24, and 25, 84b16 (twice), b22, and 75a15. The dat. pl. in *-um* appears at 28a22, 40b6, 45b23, and 129b13. However, in several instances the *-e* of the nom. gen. acc. pl. has been replaced by *-a*, as fem., 8b28: *En því næst lycr hann upp vacrlega birtannda sioner*, 78a16: *hanganda stalhusur*

(nom. here), and neut., 82a5: *gera til bæðe hvors oc stor gloannda plogiarn*. These cases at any rate are certain; and probably also two cases with *geisli* in 8a6: *sænnder hann oc skinannda geisla i anndlit væstanvinnde*, and 8b13: *sænnder ornannda geisla mæð bliðu boði i andlit utnyrðinge*. This is formally correct for the acc. sg., but it is no doubt intended to be the plural, so that here also we must assume the form in *a* for *-e* as in the certain fem. and neuter occs. above. Finally the dat. pl. ends in *-a* twice: *mæð frosnom rotum oc driupannda qvistum*, 10a6, and: *mæð snærkiannða næfi oc frottannda vorrum*, 47a6, and in *-e* three times: *vid at taca skinannde geislum mæð haliðlegum vingiafum*, 46a28; *dugannde siðum*, 70b6, *dugannðe monnum*, 70b18. Thus the departure from the normal dp. *-um* represents five of nine occs., or 55%, and in the other three cases five of fourteen occs., or rather more than 35% of the total. The declension of present participles in *KS* is, then, as follows:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sg. Nom.	-e	-e	-e
Gen. }			
Dat. }	-a	-a, -e	-a
Acc. }			
Pl. Nom.			
Gen. }	-e, (-a)	-a, -e	(-a)
Acc. }			
Dat. }	-um (-om)	-a, -e	

### C. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

The comparison of adjectives in *KS* is of three kinds: I, the comparative ending is *-ar-*, the superlative ending is *-ast-*; II, the comparative ends in *-r-* and the superlative in *-st-*, with *i*-umlaut of the radical vowel; III, a group of adjectives, which lack the positive form, take the ending *-r-* in the comparative in most cases with *i*-umlaut, but in the superlative partake of the character of types I and II both, in that the ending in some of these is *-ast*, but is *-st-* in others. The ending *-ast-* now and then appears as *-arst*. See further below. For general ON conditions see *AmG*, I, §426 and §300, note 3; also *PBB*, X, 432, Specht, *Acta Germ.*, III, 17-18, and *FHom.*, 118. Most adjectives occurring go according to the first of these types, as in ON regularly; there is not evidenced in *KS* any tendency away from the other types. In the lists below definitions and references will, as a rule, not be given.

Type I. The adjectives occurring with both comparative and superlative forms are the following:

**aget**, *agetare*, 144b30; *agetaztr*, pl., 38a19, *agetast*, 62b22.

**froðr**, *froðare*, *-ari*, 7b5, etc.; *froðaztr*, 34b20.

**lett**, *lettari*, 140a24, 148b19; *lettaztr*, 2b25, 136a22.

**sannr**, *sannare*, 119a20; *sannastr*, 64b3.

**stærcr**, *stærcare*, 117a20; *stærkazti*, wk., 85a17.

**vit**, *vitvari*, 1b9; *vitraztr*, pl., 131a17.

The superlative *vitraðztr*, 129b18, may belong with *vit*. See below. But *vitraðztr* may be regarded as superlative of *vitraðr*, pprtc. of *vitra*. The passage reads: *Ec em hafuðmæistari i hværium skola oc hin hæsta snilld a hværiu þingi Ec em vitraðztr millim allra logmanna oc ivirdomare i allum domsætum*. By the analogy of *viliaðr-viliaztr* (below) we should, however, here expect *vitraztr*. But, the writing with -ðst(ðzt), where the corresponding positive ends in ð, is also seen in the form *næðstu*, under Type III below.

Like the above six adjectives go the following fifty-three: those with comp. occurrences are: **blautr**, *avundsiucr*, *docqr*, *docqvare*, 42a7, **diupr**, comp., 82a11, **dringr**, comp., 65b9, **gagnstaðligr**, comp. *-ligare*, 31b12, **giersamlegr**, comp. *-legare*, 66b19, **gloggr**, comp. *gloggare*, 49a27, **gnogr**, 47a19, **grimmr**, (*grimr*). comp. *grimmare*, **harðr**, **heitr**, **hovæskr**, **iamn**, **linr**, **lioðr**, **lios**, **miuclatr**, **myrcr**, comp. *myrqvare*, 41b21, **sarr**, **skiotr**, **stormsamr**, **sækk**, 105a13, **sætr**, **vannr**, **varmr**, **tornæmr**, and **þungr**, comp. *þungari*, 150a4 and 18, 142a16. The following occur in the superlative: **auðnæmr**, **biatr**, **fastr**, **glœpvarr**, **hogværr**, **hætt**, (**hætr**), 76b22, 78b9, **kalldr**, **kerr**, 131a23, **lettr**, **licr**, **milldr**, **miskunnssamr**,<sup>162</sup> **mætr**, **rikr**, **skyldr**, 49b9, 101b4, 130a24, **spakr**, **vacr**, 4b14, **vaskr**, 140b22, **villdr**, **vinsæll**; 6a25, and the following six in *-legr*: **fróðlegr**, **heimsklegr**, **loglegr**, **nytsamlegr**, **sannligr**, **vænligr**. The occs. of the latter are: *fróðlegast*, 54b15, 58a70; *heimsklegast* 61b11; *loghligast*, 71b11; *nytsamlegast*, 49b18, 50a12; *sannlegast*, 41b11, *-ligast*, 46a20, 58a19, 127b4; *vænligast*, 41b19, 62b20. **Framr**, excellent, shows the comp. *framarr*, 56a30. See below.

In the above unumlauted occs. of *þungr*, "heavy," the adj. is, in all three instances, used in the transferred sense. In 142a the passage reads: *þvi at ængi er æin soc þungari en væita ulyðni yfirboða sinum*, "for no offense is graver than to show disobedience to one's superior." In 150a4 the comparative *þungari* is again used in the same sense, while in 150a18 it is used with reference to the severity of a verdict. In 141b8 the positive *þungr*, similarly: *Sva er glæpr minn illr oc þungr*. Cf. *lettr*, "light," "small," "less grave": *oc havi þat til gengit at dauði varð lettari sin soc*, 140a24, and: *En þvi varo dauði lettari sínar sacar firi guði*, 148b19. On the other hand the comparative form, *stærcare*, of the adj. *stærcr* is used in the physical sense of "strong," "stout," "durable," as: *stærcar alar*, "strong straps" or "ropes," 37a9; *hinn stærkazti stolpi*, "the strongest pillar" ("the strongest of pillars"). See further Type II.

<sup>162</sup> And *siðsamast*, 56a20.

Of the above adjs. of Type I *agætr*, *diuþr*, *gloggr*, *hætt*, *rikr*, and *skyldr*, may also go according to Type II in ON (apparently always *agætri* in the *Þiðreks saga*).

Type II. The following are the occurrences:

*dyrr*, costly; *dyrri*, 65b30.

*dauðligr*, mortal; *dauðligri*, 105a13.

*fagr*, fair, *fægri*, 103a9; *fægrst*, 4a14. 31a30, 74a3, 75b18, 127a19, 142b18.

*far*, few, *færi*, 50a3; *fæstr*, 62a19, etc.

(*framr*), prominent; *framri*, 62a26, 77a21. See Type I.

*frægr*, noted; *frægre*, 132b10.

*gagnstaðligr*, contrary, *gagnstaðligri*, 99a10.

*har*, high, *hæri*, 34b27, 130a4; *hæstr*, 9a29, etc., *hæsti*, 160b21.

*lagr*, low, *lægri*, 56a10, 82a2 (*lægra*).

*lær*, mild, *læri*, 44a14 and 19.

*langr*, long, *længri*, 36a21, 36b14; *længster*, pl. 36a25, 36b2, etc.

*mior*, slender, *miori*, 82a12.

*sannligr*, truthful, *sannligri*, 102a17.

*skammr*, short, *skemra* as neut., 64b9.

*skemtanarsamlegr*, amusing, *skemtanarsamlegre*, 76b3.

*slægr*, sly, *slægri*, 98a10.

*smar*, small, *smæri*, 36b3, 64a2, etc., *smæst*, neut., 36b12, *smæsto*, wk. neut., 85b3. Dp. comp. is *smærum*, 10a27.

(*u*)*styrgr*, (not) strong, 107a18, *styrcre*, 5a3.

*storr*, large, *stærri*, 36b10; *stærst*, ds. n., 48a13, 66a15.

*synn*, evident, superl. *synster*, pl., 67b13.

*þungr*, heavy, *þyngri*, 52b10, 66a6.

*unndarligr*, strange, *unndarligri*, 65a24.

*uþyckr*, not thick, *uþyckri*, 82b2.

*vægiligr*, forbearing, *vægiligri*, 150a17.

*vænn*, hopeful, promising, comp. *vænne*, 49a3.

The adj. *þungr*, in the comp. *þyngri* is used in the literal sense in 52b10: *Nu þyckiumz ec hafa fenget gnog svor oc sonn sva et mer þycker ukynlect at þæsser menn er nu hafir þer um rætt vili hælldr væra konungs menn en i heraðum, þo at þar værðe mæð iampungu starfi eða þyngra en mæð bonndum.* And in 76b5: *þar til skallt þu gera þer æitt skapt oc hælldr þyngra en spiot-skapt.* In 66a6 the reference is to *argalli*, hence in transferred sense here ("heavy," "great," misfortune). The adj. *styrgr* is used in the transferred meaning, as "stern" in 129b16: *Ec em gamansamr felagi millim litillatra en styrgr oc dramsamr moti dramsamum*, and as "strong," "great," in 5a3: *Ðat skallu oc vist vita at ængi er æinn craftr eða styrcre en maðr fai vel hæpt tungu sína.* Further, *ostyrgr*, 107a14 and 18, in the sense of "frail": *Minnist*

*nu drottinn minn at ec em gor af ostyrku æfni sva sœm bræyskr leirpotr. . . . þvi at ec ustyrkr fell i miclar sakir viðr þic drottinn minn.* Of *þiuccr* (*þiuckr*) and *þyckr* the former is the regular form, with a number of occs: 8b12, 36b20, 37a9, 42a8, etc.; the comp. *þiuckare* does not occur.

*Mior* originally goes according to Type I. The comp. *miore*, by analogy to the positive form, is general ON. *Dyrr*, *framr* and *frægr* may also compare under Type I in ON. Other instances of mixed comparison are noted in *AnG*, I, §429, notes 2 and 3. The adj. *víliaðr*, "to one's liking, pleasing, select," formally a pprtc., occurs only in the positive, and the superlative, the latter in the following sentence: *En klæðabunaðe þinum skaltu aðr hafa sva hattat, at þu ser klæddr allum goðum gangværa þeim sœm þu hæfir villdastan til, vær hosaðr oc skvaðr; ægi skaltþu oc kyrtílslaus væra; þvilica yfirhofn oc sœm þu hæfir viliazta til*, where *haf* is to be supplied before *þvilica yfirhofn*, or with *Ksp.*, p. 66, note 5, *haf ok þvilica yfirhofn sœm*. Cf. *vitraðstr* above. Otherwise adjs. in *-aðr* tend to form their comparison by *bætr*, *bærstr*: *bætr siðaðer*, pl., 65a6: *bæzt viliaðer*, 131a17.

It is to be observed in *KS* the comp. of adjectives in *-ligr*, *-legr*, is pre-vaillingly *-ligre*, *-legre*, in all six times, but may be *-ligare*, *-legare* (*-ari*), of which there are two examples. The material is limited, but so far as it goes we can only say that adjs. in *ligr*, *leggr*, have mixed comparative forms, as *AnG*, I, §429, note 3, and not that there is syncope of the vowel of comparison when the ending begins with a vowel, as Cederschiöld, *AfnF*, IX, 97, in which cases we should have only comp. *-ligre*, *-legre*. The occs. of the superlatives in *KS* offer no instance of a vowel ending, hence furnish no evidence. See above. The fact is to be noted that the rule suggested by Cederschiöld is derived from an examination of a group of OIcel. texts; and he does not himself regard the material he adduces as sufficiently extensive for proof. An examination of the two ONorw. Mss. *NHom.* and *Ðiðrekss* (the first three hands), shows the practice here to be about as Cederschiöld found it, however, for the Mss. his investigation covered. In *NHom.* the comp. is always *-legre*, obl. *legra*. The occs. are: *auðvællegra*, 6, *dyrlegre*, 16, 17, 49, 164, 168, *hærfilegre*, 16, *oitarlegre*, 17, *illgiarnlegra*, 37, *þunglegra*, 37, *scynsamlegra*, 50, *fasilegra*, 164, *aumlegra*, 165, *sarlegra*, 165, *ferlegra*, 165. The superl. is *-legst-* before a vowel ending: *liclegstan*, 155, *dyrlegsto*, 172, *nalegster*, 170. In the case of final *-st* the superl. is ordinarily *-legast*, as *gorsamlegast*, 79, *scyldlegast*, 116, but *-legst* also occurs, namely in *acastlegst*, 161. In the first three hands of the *Ðiðrekss*. I find no instance of the comp. *-legare*, it is always *-legre* (*-ligre*). The occs. are: *bitrlegra*, 97, 100, *drengilegra*, 184, *kurtæislegra*, 66, *maclegra*, 205, *munlegra*, 132, *ogurlegra*, 308, *ohaglegra*, 110, 308, *tiginmannlegra*, 329, *tigvlegri*, 352, *tigurlegri*, 325, *vasclegra*, 215. The superl. is *-ast*, *-ast-*: *glæglegast*, *kurtæislægast*, etc., but *gafvlegsta*, 248. As far as this goes then,



it would seem to show that in ONorw. the comp. is regularly *-legre*, and that the superl. is *-legst-*, this form not being confined to the position before a vowel.

Defective forms: comp. *fyrri*, former, 140b10, *fyrru*, ds. n., 151a16, written *fyri*, 118b14; superl. *fyrstr*, 64a5, 95b3, etc., but *fyst*, 96a16; superl. *næsta*, next, nearest, last, obl., 48b20; other occs.: 48a3, 54b7, 56a4. The comp. *æðre*, "more excellent," appears, 5a2.

The following have only the comp. and the superl., the positive being supplied by other stems:

*goðr*, *bætre*, -i, 80a9, etc., *bæstr*, 3a4, 4b19, etc., *bast*, n., 80b2; compound *kynbæzler*, "of the best family," 70b11.

*illr*, *værrer*, *værstr*, 88a27.

*litill*, *minne*, 100a3, 111a22; *minnztr*, 68a11.

*margr*, many a, *fleire*, *flæire*, 2b10, 27b29, etc., *flæstr*, 29a15, 49b30, 77b30, etc.

*mikill*, much, great, *meire*, *mæire*, 53b14, etc., *mæstr*, 3b7, 38a20, 72a19, 146a1, etc. Compound: comparative *femciri*, "of more wealth," 51b16.

Type III. Here belong the following adjs.:

Comp. *nærðre*, 44a10 and 30, *nærðri*, 44b21.

*syðri*, 44a9 and 29, 45a13.

*fiarri*, 49b2 (adv., here), written *fiarri*.

*næzto* superl., lowest, gp., 43a24.

*siðarre*, later, 115b13, 116a12, superl. *siðarste*, dpl., 135a22.

*ytra*, obl., 42a22, superl. *yztr*, 41a4, 42a24, 45a3, 5, and 6; *ylztr*, 41a14.

*æfre*, last, superl: *æfsto*, gs. fem., 110b27: *fra hinna fystu stund oc til hinna æfsto*, varied at 111a2 to: *fra hinna fyrstu stund oc til hinna siðarsto*.

*æfre*, upper, 32a30, 37a8, 82a30.

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## ADDENDA

*Dalr.* As compared with the three Eddic *i*-stem forms of *dalr*, cited on p. 14, there are five *a*-stem forms in the *Codex Regius*; these are in *Vsp.* 19<sup>6</sup> (*þærs i dala falla*); *Vsp.* 36<sup>2</sup> (*um eitrdala*); *Vm.* 14<sup>6</sup> (*þaþan kþmr dagg um dala*), *HH* 1<sup>6</sup> (*dala daggóttá*), and *Harb.* 19<sup>7</sup> (*or dali djúpum*). References here are to the numbering in the edition of F. Dettler and R. Heinzel: *Sæmundar Edda*, Leipzig, 1903. Of the three *i*-stem forms, that in the *Völsungakviða en forna*, 35<sup>4</sup>, *Vigdali*, is changed to an *a*-stem form, *Vigdala*, by Finnur Jónsson in his editions, *Eddalieder*, II, 1890, p. 21, and *Sæmundar Edda*, Reykjavík, 1905, p. 252. To the references on p. 14 may be added *AfnF*, XXXVII, p. 99, and *Appellativa*, p. 284.

*Lax.* It is possible that the word *lax* was a recent loan in ON, but it is not necessary to assume this. See also *AfnF*, XXXII, p. 276 (article by John Loewenthal: "Zur germanischen Wortkunde"); the Indi-Germanic origin of the word is here shown, and also its distribution as general Germanic.

*Fljotleikr.* See p. 20. In Hallager's *Norsk Ordsamling* the form *Fljotleik* is listed, p. 150, in the Supplement: "Tillæg af nogle Ord, som for største Delen ere brugelige Vester paa Norge."

*Licleikr*, *FrOrdb.* gives only the one occ. in *KS*. For Norw. diall. Aasen records the form *likleike*, m., adding "lidet brugl"; Ross does not have it.

*Likligleikr.* *FrOrdb.* gives only the occs. in *KS*.

Names of months occurring in Latin form are: *i marcio manaðe*, 30a4; *septima decima Kal. aprilis*, 48a16; *septima decima Kal. novæmbris*, 46a27.

The word *maðr* is represented by the rune .ψ. at 50b14, 137b5, 138a18, 148a1, and 150a6, while the cpd. *leicmaðr* is written leic.ψ. at 148b4. *Maðr* is written ψ (that is without the enclosing periods) twice: 145a29 and 151b29.

On p. 27a27 the Latin *aquifolium* appears erroneously as *acrifolium*. This is a strange error, that would seem to be due to mishearing of the first part of the word. If it be an error in the reading of the word of the text the *cr* is, possibly, a change of what was read as *qr*, for *qv* (not *qu*) of the original.

*Mannation.* This form (for *mannþion*) is not recorded in the dictionaries. It occurs at 86a3 with spacing of the two component parts, but it is undoubtedly intended for a compound. Also *mannþion* is written *mann þion* at 34a14 and 71a27, but *mannþion*, 34b11. See above p. 8.

*Munvit.* This form, with *-un*, occurs as indicated three times. It does not, as far as I know, occur in any other ON text; the form is not listed in

*FrOrdb.*, but is given in *GnOrdb.* with references to two of the three occs. in *KS*. It may be noted that the Hand from whom we have the many cases of underlining of words in *KS* has underlined all three occs of the form *munvit*, thus marking the form as unusual. See *Facsimile*, Introd. pp. VI and IX.

*Hafstrambi*, p. 86. It cannot be said with absolute certainty that the acc. *hafstramba* is the sg. Cf. 34a20, *margygi*, 36b13, *skemmingr*, 36b28, *rostongr*; but with plural of the names of kinds of seals in 36a20, 23, 27 and 30.

*Aspis*. Of the serpent that Lucifer sought the text, 104a, says: *aspis er i þann tíma gece a tveim fótum mæðr upprettum licam sva sæm mæðr oc mæyligo andliti*.

*Tæying*. For recent brief discussion of this word see article by Hermann Collitz in *SSN*, VI, pp. 63–64. See also especially Elis Wadstein: "Till Völundarkviða," *AfnF*, XVIII, pp. 179–181. This etymology meets with neither formal nor semantic difficulties, and seems to me must be accepted. I note, however, that Torp in *NEtOrdb.* adheres to the earlier explanation (as in Falk og Torp, *EtOrdb.*).

*Bersabe*, p. 141a17. The wife of Uriah was, however, named *Bethsabe*, "Bathsheba" (so in the Vulgate), while *Bersabe* appears as the name of a village. In *KS*, p. 152b17 the form is *Bersabee*. But it deserves to be noted that in the Middle English *Homilies on Virtues and Vices* (early XIII century) the name of Uriah's wife is also given as *Bersabe* (*bersabee Salomones moder þe was bewedded urie*).

*Egiptalannd*. In 88a1 the text reads *egipta* (*var seldr ut a egipta þa*, etc.). It is possible that the name of the country was here intended to be given as *Egipta* (cf. ME *Ægiptaland*, and *Ægipte*). However, it is probably rather a case of omission of the second part of the compound.

In references to Norwegian dialects the abbreviations of Aasen-Ross are used. For the convenience of non-Scandinavian users of the book, who may not be familiar with these, the principal abbreviations that occur are here given: Berg=Bergen Diocese; Gbr.=Gudbrandsdalen; Hall.=Hallingdal; Hard.=Hardanger; Helg.=Helgeland; Indh.=Indherred; Jæd.=Jæderen; Li.=Lister; Ma.=Mandal; Ndm.=Nordmøre; Nfj.=Nordfjord; Nhl.=Nordhordland; Nord.=Nordland; Roms.=Romsdalen; Ryf.=Ryfylke; Sdm.=Søndmøre; Sfj.=Søndfjord; Shl.=Søndhordland; Smaal.=Smaalenene; Sæt.=Sætedalen; Tel.=Telemarken; Trondhj.=Trondhjem Diocese; Vald.=Valders; Østl.=Østlandet.

In the references to texts in citations from *FrOrdb.* or in citations of other illustrative ON forms the abbreviations of *FrOrdb.* are also here used.

## CORRIGENDA

To the practice followed as stated in lines 11-12, page 9, a note must be added; the form *leyvis* quoted from *KS* is there written *leppis* (Facsimile, 66b12), i.e. *levvis*. Similarly I have written *eyvitar* in the quotation from Facsimile 36a10, which has *eppitar*.

Further to page 9: the four occs. of the writing *leyfi* are in: 7b4, 37b6, 44a7, and 45b7.

P. 20, middle of page; *Sg.* should be *Sig. sk.*

P. 22; *rostungr* is written with the initial *r* in both cases.

P. 42. Insert after *reistr*: n. collective.

P. 43. The form *skref*, cited by Fritzner from the *Diðreks saga*, refers to note 11, p. 99, of the Unger edition: *Saga Diðriks konungs af Bern*. Christiania, 1853.

P. 59, under *ro*. The writing *hvilddarlaus rott* in *KS*: an error for  
● *hvilddarlaust rott*.

P. 66. Under *vin*, *vingjof* should be *vingiof*.

P. 69. Under *agirnð*, the form *agirnð* should have been added after 151a20.

P. 84, note 118. The reference to Halliwell is to J. O. Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, 6th ed., London, 1904.

P. 101. *hovæski*. There is also the one occurrence of the adj. *uhavæskr*. See p. 128.

P. 116. The writing *gyrd* is not intentional in *KS*, 79a20, but a case of forgetting the spirantal stroke.

P. 127. Under *viss* should have been added the gs. form *vis* (for *viss*) in 9a2.





## INDEX

Words which appear in two or more places in the discussion are included in the Index; also words with a variable prefix (*o-*, *u-*; *æ-*, *œ-*, etc.), or a variable initial; finally words not from *KS*, as Norwegian or other Scandinavian dialectal forms, or non-Scandinavian words, have also often been listed. Words occurring in the *KS* are printed in black face; other Old Norse forms are given in italics; all others are left in Roman. References are to page, or to number of the note, when words of the notes are indexed.

Words which can readily be found in the discussion have not been included in the Index. Words which appear only once in the discussion will be found in the proper alphabetical order under the successive stems. But compounds have been grouped under the second component part, if the latter appears as an independent word in *KS*; in other cases the word of the second component part has been listed in its alphabetical order, with a reference to the article where the group or the word is treated. Also the principal suffixes are listed in their order alphabetically, then under each the words appearing with that suffix. The suffixes so listed and the page or pages where the material under each is found is as follows: *-domr*, p. 15; *-leicr*, pp. 19–21; *-aðr*, p. 113; *-latr*, p. 118; *-lauss*, pp. 118–119; *-legr*, pp. 119–121; *-samlegr*, p. 121; *-samr*, p. 124; *-inn*, and past participles in *-inn*, pp. 129–130.

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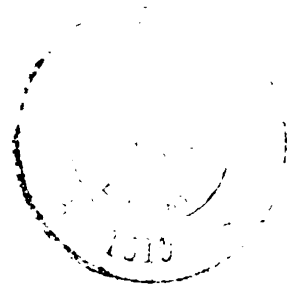
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# THE SIGNIFICANT NAME IN TERENCE

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## PREFACE

The writer is glad to have this opportunity of extending grateful acknowledgments of his indebtedness to Professor W. A. Oldfather through whose teaching he became interested in the study of names, particularly in Greek and Roman comedy, and through whose guidance, inspiration and aid this dissertation has been completed, and to Professor A. S. Pease for many helpful suggestions and criticisms. He is also grateful to his wife for constant sympathy and advice.

J. C. A.

November 9, 1922.





## I. INTRODUCTION

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ: Ὁ παῖς Ἰππολίκου Ἑρμόγεος, παλαιὰ παροιμία ἐστὶ χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ ἔστιν  
ὅση ἔχει μαθεῖν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐ σμικρὸν τυγχάνει διὰ μάθημα . . .

Ὅνομα ἄρα διδασκαλικὸν τί ἐστιν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας ὥσπερ κερκὶς ὑφάσματος.

Plato, *Kratylos*, 384 b, 388 bc.

*Nunc primum se in vetere comoedia, sed non tamquam inciperet, ostendit. Non illi vis, non granditas, non subtilitas, non amaritudo, non dulcedo, non lepos defuit; ornavit virtutes, insectatus est vitia, fictis nominibus decenter, veris usus est apte* (Pliny, *Ep.* 6, 21).

Thus Pliny the Younger writes to his friend Caninius in praise of a comedy which had been recently (106/7 A. D.) read to a group of friends by the poet Vergilius Romanus. The commendation expressed in the last two clauses makes it clear that there was recognized by literary critics a proper use of personal names in comedy, which the playwright ought to be careful to observe, and that this was no minor consideration might perhaps be concluded from the fact that such an appropriate employment of personal names on the part of Vergilius is the only point of purely dramatic technique upon which Pliny specifically touches.

Buchner (*ad loc.*, quoted in Cortius' ed. of Pliny (1734), and, apparently, followed by Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.* 3, 292) seems to think that Pliny is praising Vergilius for the proper and apt use of real and feigned names of living men, in the words of Ribbeck, "Wahre und erdichtete Namen lebender Persönlichkeiten." Furthermore, Buchner seems to understand by this, that, owing to the exigencies of the times, open satire and caricature were either prohibited or deemed unwise, and, consequently, contemporaries had to be assailed or ridiculed under the guise of fictitious names, which, he is careful to state, had to be appropriate ("*fictis nominibus, sed congruentibus tamen*"); on the other hand, men whose character and achievements warranted praise could be represented upon the stage under their own names. Although it is evident that Vergilius is imitating Aristophanes, he wished, according to Buchner, to avoid his model's method of attacking living men under their true names. There is, however, another class of names which Aristophanes employs, namely, invented and usually significant names of wholly fictitious characters, as Strepsiades and Philocleon.<sup>1</sup> Now since Vergilius is imitating Aristophanes, it is natural to suppose that he uses both classes of names employed by his model. It is true, moreover, that Aristophanes occasionally represents a contemporary under a pseudo-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Peppler, *Com. Term.* p. 49; Leo, *Pl. Forsch.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 109 f.; Schmidt, *Bedeutung des Namens*, p. 17; Körte, *Gr. Komödie*, p. 75 and in Pauly-Wissowa 11<sup>1</sup>, 1274; Kolář, *B. ph. W.* 41 (1921), 690 f.

nym, as for example, Paphlagon for Cleon in the *Knights*, a name chosen, apparently, with some regard to its appropriateness (cf. 919), but in such an example the disguise would necessarily be thin, for otherwise the desired caricature would lose its comic or polemic force. At any rate, such instances are so rare that Pliny can scarcely have been referring to so inconspicuous a matter of technique in his brief appreciation.

A certain appropriateness, then, one may safely conclude from Pliny's statement, was looked for by literary critics in the choice of names in Aristophanes. The precise character and limitations of this appropriateness lie outside the present investigation, which is merely concerned with the establishment of the fact for its bearing upon similar conditions in the New Comedy and especially in Terence.

The passage in Pliny can, indeed, serve only as evidence for the Old Comedy; but it is natural to suppose this technique to have been inherited by the authors of the Middle and the New Comedy. That this is true may be seen from Donatus' Commentary on Terence: *Nomina personarum, in comoediis dumtaxat, habere debent rationem et etymologiam. etenim absurdum est comicum cum apte argumenta confingat, uel nomen personae incongruum dare, uel officium quod sit a nomine diuersum.*<sup>2</sup>

Donatus, it will be observed, expressly requires of a comic poet the use of the appropriate or significant name, *i.e.*, one congruous with the rôle, or in other words, one which suggests the characteristic features of personality, if the rôle is elaborate enough to enable individuality to be stressed, and if not, one which, at any rate, is not inappropriate for the class or type to which the character belongs. And the reason which Donatus gives for such a requirement is sound. Taking for granted the all but universal feeling regarding the appropriateness of the relation which should subsist between personal names and characters, situations, and actions, a feeling which is briefly designated as that of the *nomen omen*,<sup>3</sup> it would be absurd if the poet, who obviously invents his plot, should give to his *personae* unsuitable names, or rôles at variance with their names. These are not two reasons, but only one looked at in two ways, as either (1) the character and action are fixed first, and then the name adapted to it, or (2) the name is decided upon first, and the character and action determined thereby. In actual composition it is not unlikely that the rôle was determined in broad outlines first, and then an appropriate name selected, which in its turn came to exercise a regulative influence upon the nature of the minor incidents in the elaboration of the rôle. Thus, what Pliny

<sup>2</sup> On *Ad.* 26; see also Don. on *And.* 226. It should further be noted that Donatus occasionally refers to suggested meanings or associations of names, which indicate the existence of some views of the same nature about their appropriateness, as, for example, in the case of Phormio. These will be taken up in the discussion of the separate plays and names.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *nomen aique omen*, Plautus, *Persa*, 625. See Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 244 and Schmidt, *Bedeutung des Namens*, pp. 6 ff.

desiderates for the Old Comedy is here extended to cover the whole γένος, quite as might have been expected. One may confidently assert, then, that in the technique of comic writing no little attention was given to the selection of precisely such names as would indicate those characteristics of the *personae* which the poet wished to emphasize.

The tradition regarding this technical requirement can be traced back to Aristotle.<sup>4</sup> In the ninth chapter of the *Poetics* he discusses the use of personal names in literature. "Poetry," he argues, "is more philosophic and of a higher seriousness than history; for it tends to express what is universal, whereas history expresses what is particular. Now the universal is the sort of thing such and such a kind of person will do or say in all probability or by necessity; this is the aim of poetry in giving names to its characters; whereas the particular is what Alcibiades did or what was done to him. In comedy this has already become evident, for, after constructing a plot out of probable incidents, the comic poets then affix to the characters whatever names they wish, but do not do as the satirists, who write about particular individuals. In tragedy, on the other hand, the poets retain the names which were in actual use."<sup>5</sup>

As to the detailed interpretation of this passage, scholars are unfortunately not in accord. There are those who treat ἐπιτιθεμένη as concessive and render τυχόντα, "casual," thus interpreting the passage to mean that poetry aims at universality, *although* the characters bear names, and this

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle lived well along into the period of the New Comedy (quite generally regarded as beginning about 336 B. C., although Fielitz, *De att. Com. bipart.*, 1866: Kock, 2, 11 f. and Oppé, *The New Comedy*, 1897 endeavor to prove the bipartition of Attic Comedy). Although it is not at all certain that any part of the *Poetics* was written after 336, it is generally conceded that this work belongs among the latest writings of Aristotle (Susemihl, *Ar. Poet.*<sup>2</sup> p. 24), and Professor Capps states that it was written "at about the time when the New Comedy was taking shape" (*Gr. Lit.* p. 144), and, most recently, Gilbert Murray dates the *Poetics* ca. 330 B. C. (preface to Bywater's translation, 1920, p. 11). Moreover, it is practically certain that Philemon's first play was brought out about 340 B. C. (Diehls-Schubart, *Didymos, Kommentar zu Demosthenes* (1904), p. 44, n.; Capps, *C. P.* 2(1907), 480; Körte, *B. ph. W.* 26 (1906), 902; Wagner, *Symbol. ad Com.* (1905), p. 27; and Legrand, *Daos*, p. 13). This question is really not of great importance, at least in the matter of significant names, for the Middle Comedy exhibits marked similarity to the New Comedy in the choice and use of names (at least 19 of the 36 names of the *dramatis personae* in Menander (Körte<sup>2</sup>) occur in the Old or Middle Comedy; and a comparison of the *Persa* of Plautus with his other plays reveals no important difference).

<sup>5</sup> ἄλλα τούτῳ διαφέρει, τῷ τὸν μὲν τὰ γινόμενα λέγειν, τὸν δὲ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο. διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον ποιήσιν ἱστορίας ἐστίν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποιήσιν μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἢ δ' ἱστορία τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγει. ἔστιν δὲ καθόλου μὲν, τῷ ποιεῖν τὰ ποῖα ἅπτα συμβαίνειν λέγειν ἢ πράττειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, οὗ στοχάζεται ἡ ποιήσιν ὀνόματα ἐπιτιθεμένη· τὸ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον, τί Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπραξεν ἢ τί ἔπαθεν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δῆλον γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκόντων οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑποτίθασιν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ λαμποποιοὶ περὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον ποιῶσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας τῶν γινόμενων ὀνομάτων ἀντίχονται. (Bywater).

generalizing tendency is illustrated by the practice of the comic poets, who use any names that happen to occur to them, one name being as good as another, since there is no special significance in any of them. This view seems to have been first expressed by Vettori (1560; 2nd ed. 1573, p. 94), and recently by Bywater (1909, esp. notes on 1449<sup>b</sup>8, 1451<sup>b</sup>7-21, 1455<sup>b</sup>12), and after him Cooper (1913, p. 32). Others who seem to accept this interpretation are Piccolomini (1573, pp. 137, 141), Dacier (1692, p. 132 f.), Curtius (1753, pp. 19, 150), Twining (2nd ed. 1812, 1, 127), Haus (1822), Richards (C.R. 9 (1895), 214 f., 13 (1899), 47 f.), Gomperz (1897, p. 20), Saintsbury (*Loci Critici*, p. 10) and Cornford (*Orig. of Att. Com.* p. 203).

Taking Bywater's view as representative of this interpretation, it is apparent that his rendering of *ἐπιρρητικὴν* as concessive rests upon the conviction that the alternative interpretation, "Poetry aims at universality in giving names to its characters," is true only to some extent in comedy, and not at all in tragedy.<sup>6</sup> Now if it can be shown that the practice of the tragic poets is not altogether adverse to the general principle, and that the comic poets observe it much more widely, at least, than is implied in the words "only to some extent," it would seem that this interpretation cannot be regarded as adequate.

Aristotle, it is to be observed, states that, although tragic poets adhere to traditional stories and names, this is no hard and fixed rule, for such a case as Agathon's *Antheus*,<sup>7</sup> with purely fictitious incidents and names, is no less pleasing on that account (1451<sup>b</sup>21-3); in fact he goes so far as to say that it would be absurd for the poets to draw their plots and names entirely from traditional stories (1451<sup>b</sup>25-6). Furthermore, it is not at all unlikely that Aristotle regarded the persons in tragedy as 'characters',<sup>8</sup> and the names as significant in the sense that a certain set of qualities was by tradition uniformly associated with them.<sup>9</sup> Since Sophocles portrayed men as they ought to be (1460<sup>b</sup>33), Oedipus, for example, is a character possessing qualities that are ideal in that they surpass reality (cf. 1461<sup>b</sup> 13 f.); that is, the name Oedipus suggests certain ideals of character, much in the same manner as, for instance, the name of the fictitious character Thais in Terence's *Eunuchus* signifies certain definite qualities which have become typical from traditional association with persons of that name.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> It is for this reason that Ritter brackets οἱ . . . *ἐπιρρητικὴν* as an interpolation (1839, pp. 151 f.).

<sup>7</sup> Or *Anthe*, Gudeman, *Philol.* 76(1920), 243.

<sup>8</sup> *ἥθος* as used in 1454<sup>a</sup>23, 1460<sup>a</sup>11. Cf. Bywater on 1449<sup>b</sup>8 (pp. 144 f.).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 1451<sup>b</sup>15 ff., where Aristotle gives the reason for the retention of traditional names in tragedy.

<sup>10</sup> Compare Antiphanes: "To write tragedy is an easy thing, for the audience knows beforehand all about the story; the poet needs only to remind them of it. If, for instance, I should but mention Oedipus, the audience knows all the rest, his father Laius, his mother Jocasta, his sons and daughters, what he did and what he suffered. . . . So

Discussion of the extent to which significant names were actually employed in comedy is here reserved for the conclusions of the present investigation of the usage of Terence, and of investigations which are planned for other comic poets. Granting for the present the truth of the statement that only to a certain extent are significant names used in comedy, the existence of exceptions does not normally nullify or destroy general rules, so that it is unlikely that Aristotle would have been deterred from stating a general rule by the cognizance of certain exceptions.

The alternative rendering of *ἐπιθετικὴν* as causal or circumstantial leads to the interpretation that the names which poetry applies to its characters are really chosen in accord with the generalizing tendency of poetry; in short, the names are significant of character. This interpretation seems to go back to the first modern commentator of Aristotle's *Poetics*, Robortelli (1548, p. 92), and has been especially elaborated by Lessing (*Hamb. Dram.* 89–91 St.) and Pye (1792, pp. 25, 187). Others who hold it are Maggi and Lombardi (1550, pp. 130 ff.), Castelvetro (1576, pp. 183, 192), Riccobono (1584, p. 15; 1587, p. 45), Harles (1780, pp. 68 f.), Graefenhan (1821, pp. 87 f.), Düntzner (1840, pp. 49, 145 f.), Saint-Hilaire (1858, p. 49), Koenig (p. 1), Zeller (*Gr. Phil.*<sup>3</sup> 2<sup>3</sup>, 768 f.), Bernays (*Abh. Arist.* pp. 148 f.), Susemihl (*Arist. Dichtkunst*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 109, 239), Brandscheid (1882, pp. 21, 109), Cosack (*Lessings hamb. Dramat.* p. 398), Capps (*Gr. Lit.* p. 145) and Vahlen (*Beiträge*<sup>2</sup>, p. 28). In addition to these, the following translations imply this interpretation: the Arabic version, Segni (1549, p. 299), Piccolomini (1572, pp. 137, 141), DuVal (1619, 2, 659), Heinsius (1643, pp. 258 f.), Goulston (1696, p. 27), Winstanley (1780, p. 150), Tyrwhitt (1794, p. 28), Buhle (1791, 5, 218; 1798, p. 59), Hermann (1802, pp. 24 f.), Valett (1803, p. 35), Taylor (1818, 1, 304), Weise (1824, p. 39), Dübner (1848, 1, 464), Schmidt (*Bedeutung des Namens*, p. 17), Stahr (1914, pp. 98 f.), and Gudeman (1921, p. 18).<sup>11</sup>

A succinct and typical statement of this interpretation is that of Pye: "We have already been shewn, as the first distinction between history and poetry, that one describes the real actions of a particular person, the other fictitious, though probable events that are supposed to happen to an imaginary one. And such qualities are to be given to this imaginary person as will best suit these events, and the part he takes in them; and these qualities are not only to be marked by the action and sentiments, but even the names given to the characters should be expressive of them. It seems, however, that having said this, the critic recollected that in tragedy the

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too in the case of Alcmaeon. . . . But not so with us comic poets; we have to invent everything, new names, the preceding and present events, the exposition and the dénouement. Then if some Chremes or a Phido make a slip, though Peleus or Teucer could blunder thus at will, they are hissed off the stage" (*Poiesis*, fr. 191, K. 2, 90 f.)

<sup>11</sup> Averroes has utterly misconstrued the passage (*N. J. Suppl.* 17(1890), 364).



ing> seeks to show, as against Aristotle, that Attic Comedy, even from its first origin, aimed at rising from the particular to the general, and endeavored to indicate this general by means of significant names" (*Ar. Clouds*, p. xlv). This is a strange statement to make in the face of Lessing's own words in which he definitely ascribes this particular view to Aristotle (10, 161 f.), who, he says, "gesteht dieses den ältesten komischen Dichtern, dem Epicharmus, dem Phormis und Krates zu <cf. 1449<sup>b</sup> 5-9, 1451<sup>b</sup> 5-9> und wird es gewiss dem Aristophanes nicht abgesprochen haben, ob er schon wusste, wie sehr er nicht allein den Kleon und Hyperbolus, sondern auch den Perikles und Sokrates namentlich mitgenommen" (10, 169, n. 2).

There remains to be considered Butcher's interpretation of this passage.<sup>14</sup> He believes that Aristotle is here pointing to "the tendency shown in comedy to discard the use of historical names and adopt names which are suggestive of character or occupation or 'humours.'" In order to arrive at this view, he has admitted into the text his conjecture *ὁ ῥὰ τυχόντα* for *ὅτι ῥὰ τυχόντα* of the MSS.<sup>15</sup> He seems to find support for this in the reading of *Ar.*,<sup>16</sup> *laisa*, "not to have been," "*nequaquam*" (Margoliouth, *Poetics*, p. 255), *Σ* *ὅ*, or *ὀδδαμῶς* as Margoliouth (*An. Or.* 58) and Susemihl (*B. ph. W.* 15 (1895), 1261) prefer, and in the analogy of a similar error in *A*<sup>c</sup> at 1451<sup>a</sup> 36, *ὅτι*, where the apogr. rightly read *ὁ ῥὰ*, confirmed by *Ar. laita*, "non." This latter, however, is a very slight variation, easily explained paleographically, whereas *ὅ* or *ὀδδαμῶς* is a good deal of a change from *ὅτι*, not readily accounted for save, perhaps, by assuming an emendation on the part of the copyist, or, better, one may accept Bywater's conjecture *ὅτι*, a corruption of *ὅτι* (1451<sup>b</sup> 13 *app. crit.* and note). Again at 1450<sup>a</sup> 30 *Ar.* reads *laisa* (*Σ*, *ὅτι* Bywater, *ὀδδαμῶς* Margoliouth), confirming *ὅ* in *P*<sup>a</sup> and *Ald.*, where *A*<sup>c</sup> and other apogr. omit. At this place as well as 1451<sup>a</sup> 36 *Ar.* and apogr. agree against *A*<sup>c</sup>, whereas at 1451<sup>b</sup> 13 *A*<sup>c</sup> and apogr. agree against *Ar.* On the whole, it may be said with some considerable degree of certainty that the evidence of the Arabic version is insufficient to justify any considerable departure from the text in *A*<sup>c</sup>.<sup>17</sup> The expression

<sup>14</sup> *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry*, 4th ed., ch. III, pp. 163 ff., ch. X, pp. 368 ff., esp. p. 376, n.

<sup>15</sup> Accepted, as he states, by Susemihl and Tyrrell. He does not seem to think the emendation is absolutely required, but "it gives a natural instead of a strained sense to the words *ῥὰ τυχόντα ὀδδαμῶς*, and also fits better with the general context" (p. xii). Cf. Susemihl *B. ph. W.* 15 (1895), 1261; *Bu. J.* 88 (1896), 32.

<sup>16</sup> The Arabic translation of a now lost Syriac translation of a Greek 5th or 6th cent. MS., *Σ*, which, though no longer extant, "muss als eine Textesquelle allerersten Ranges bewertet werden" (Gudeman, *Philol.* 76 (1920), 243 f.).

<sup>17</sup> Bywater, pp. xxxvii ff.; cf., however, Gudeman, "ca. 170 endlich ganz neue Lesarten bietet, die meist eine zweifellose Verbesserung der Vulgata darstellen, in jedem Fall aber sehr beachtenswerte Varianten sind" (*Philol.* 76 (1920), 243). A recent reviewer of Gudeman's translation concludes that he overestimates the value of the Arabic translation (Howald, *B. ph. W.* 41 (1921), 1000).

οὐ τὰ τυχεύοντα Butcher defends by the parallels *Poet.* 1450<sup>b</sup> 36, 1462<sup>b</sup> 13, *Pol.* 1339<sup>b</sup> 32; but on close examination, it will be found that in each of these cases there is a contrast involved, where the negative is balanced by an affirmative statement, whereas in the present case the negative is followed by another negative but no affirmative statement (cf. also *Phys.* 188<sup>b</sup> 3, *Pol.* 1328<sup>a</sup> 16). Furthermore, comedy is here contrasted with satire and tragedy and it would be meaningless to say that the comic poets used names not chosen by chance or at will, for this is exactly what the satirists and tragedians did.

Aristotle, accordingly, was acquainted with, if he did not actually formulate the principle, which, of course, was deduced from the more or less instinctive practice of the playwrights themselves, that only appropriate names were suitable for comedy;<sup>18</sup> and the importance which he attached to the consideration may be inferred from the fact that he uses it as one of the criteria in differentiating history, tragedy, comedy, and satire.

If Nauck's supposition is correct, and so Robert considers it (*Die Masken*, pp. 60 f.), then Aristophanes of Byzantium may also be cited as ancient authority for the use of the significant name in comedy. For his treatment of the name *Maison* in the treatise *περὶ προσώπων*<sup>19</sup> seems to furnish sufficient ground for inferring that he adhered to the principle that the names in comedy denoted men of certain habits and peculiar character, and that he explained the meaning of these names, pointing out also their origin and significance.

There seems to be, therefore, excellent, if not voluminous evidence attesting the existence in antiquity and from a relatively early period too, of a tradition of literary criticism which required of comic playwrights the selection and use of significant names. The question naturally arises next as to the manner or degree in which this principle of technique was employed by the individual writers, for it is obvious that, granted the principle, notable variety in its application may be found among artists who had different temperaments or stressed different artistic values. It is the purpose of this investigation to seek an answer to this question for Terence. It is planned to extend this study, if it shall prove to have been successfully initiated, to Plautus, Menander and Aristophanes, for whom some considerable collections have been made, and eventually, perhaps, even to other γένη. Terence has been chosen because his complete work has survived, it is of moderate compass, notable aids in the form of ancient criticism are available, and finally, because one might expect

<sup>18</sup> This is further evidence for the interpretation of the passage in Pliny which has been given above (pp. 9-11).

<sup>19</sup> Athen. 14, 659a = Festus, 118 (Lindsay); Nauck, *Fragmenta*, pp. 275 ff.



Terence to be more particular and consistent in small matters of technique than more original geniuses.

Of course, many scholars have noted and commented upon the significant name or '*redender Name*,' as it is generally called, in comedy; but the opinions expressed are frequently diverse and often flatly contradictory, a condition which probably obtains because, though the general question has been often touched upon, and occasionally one aspect or another discussed in some detail, as yet no systematic treatment of the whole problem seems to have been attempted.

Before proceeding further it may help in getting the matter clearly set forth if the views now current be summarized briefly and classified. In the light of the opinions expressed, scholars may be divided into five groups, according to whether they 1) flatly reject the principle that the significant name was used by comic playwrights, 2) accept it as referring to type significance, or 3) partly to type significance and partly to individual significance, 4) accept it with other limitations, or 5) accept it unreservedly. The distinction between type significance and individual significance is, of course, that which obtains between a class and the individual members of which the class is composed. Now individuals must possess all the essential characteristics of the class, but may possess them in varying degrees of prominence, so that the net result is a marked differentiation between different individuals of the same class, and at the same time they generally exhibit a number of minor but often very conspicuous qualities which yet further emphasize their individuality. If, therefore, there is a marked differentiation between individuals of a certain class or type, either by means of varying emphasis laid upon certain characteristics, or by introducing other *differentiae*, or by both means, it may be said that an individual is differentiated within the class, or, in other words, the type becomes a character. In all highly elaborated works of art, of course, prominent figures generally and almost inevitably become characters.<sup>30</sup> If, then, the name selected for the figure serves to call attention to these qualities the emphasis upon which differentiates it from other members of the same class, such a name may properly be said to possess individual significance. For example, Phormio is a typical sycophant-parasite in that he possesses the insatiable appetite, the beggarly poverty, and the unscrupulous litigiousness characteristic of all members of his class. If his name, as derived from *φορμῖος*, "rush mat," connoting poverty, should be considered appropriate to him merely as a type, it might then be said to have type significance only. But it is apparent that the character of Phormio is individualized within the type, for the repeated insistence upon his poverty coupled with the absurd and impudent pretense of wealth, characterize

<sup>30</sup> Compare Ruskin: "Sir Roger de Coverley is a character as well as a type, for there is no one else like him" (*Fors Clavigera*, No. 34.).

him apart from the common run of his class, for example, such a figure as Ergasilus in the *Captivi*. If his name, then, is regarded as being especially appropriate to this peculiarity of character, it may be said to have individual significance.

A typical expression of the opinion of the first group may be found in the words of a recent American editor of Terence, Professor Sturtevant: "Some may miss a reference to the matter of 'redende Namen,' but the editor doubts whether they are any such in Terence" (*And.* p. 6). Similar expressions are those of Parry (*Ter. Com.* 1857, p. xxvi); Meissner (*Ter. And.* p. 12); Morris (*Pl. Capt.* p. 2; *Pseud.* p. 97); Butcher, referring merely to Menander's *Georgos* (*op. cit.* p. 379, n.); Sargeaunt (*Ter. Phor.* p. 63); one may compare Wilamowitz's arraignment of the names of the New Comedy as colorless (*Textgesch. der griech. Bukoliker*, p. 135).<sup>21</sup>

Representative of the opinion of the second group is the statement of Poland: "Zunächst ist es kaum zweifelhaft dass auch er <Menander> vielfach 'redende' Namen wählt, welche die Gruppe andeuten, zu der die Personen als Greise, Jünglinge, Sklaven usw. gehören" (*N.J.* 33 (1914), 588). The principle of homonymy is held by this group to be evidence of mere type significance; for example, Körte says of Menander: "Der Kreis seiner Namen ist klein und die einzelnen gewinnen eine typische Geltung, die ziemlich Konsequent festgehalten wird,"<sup>22</sup> so kommt Moschion in fünf Stücken als Jünglingsname, Laches in vier (sechs, Poland, *B.ph.W.* 37 (1917), 1615, n. 9) als Greis, Myrrine in drei als ältere Frau, Daos in sechs [ten, see p. 26, n. 16] als Sklave vor" (*Gr. Komödie*, pp. 75 f.). Similar opinions, in regard to Menander, are expressed by Kock (3, 37); Sonnenberg (*Men.* 1905, p. 6); Capps (*Menander*, pp. 6, 28, 142, 230); Terzaghi (p. 143); Körte (*Menandrea*,<sup>2</sup> p. xxi); Allinson (*A.J.P.* 36 (1915), 201, n.) Kolář (*B. ph. W.* 41 (1921), 690f.). This view is also held for Plautus and Terence by Cruttwell (*Rom. Lit.* p. 52); West (*Ter. And.* p. 207); Sellar (*Rom. Poets of the Rep.*<sup>3</sup> p. 215); Bond and Walpole (*Ter. Phor.* p. xxiii);

<sup>21</sup> Interesting, and, perhaps, not altogether irrelevant, is the statement of Sir Richard Steele in the first number of the *Lover*: "I shall shun also names significant of the person's character of whom I talk; a trick used by playwrights, which I have long thought no better a device than of underwriting the name of an animal on a post, which the painter conceived too delicately drawn to be known by common eyes, or by his delineation of the limbs." Cf. Margoliouth, *Poetics*, p. 170, note on *casual names*. "It is remarkable," says Pye in commenting upon Steele's remarks, "that in this identical paper, an old bachelor is called Wildgoose (1789, p. 13); and in the next, the supposed author of the work, *The Lover*, is named Marmaduke Myrtle (p. 22)" (*Ar. Poetics*, pp. 187 f.).

<sup>22</sup> Compare "Damit <dass man die Auffassung Croisets Chairestratos sei . . . ein gleichartiger Freund Charisios nicht länger bestreiten kann (Körte, *B.ph.W.* 40 (1920), 631) > würde die letzte, einigermaßen gesicherte Ausnahme von dem von mir *N.J.* 1914: 541 [591] verfolgten Gesetz der Homonymie in der Namensgebung der Personen bei Menander beseitigt" (Poland, note on Körte, *loc. cit.*).

Gray (Ter. *Haut.* p. 62); Dieterich (*Pulcinella*, p. 45, n. 4); Henry, who, however, while accepting the view in general, argues at considerable length that many of Terence's characters are individualistic as well as typical (pp. 57 f.); and for the New Comedy in general, by Bywater, Margoliouth and Cooper (notes on Arist. *Poetics* 1451<sup>b</sup> 13). Gotschlich (*Lessings Aristot. Stud.* p. 94) and Sonnenschein (Pl. *Most.* p. 60; *Rud.* 1914, p. 67) interpret Lessing's 'redende' as having to do only with type significance, and similarly Michaut (*Hist. Com. rom.* 1, 183) and Süss (p. 102) consider the passage quoted from Donatus (above, p. 10) as referring to type names only.

The attitude of the third group is well expressed by Professor Fairclough: "The character names are all Greek, and while some are etymologically indicative of the parts played by their owners, others probably have a merely traditional significance, derived from frequent use in the New Comedy" (Ter. *And.* p. 66). With this one may compare Butcher's classification of significant names in comedy, for which he acknowledges his indebtedness to Sonnenschein (pp. xxvii f.): "1) Names etymologically significant, such as Pheidippides and Thrasonides; 2) Names which, being appropriated by usage to certain parts, designated occupation or condition, e.g., *Iuppilas*, *Glycerium*, *Chremes* and *Pamphilus*" (Ar. *Poet.*<sup>4</sup> p. 376, n.). Similar views are entertained by Koenig (see below, p. 19); Ussing (*passim*); Bergk (*Gr. Lit.* 4, 133 f., 181); Breitenbach (p. 12); Gustarelli (Ter. *Ad.* pp. L f.); Dziatzko-Haule (Ter. *Phor.* p. 87); Gatzert (pp. 64 f.); Wüst (*W.kl.Ph.* 30 (1913), 793 f., *Bu.J.* 174 (1916/18), 254), Brause (*D.L.* 35 (1914), 2245 ff.), and Poland (*B.ph.W.* 37 (1917), 1609 ff.) in reviews of Gatzert's dissertation; Westaway (*Original Element in Pl.* p. 75); and Flickinger (pp. 211 ff., 223).

Some may feel, however, that there are two different opinions included within this group, namely, that there is a difference between type significance and traditional significance. The name *Davos*, for instance, may be said to have traditional significance because it is used ten times by Menander, and, perhaps, about as often by his fellow poets. The fact, however, that the name is comparatively rare as a historical slave-name in Greece,<sup>22</sup> would naturally point to the conclusion that the name became a conventional designation for one of the types that recurred again and again in the New Comedy, and, by tradition, in the Roman *palliata*.

The attitude of the fourth and largest group is represented by the statement of Professor Ashmore: "The names in both Plautus and Terence are,

<sup>22</sup> Compare, e.g., the list of slaves emancipated at Delphi, Collitz-Bechtel, 4, 311 ff. (index), where the name *Davos* does not occur; the index of personal names, Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 3, 30 (index), where, of four *Davoses*, three are metics, and the fourth is of uncertain station. See below, pp. 24 f.

in most cases, of Greek origin, and are frequently intended to suggest the disposition or some striking peculiarity of the character represented" (*Terence*, Notes, p. 4). This somewhat qualified acceptance of the significant name in comedy goes back at least as far as Schlegel: "Die Wiederholung derselben Charaktere wurde von den griechischen Komikern durch den häufigen Gebrauch derselben Namen und zum Theil sprechender Namen eingestanden" (*Sämml. Werke*, 1846, 5, 245), and perhaps even to Vettori (above, p. 12). Simillar opinions are expressed by Naudet (*Pl. Com.* 1, 158, 386, n. 2); Lorenz (*Pl. Most.* pp. 8 f., *Mil. Glor.* pp. 3 f.); Rummeler (*Quaest. Ter.* pp. 19 ff.); Simcox (*Lat. Lit.* 1, 56); Reinhardtstoettner (*Plautus*, p. 103); Linderstrøm-Lang (*Ter. Phor.* 1893, p. 10); Ribbeck (*Röm. Dicht.*<sup>3</sup> 1, 63 f., 66, 70, 122); Gray (*Pl. Asin.* pp. xxxii f.); Elmer (*Ter. Phor.* p. 74, *Pl. Capt.* p. 63); Middleton and Mills (*Compan. to Lat. Authors*, pp. 19, 50 f.); Lamarre (*Litt. lat.* 1, 299, 333, n. 1, 441, n., 451); Fay (*Pl. Most.* pp. 64 f.); Schmidt;<sup>34</sup> Mendelssohn;<sup>35</sup> Legrand (*Daos*, pp. 33 ff., 53, 287, and esp. n. 3, 609 f., 619 f.); Leo (*Pl. Forsch.*<sup>3</sup> pp. 107 f.); E. J. Thomas (*Pl. Aul.* p. 1, Notes); McCartney (*C.J.* 14(1919), 343); Köhler (*Pl. Mil.*<sup>4</sup> p. 26); Teuffel (*Röm. Lit.*<sup>5</sup> 1, 26, 210 f.); Prescott (*C.P.* 15 (1920), 262); Saint-Hilaire, Brandscheid and Cornford (see above pp. 12 f.); Nencini and Richards, one of whom practically denies the existence of the significant name in Terence, admitting it, however, in Greek Comedy (pp. 152 f.), the other practically denies it in the Middle and the New Comedy, admitting it only in Aristophanes (*C.R.* 13 (1899), 48). There are several others who may perhaps be included in this group by virtue of more or less complete lists of *dramatis personae* with occasional derivations and hints at the appropriateness of the names: Venice edition of Terence, 1580 (a *ratio nominum* is given for the *Andria* and *Eunuchus*); Taubmann (*Pl. Com.* 1605); Pareus (*Pl. Com.* 1610); Ellius (*Ter. Com.* 1741, a *ratio nominum* is given for each play); Schmieder (*Ter.* 1794, a *ratio nominum* is given for each play); Rossius (*Ter.* 1820, a *ratio nominum* is given for the *Andria*, *idiomata personarum* for the *Eunuchus*); Giles (*Ter.* 1837, follows Rossius); Blanchard (*Pl. Aul.* p. 5); Gray (*Pl. Epid.* p. xxxi); Cocchia (*Pl. Mil. Glor.* pp. 6 f.); Auden (*Pl. Pseud.* pp. xxv ff.); Brix-Niemeyer (*Pl.*

<sup>34</sup> *Herm.* 37 (1902), 623; he criticizes Koenig's Programm because it "überall redende Namen sucht" (p. 173), but that this is an unjust criticism will become apparent upon reading Koenig's own words: "At certe falleremus, si omnibus nominibus, quae sunt apud poetam utrumque naturam mores all. personarum ostendi putaremus; non pauca ita sunt usa trita ut huic tantum rationi debeantur" (p. 4).

<sup>35</sup> Pp. 10 f., 47; he appears, erroneously, to refer the origin of the expression 'redende Namen' to Lorenz's review of Koenig's Programm in *Bu. J.* 6 (1876), 20 (p. 11).

*Men.*<sup>1</sup> p. 13); and Jones (Pl. *Men.* pp. 118 f.). One may also perhaps be allowed to conjecture from various references that other early editions of Terence, which have been inaccessible for the present investigation, contained *rationes nominum*, as those of Erasmus (Schmieder, Ellius), Muretus (Koenig), Camerarius (Koenig), and Schrevellius (Schmieder).

The opinion of the fifth group is succinctly expressed by Professor Peppler: "Comedy chooses or invents for its characters names which describe their nature or express some peculiarity" (*Com. Term.* p. 49). Such an unreserved position in regard to the significant name in comedy is also taken by Koenighoff (p. 14); Browne (*Rom. Lit.* p. 81); Benoist (Pl. *Aul.* p. iv); Spengel (*Lat. Komödie*, p. 9, 15, 22, 26 f.; *Ter. And.*<sup>2</sup> p. xiv; *Ter. Ad.*<sup>3</sup> p. 161); Regel (p. 12); Heydemann (*Vase Caputi*, pp. 5 f.); Slaughter (*Subst. Ter.* p. 8); Stampini (*Ad. Ter.* p. LX); Laming (*Ter. Phor.* p. 69); Dziatzko-Kauer (*Ter. Ad.* p. 25); and Steinmann (*περὶ τῶν*, 1907, pp. 29 f.). One may also with some pertinence, perhaps, compare Maggi, Riccoboni, Lessing, Pye, Harles and Ritter (see above pp. 13 f.); Guizot (*Méandre*, pp. 229 f.); Munro (on *Iliad*, 3, 39); and Lindsay (Pl. *Capt.* p. iii).

It is interesting, in this connection, to find that an eminent modern dramatic critic not only comments upon what he calls 'label-names' in English Drama, tracing the fashion from the Elizabethans, the Medieval Moralities, and the ancient classical comedy, where, he remarks, the use of significant names is very discreet and seldom beyond the probability of daily life, but also lays down the precept that a name ought to be characteristic without eccentricity.<sup>28</sup> For example, the young *Stipendiat i Kulturhistorie*, "fellow in the History of Civilization," in Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*, is named Jörgen Tesman, "George Thesisman," quite obviously an appropriate name. One may also compare such a name as Finn, servant in *Lady Inger*, with the Davoses and Getas of Terence; and perhaps the name Eilert Lövberg was chosen with reference to his bibulous habits, and especially to Hedda's vision of him "with vine-leaves in his hair." These parallels are especially noteworthy in view of Archer's remark that "Ibsen would often change a name three or four times in the course of writing a play, until he arrived at one which seemed absolutely to fit the character" (pp. 79 f.). That Terence did practically the same thing is the view of several scholars, a point which will be discussed later.

And yet none of these scholars has systematically investigated the problems here raised, although it is now nearly twenty-five years since Dieterich called for just such a study: "Es wäre höchst lehrreich zu untersuchen, wie weit sich noch in den Namen der Personen in der Komödie, die

<sup>28</sup> William Archer, *Play-making*, pp. 77 ff.

zum Teil redende Namen sind, die Vorstellungen wiederfinden und erhalten haben, die sich zu Typen verdichtet hatten, und die Spuren der Entwicklung, die die Komödie genommen hat."<sup>27</sup> Ritschl, it is well known, made the first comprehensive list of Plautine names with some discussion of their formation,<sup>28</sup> as a sort of supplement to Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig, 1842).<sup>29</sup> There is also Fick's valuable work *Die griechischen Personennamen*, 2nd ed. by Bechtel und Fick, now supplemented by Bechtel's recent works: *Die historischen Personennamen der Griechen* (Halle, 1917), and *Namenstudien* (Halle, 1917). Schmidt has made a detailed study of the Greek personal names in Plautus (*Herm.* 37 (1902)), but without any special reference to the character and rôles of the *personae*. Koenig's programm and Gatzert's dissertation are chiefly onomatological studies of the names in the New Comedy, excellent for matters of classification, occurrence and derivation, but seldom useful in solving problems of the special significance of names. Hirzel's recent work, *Der Name*, is, as its title shows, *ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte*, and therefore does not deal with 'the name' as it is used by the comic playwrights. There are several good works on special topics, such as Bechtel's *Die attischen Frauennamen* (Göttingen, 1902), and *Die einstimmigen männlichen Personennamen des griechischen die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind* (Berlin, 1898), Grasberger's *Die griechischen Stichnamen* (2nd ed. Würzburg, 1882), Steiger's *Der Eigennamen in der attischen Komödie* (Diss. Erlangen, 1888), Lambertz' *Die griechischen Sklavennamen* (Wien, 1907/08), Copalle's *De Servorum graecorum Nominibus* (Marpurgi Cattorum, 1908), but these, likewise, fail to offer much that is pertinent to the relation between the characters and the rôles in comedy. Then, too, such studies as Siess' *Über die Charakterzeichnung in den Komödien des Terenz* (*W. St.* 28 (1906), and 29 (1907)), and Henry's *The Characters of Terence* (*S.N.C.* 12 (1915)), only touch upon one side of the question.

The purpose of this dissertation is to apply what may perhaps be styled a new method to the study of the problem. As the first step, the characters in each play will be examined with the view to define them (1) as types and (2) as individuals, in so far as within the type they are noticeably differentiated by means of special or peculiar characteristics. Secondly, an endeavor will be made to find the precise etymological meaning of the names, always bearing in mind the possibility of folk-etymologies, and looking carefully for hints from the poet as to his interpretation of the

<sup>27</sup> *Pulcinella*, p. 45, n. 4. Cf. Ullman, *C.P.* 11 (1916), 60.

<sup>28</sup> *Opuscula philologica*, 3, 301-51: *Quaestiones onomatologicae comicae*, Lipsiae, 1877.

<sup>29</sup> There have since appeared a 2nd ed., 1850, and a 3rd ed., by Benseler, 1863, which is still the only work of its kind and is invaluable for any study of Greek names, although sadly out of date.

sense of the names, usually in the form of word-plays which may often enough have little or no actual relation to the correct original significance. Finally, the names will be compared with the characters. By the application of this method, it is hoped to discover whether the poet chose designations to fit the rôles of his *personae*, and if so, whether the names are appropriate to the characters merely as types, or also as individuals, and in either case, to determine the nature and degree of the appropriateness.

## II. PHORMIO<sup>1</sup>

DAVOS. This is the name of a slave, introduced as a *πρωτακὸν πρόσωπον*,<sup>2</sup> to serve with Geta in the expository dialogue. His character is, of course, but slightly indicated: he is honest and proud of it (38, 60 ff.), full of wise saws (55 f., 77 ff.), and is an alert and sympathetic interlocutor (144 ff.).<sup>3</sup> He exhibits the normal moral reactions towards Demipho's greed (69 f.), and the *audacia* of Phormio's scheme (134).<sup>4</sup> He seems to expect that Demipho would forgive his son even if the latter did marry, during his absence, a poor but respectable girl of good Attic family, which is certainly not a cynical attitude of mind (120). Finally, he takes his departure with the full formality of a gentleman (151).

The Greek form of the name is Δᾶος, a tribal designation for a member of that race which lived north of the Danube at some distance west of its mouth. The name of the country appears in Latin as *Dacia*, accounted for by the analogy, Δᾶος: *Daci* :: Γραιὸς: *Graeci*, hence *Dacia*: *Graecia*,<sup>5</sup> and the slave-name Δᾶος appears as Davos on the analogy, ὄνυξ: *ovom* (Priscian, 6, 13, 69).

The early history of the Δᾶος is practically unknown up to the middle of the second century B.C., when there was a Dacian kingdom across the Danube under King Oroles.<sup>6</sup> The name which appears at Delphi *lapidibus templi incisa* (Syll<sup>8</sup> 1, p. 386), and on three inscriptions of *redemptores Delphici*, dated 342/40 B.C., may be the ethnic Δᾶος, or it may be Δᾶος,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The names of the *dramatis personae* are given in the order in which they occur in the lists appended to each play in Dziatzko's edition (1884), and the names of the other personages are given in the sequence in which they are first mentioned in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Don. on 35.

<sup>3</sup> Don. on 144: *moraliter quaerit uolens audire de Phaedria, postquam de Antiphone cognouit, maxime quia haec interrogatio responsionem elicit, qua spectator instruitur ad cognoscenda cetera.*

<sup>4</sup> Don. on 134: *εἰπωμεν κατὰ ἄντηλασιν, hoc est minime iocularem.*

<sup>5</sup> Kretschmer, *Einl. in d. Gesch. d. gr. Sprache*, p. 214, accepted by Brandis, in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Dacia*, 4, 1949, 57.

<sup>6</sup> Justin. 32, 3, 16. Dio (51, 22) seems to identify the Δᾶος (Thucyd. 7, 27) with the Δᾶος (see Brandis, 4, 1951). Tomaschek thinks the Δᾶος were the ancient Τραυροί (S.A.W. 128 (1893), 101; cf. 70). Kretschmer regards the Ἀγαθύρσοι as their ancestors (*op. cit.* p. 213). E. B. James believes that the Γῆραι changed their name to the Δᾶος at some unknown time (Smith *Dict. Geog.* s. v. *Dacia*, 1, 743a.).

<sup>7</sup> Wilamowitz, however, writes Δᾶος for the ethnic slave-name, *Arist. und Athen*, 2, 176.



i.e., Δάιος (a very rare name; see Fick-Bechtel, p. 94).<sup>8</sup> The name Δᾱος occurs seven times in *I.G.* 2, five, at least, before 300 B.C.; four of these men seem to be *μισθωταί* engaged in making repairs upon the temple at Eleusis (2<sup>a</sup>, *add.* 834 b, I, 19. 47. 25. 54; 2<sup>b</sup>, 834 b, I, 56), and the other one is probably a slave (2<sup>a</sup>, 771 b, *fin.* s. IV., *Pros. Att.* 9736).<sup>9</sup>

It is quite certain that the Δᾱοί, a Thracian tribe, the northwestern neighbors of the Γῆραι, were the source whence slaves by the name of Δᾱος appear among the Athenians.<sup>10</sup> It should be noted, however, that the name occurs on Phrygian inscriptions, and Sittig claims Phrygia for its home, regarding it as a *nomen theophorum* on the evidence of a single inscription, found by Ramsay in Atyocharax, a village of Phrygia, and bearing the date 314 A.D. (*De gr. Nom. theophoris*, p. 158).<sup>11</sup> Even here, there is no certainty that the word is Δᾱος; in fact, Ramsay writes "Daes (or Daos?)," and for at least one of the examples of the name cited by Sittig, Δάης is restored (Haussoulier, *Rev. Phil.* 25 (1901), 10, 12). It is inconceivable that a Greek name, occurring as early as 342, B.C., or at least 329 B.C., and many more times on Greek inscriptions and in Greek literature before 250 B.C., and derived from a Thracian tribe by practically all of the ancient evidence, should find its source in a Phrygian Zeus-cult, known solely from an inscription dated 314 A.D.<sup>12</sup>

It seems that about the time of the New Comedy at Athens, the slave-name Δᾱος came into vogue, and, as Brandis interprets the words of Galen: *ὁμολως τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου Μενάνδρου κατὰ τὰς κωμῳδίας εἰσαγομένοις οἰκέταις*,

<sup>8</sup> Pomtow reads Δάωι, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 246 I, 50 (though Bourguet, *B.C.H.* 26 (1902), 52, reads Δάωι, and insists that "la restitution du nom de Daos est sûre," p. 56), and restores Δᾱος and Δάιος for the abbreviations ΔΑ and ΔΑΙ on the temple stones (246 I, 50, n. 3), but Δάωι, 246 I, 60; 247 III, 72 and Δᾱος, 248 M, 5. There seem to be at least two different men, a contractor (first three inscriptions), and a stone-cutter (last two inscriptions).

<sup>9</sup> Hesychius is correct, then, in saying, Δᾱος δούλου ὀνομά τι, εἰ (ἦ?) καὶ ἐλεύθερος.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, 7, 12 (304). Salmasius' arguments (*Ex.* pp. 550 f.) against this and in support of the Δᾱοί are historically unsound, for this Scythian tribe is unknown in Greek history until the time of Alexander the Great, in 328/7 B. C. (see Niese, *Gesch. gr. mak. St.* 1, 123; 126). The derivation, upheld by Nairn (*Herodas*, p. 66) and Bechtel (*Hist. Pers.* p. 538), of Δᾱος from the Δάος, a nomad Persian tribe unknown save for the bare mention in Herodotus (1, 125), where the authorities disagree on the identification, is equally unconvincing. In either case there is little probability of slaves from these remote and unknown tribes having come to Athens in sufficient numbers to make it plausible that they would have become a type on the comic stage. Cf. Tomaschek, *s.v.* *Daai*, *Daai*, Pauly-Wissowa, 4, 1945 f.; 2133.

<sup>11</sup> ὅτι Μάρου Δάου Ἡλιοδρόμου Διός (*J.H.S.* 4 (1883), 420).

<sup>12</sup> Tomaschek thinks that the Phrygian name is Δάος (there seems to be no evidence for Δᾱος), and is to be explained from the gloss: δάος ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λίκας (*S.A.W.* 131 (1894), *Abh.* 1, 29); cf. Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 214; M. Schmidt, note to Hesych. *s.v.* δάος, p. 460. The fact that the Phrygians were early emigrants from Thrace (Kretschmer, ch. 7; Macan, on *Hdt.* 7, 73) may have some significance in this connection.

Δάος τέ τισι καὶ Γέταις (*De nat. Facult.* 1, 17), "Menander hat zuerst Δάος als Personennamen in die Literatur eingeführt,<sup>13</sup> aber natürlich konnte er es nicht, wenn nicht schon damals gerade wie die Γέται so auch die Δάοι als Volksname, wonach die diesen Namen betragenden Personen bekannt sind, bekannt waren" (in Pauly-Wissowa, 4, 1949, 9 ff.).<sup>14</sup> Since Menander the name became typical for a resourceful and intriguing slave who was not satisfied until he had cheated his old master three times.<sup>15</sup>

Inasmuch as Davos, because of his limited rôle, has no marked individuality, his can be little more than a type name. According to the slight, but unequivocal evidence, he is an honest slave and conventionally moral.<sup>16</sup> What further significance there is in the name lies in the connection with Geta.

GETA. *Amicus summus meus et popularis Geta* are the first words of Davos as he appears upon the stage. They signify that Terence, and no doubt his Greek model, regarded the Getans and the Dacians as fellow-

<sup>13</sup> This seems to be the only evidence for such a statement, and even this rests upon a somewhat strained sense to εὐαγομένους, which would more naturally suggest "brought forward on the stage" (*inducti*, Kühn), for it is probably mere chance that the fragments of Menander are the earliest extant literature to contain the slave-name Δάος.

<sup>14</sup> The source of these slaves was not capture in war, during the Gallic invasion of Thrace, as Niebuhr asserts (*Kl. Schriften*, 1, 377 f.), for this inroad took place 279 B.C. (Polyb. 4, 45, 10; 46, 1; Justin. 25, 1); it seems probable that slave-markets on the Black Sea supplied Athens with the neighboring tribesmen, whom they stole or bought from pirates and kidnappers (Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage*, 1, 169 f.; Richter, *Die Sklaverei in gr. Alt.* p. 51).

<sup>15</sup> Galen, *loc. cit.*; cf. Crusius, *Unters. zu Herondas*, p. 109; Legrand, *Daos*, p. 1, n. 5.

<sup>16</sup> In Menander's *Heron*, Davos is a faithful, generous slave "sittlich höher als die ganze bürgerliche Gesellschaft, in der er lebt" (Körte, *Gr. Kom.* p. 81); in the *Epitrepontes* and *Georgos*, he is a country slave, dull-witted in the former, intelligent in the latter; in the *Perikeiromene*, he is a would-be trickster; in the *Epikleros* (cf. Herzog, *Herm.* 51 (1916), 315 f.) he intrigues for his young master; in the *Eunuchos* of Menander (*Parmeno* in Terence) he is ultra-moral; in the *Perinthia* he boldly cheated his old master, for which offence he is to be burned alive; in the *Andria* of Terence, he is an ingenious schemer against his old master but devoted to the interests of his young master; in Menander, *fr.* 946 (3, 244 K), in *fr.* 287 *adesp.* (3, 460 K), attributed to Menander by Schneidewin (*Coniect.* p. 119), and in *fr.* 306 *adesp.* (3, 464 K), the character and rôle of Δάος cannot be discerned. On the whole, it may be said that the Davoses are either generally honest or at least honest and faithful in the interests of their young masters, whose morals they usually reflect. The problem of slave morality, it must be remembered, is a question of loyalty. Thorough-going loyalty to the old master or to the young master, or else to the former master against the present master (as in the *Captivi*) must frequently lead to conduct which, if the spontaneous act of a free agent, one must call rascally, but which in slave morality is justified, as indeed all law and common sense lays the blame here upon the author and instigator, not the powerless agent. If a slave acts as the particular master to whom he feels the greater compulsion of loyalty wishes him to act, he is not merely innocent, but also positively virtuous.

countrymen.<sup>17</sup> That they were such is evidenced by ancient as well as modern testimony. Although Strabo carefully distinguishes them (7, 12, (304)), in general the Greeks seem to have been disposed to use the designation *Γέραι* for both races (Dio 67, 6), and Justin calls the Dacians *suboles Getarum* (32, 3, 16).<sup>18</sup>

Geta is a slave who enjoyed a most unusual reputation for trustworthiness. The most important evidence of this is the confidence his master reposed in him when he chose him to look after his son Antipho, and, even more strikingly, the confidence which his master's brother showed in entrusting to his care his own son Phaedria, although his wife, the latter's mother, was still living (71 f.), and although there must have been slaves of similar age and function (no doubt Geta was the *παιδαγωγός*) in his own family.<sup>19</sup> Geta tries to be faithful to his master, and also to the interests of the other old man, but out of a perfectly understandable, even if somewhat human, respect for his *scapulae*, he gives in to the whims of the young men, and does the best he can for them under the circumstances (75 ff.). Such conduct is not perhaps commendable, but it is hard to condemn Geta outright. After all, he could exert nothing but moral suasion, and was in fact as well as in law the slave of his young master or masters, who are clearly no longer the small boys whom he escorted to school and who trembled at his reproof. Responsibility without any authority is almost certain to end disastrously. The real error was made by the elder men who deliberately created a situation of such unstable equilibrium. When moral suasion failed and the young men had recourse to (perfectly legal) beating, Geta may well be pardoned for submitting to them, and cutting his garment to the cloth.

The consequences of such a surrender cannot be escaped. Upon his master's return, Geta is involved in a situation for which he is not to blame (see 122 ff., where the blame is put squarely on Phormio, who later accepts full responsibility, 317 ff.). He feels that he himself is his only hope (139), and that he could easily have packed up his few belongings, and he would have taken to his heels (190), had he not felt pity for Antipho, and, out of genuine loyalty, resolved to help him (187 ff.). He runs a serious personal risk, first for Antipho's sake (219 ff., 247 ff.), then for Phaedria's (542 ff.).

<sup>17</sup> Thus Elmer, Sloman, Bond and Walpole, Laming, Sargeant and Diatzko-Hauler correctly interpret *popularis*, against Fabia (on *Eun.* 1031) and Ashmore. Cf. *Pl. Poen.* 1039; Livy, 29, 1. The word is no doubt used for *δημότης* of the original, which meant fellow-countryman. See Sargeant, who suggests that it is an imitation of the slaves' masters (p. 64).

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of this point, see Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa, 4, 1950 f., and Weiss, in Pauly-Wissowa, 7, 1330 ff., with the references there cited.

<sup>19</sup> There is no indication that Demipho's wife, Antipho's mother, was living; in fact verses 422 f. suggest that she was not.

His loyalty to the young men, his own stake in the matter, the exigencies of the situation, are such that Geta can in no sense be said to undertake any acts of wanton knavery, nor does he go farther than is absolutely necessary (683). He is at heart an honest man, and only when compelled by circumstances and a serious conflict of duties (for a slave in his position was subject to a divided loyalty: he was compelled to choose between loyalty to the father and loyalty to the son, and he makes it clear why he was constrained, partly by chance, and partly by sympathy, to prefer loyalty to the young men) does he embark upon a campaign of intrigue. It is true that the Getas and the Davoses enjoyed a wide reputation for rascality (Galen, *De nat. Facult.* 1, 17). But the statement that the Syruses were knaves of the same kidney<sup>20</sup> is unjust to Geta, and is not borne out by the evidence in comedy or outside of comedy. For Syrus, in the *Heauton Timorumenos*, enters upon his trickery wantonly and without serious justification of any kind.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore the evidence adduced from Greek literature, mythology and folklore points to the conclusion that the Greeks on the one hand idealized the peoples of the North, particularly the fabulous Hyperboreans (variously localized as Scythians, Agathyrsians, Thracians and Getans),<sup>22</sup> and on the other hand, depreciated the peoples of the East, accusing them of various faults, such as cowardice, treachery, slavishness and dishonesty.<sup>23</sup> Old civilizations are reputed to be wicked and corrupt, and hence it is not unnatural that the persons who represent them, in comedy especially, come to typify certain vices supposedly characteristic of such civilizations. All the evidence cited above, and more, namely, the fact that Geta is, after all, only an understudy to Phormio, who is the arch-schemer (320), and the way in which Geta leaves the stage (883), point to the conclusion that he is not a wanton knave. There is, indeed, one passage which might sound like an exception, a brief monologue wherein Geta says: *An quia quos fallam pro uno duo sunt mi dati? Commodius esse opinor duplici spe utier* (602 f.). But this is merely evidence of sagacity and foresight; besides, it is perfectly human to feel pleasure in one's ability to extricate oneself and another (Phaedria in this case) from a dangerous position.

<sup>20</sup> Don. on *Ad.* 26: *infidelis Syrus uel Geta*; Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 301; Legrand, *Daos*, p. 138 f.

<sup>21</sup> Compare Syrus in the *Adelphoe*. See Henry, p. 83.

<sup>22</sup> Babelon, *Monnaies gr. et rom.* p. 1051. Cf. *id.* *J.A.N.* 1 (1898), 1 ff., Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 201; Perdrizet, *B.C.H.* 35 (1911), 108 ff.; Svoronos, *J.A.N.* 18 (1918/19), 49 ff.; Kazarow, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.* 3 (1918), 587.

<sup>23</sup> For the literature on this subject see the articles on the Hyperboreans by Crusius in Roscher, and by Daebritz in Pauly-Wissowa, and by Miss MacCurdy in *C.R.* 30 (1916), 180 ff. and *C.R.* 34 (1920), 137 ff.; and especially Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der gr. und röm. Literatur*, 1875 and Trüdinger, *Studien zur Gesch. der gr.-röm. Ethnographie*, 1918, pp. 133 ff.

The name Γέρας is at least as old as the beginning of the fifth century; it was borne by a king of the Edonians, a Thracian tribe, and may possibly have been an ethnic term derived from the not far distant Getans.<sup>24</sup> The Γέραι as a race are first mentioned by Sophocles, *Triptolemos*, fr. 604 (Pearson), 468 B.C., and then by Herodotus, 4, 93. The earliest mention, apparently, of Γέρης as a slave-name is that of a public slave (*sagittarius*, perhaps) found on an inscription dated at the end of the fifth century.<sup>25</sup> As a historical slave-name in Greece, however, it is very rare, at least down to Roman times.<sup>26</sup>

As men are often known by the company they keep, so does the character of Davos throw some light upon that of Geta. The former is clearly an honest slave and faithful to his master; it is significant that his friend should be called Geta, a designation derived from the name of a race which was related by customs, language, and undoubtedly national characteristics.<sup>27</sup> It would have been inappropriate to have given the name Syrus to this slave, for the evidence points to a substantial difference in character between a Geta and a Syrus, as has already been suggested, and as will be shown more fully later on; nor, indeed, would it have been appropriate to have named this slave Parmeno or Dromo, who are also outside the class of Geta and Davos, for they are stupid, lazy dolts (as Dromo in the *Heauton Timorumenos*, Parmeno in the *Hecyra*) or dull-witted cowards (as Parmeno in the *Eunuchus*). These will be considered in greater detail later on.

Therefore, the conclusion of this study of Davos and Geta is that the names, as used by Terence, are typical of loyal and reasonably honest slaves, at least as straightforward as their masters, upon whom the moral responsibilities must ultimately rest.

ANTIPHO. Love is one of the chief motifs of the New Comedy, and the typical young man is a lover,<sup>28</sup> but his road to happiness is not an easy

<sup>24</sup> See in *Paroemiographi graeci*, ed. by Leutsch and Schneidewin, Apost. 11, 42; 17, 100; Diog. 3, 16; 8, 19; Greg. Cypr. Leid. 2, 77; 3, 24; and Otto, *Sprichwörter*, pp. 75, 237, 278, 338; Juv. Sat. 3, 62 (and Friedländer's note).

<sup>25</sup> Kirchhoff, *I.G.I.*, Suppl. 491, 36.

<sup>26</sup> *I.G.* 2, 959e, 4, early 4th cent.; *I.G.* 7, 4233, perhaps. In comedy, however, the name is fairly frequent, in Menander's *Heron*, *Misoumenos*, *Perinthia*, fr. 547 K., fr. 946 K., Plautus' *Truculentus*, Terence's *Adelphoe*, where Geta is the faithful supporter of the family of Sostrata.

<sup>27</sup> Note the comparative frequency with which the names Δῆος and Γέρας are coupled: Menander, *Perinthia*, 4 f.: ἀφελγ' ἐν, Γέρα, / σύνδουλον ὄντα καὶ διασώσαι' εὖ πάντ; (the words of Δῆος); Strabo, 7, 12 (2, 418, 3 f. Mein.); Galen, *De nat. Facult.* 1, 17; Olympiodorus on Plato's *Alkibiades*, 2, 149 (Creuzer); Schol. on Aristoph. *Ach.* 243.

<sup>28</sup> With the exception of Antipho in the *Eunuchus*, who is really a very minor character, introduced to provide for Chaerea's temporary absence from the stage, and to serve as interlocutor in the next scene, and Chremes in the *Eunuchus*, who, under the influence of wine, succumbs for the first time, apparently, to passion, all the young men in Terence's plays are in love.

one. He is dull, resourceless, with easy morals and little or no sense of humor, yet, withal, loyal in friendship as well as in love. Such is the type, but Antipho shows marked variations therefrom. On his first appearance he bewails his own timidity, and bitterly regrets his action (153 ff.). Fear drives his love out of his heart and overmasters him. Elsewhere in comedy love is the master and is championed even against a father's will.<sup>29</sup> When Phaedria tries to correct and console him, he raises objections and insists upon a pessimistic view of his affairs (173 ff.). At the crucial moment he does not have the courage to face his father, but runs off, leaving his own case, and, even more disgracefully, the fortunes of his innocent wife, in the hands of others (216). When he returns (465), he speaks very resolutely to himself at first, but is soon cast down by Geta's report (474); he brightens up momentarily (478), but relapses into his worries again (482 f.), and, as usual, objects vigorously when Phaedria tells him how fortunate he really is (506). He does, notwithstanding, display a little strength of character in dealing with Dorio, and has even sufficient presence of mind to recall the fact that a day had been set for the payment (523). This slight exhibition of energy is prompted by his loyalty to Phaedria, a typical trait, but it has no result, and in the following scene (534 ff.) he is utterly dependent once more upon Geta (cf. 199, 827). Though his exit is joyful, he soon reenters in fear and trembling (606), and is completely undone by Geta's trick, which, even when explained, only partially encourages him (711). At his next appearance (820), he is still pessimistic, though he expresses joy at Phaedria's success. Then when Geta comes with the glad news (841), Antipho is suspicious and dubious at first, but finally consents to enjoy his own happiness (882).

It will be noted that the qualities most strongly stressed are fear,<sup>30</sup> pessimism<sup>31</sup> and a singular facility in thinking of objections to almost everything and everybody, including himself.<sup>32</sup> The key-note to his character is well expressed by Geta: *tu id quod bonist excerpis, dicis quod malist* (698). In other respects Antipho is like the average young man of comedy.<sup>33</sup>

The Greek form of the name is 'Αντιφών ('Αντιφάων, 'Αντιφάων),<sup>34</sup> a compound of the preposition *ἀντί*, "opposite, against,"<sup>35</sup> and the present

<sup>29</sup> Legrand, *Daos*, p. 209.

<sup>30</sup> Verses 154, 216 ff., 608.

<sup>31</sup> Verses 161, 170, 173, 193, 200, 206, 482, 491, 685, 711, 824, 855, 871.

<sup>32</sup> Verses 155, 159, 173, 465, 506, 682, 694, 820, 855.

<sup>33</sup> Compare the conclusion of Siess' character-sketch of Antipho: "Nur seine Reue, seine Liebe nachgegeben zu haben, und seine übergrosse Zaghaftigkeit geben ihm ein einigermaßen individuelles Gepräge" (*W. St.* 29 (1907), 298). Ribbeck similarly emphasizes Antipho's pusillanimity and pessimism (*Röm. Dicht.* 1, 149).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Δημοφών* for *Δημοφών* on a vase of Hiero (Kretschmer, *Vaseninschr.* p. 142); *Δημοφών* for *Δημοφών* in the *Hymn to Demeter*, 233, 248, and in Quintus Smyrnaeus, 12, 325; 13, 496. Cf. Wackernagel, *Untersuch. Hom.* pp. 176 f.

<sup>35</sup> Fick-Bechtel: "Zur Bezeichnung des Gegensatzes" (pp. 62 f.); Walde, s.v. *ante*.

participle, *φάων* (\**φάφων*), of *φάε* (*φάφε*),<sup>36</sup> from the root *φα-* (cf. *φῶς*, *φῶος*), connected with the Indo-European root \**bhē* or \**bhā*.<sup>37</sup> The digamma may be the intersonant *u*,<sup>38</sup> or the root may be set up as \**φαφ* from \**bhau*.<sup>39</sup>

The original etymological meaning of *Ἀντιφῶν* is probably the "one who shines opposite, or in one's face,"<sup>40</sup> a name of good omen. But in the case that a child by that name grew up to be a pessimistic objector, others, at least, if not the parents, might interpret the name as meaning "Anti-light,"<sup>41</sup> or even "*Contradicens*"<sup>42</sup> (with the dropping out of the digamma, confusion between the roots \**bhē* and \**bhā* could easily prevail, so that this latter meaning might come about as a folk-etymology). It is more probable, however, that the element *-φῶν* gradually lost its significance, and the name *Ἀντιφῶν* came to mean not much more than "Mr. Anti." In any event, therefore, whatever the original meaning of the name, an unsympathetic person might always, in jest or in earnest, interpret it as *Ἀντίων*, and sometimes as *Ἀντιλέγων*.

Now the distinctive features of Antipho's character are pessimism and contrariness. The poet was acquainted with the common Greek name *Ἀντιφῶν*,<sup>43</sup> and the first meaning that would probably occur to him would be that of "Anti." Then, too, it is not impossible that by a folk-etymology the *-φῶν* was associated with *φωνή* by similarity of sound, at least, if the root meaning was lost, and the name might have suggested "*Contradicens*" to those of the audience who knew some Greek.<sup>44</sup> Therefore it seems not unreasonable to suppose that the poet, with the obvious meaning of *ἀντί*,

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Hoffmann, *Gr. Dialekte*, 3, 456, and Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 460.

<sup>37</sup> Curtius, p. 296, Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>1</sup> 2, 891; 901; 1060, L. Meyer, *Gr. Etym.* 3, 350; 352, Persson, *Beiträge*, 2, 569, n. 1, Vaniček, pp. 576 ff., Boisacq, *s.v. φῶος*, and Laman, *Sanskrit Reader*, Vocab. *s.v. bhā*, seem to regard the roots of *φῶος* and *φημί* as identical, \**bhā*. But Fick, *Wörterb.*<sup>4</sup> 1, 87, Prellwitz, pp. 482; 487, and Walde, *s.v. fabula, fesciae*, with considerable plausibility, argue for a root \**bhē*: \**bhā*, "shine," for *φῶος*, and \**bhā*: \**bho*: \**bhā*, "speak," for *φημί*.

<sup>38</sup> See Brugmann-Thumb, p. 47. Cf. Priscian, *Δημοφάων* (1, 22).

<sup>39</sup> Curtius, p. 296; Vaniček, p. 575; Prellwitz, p. 482.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Pape-Benseler, *s.v. Ἀντιφῶν*, "Scheinert"; Heyne, p. 46; Gatzert, p. 21; Fick-Bechtel, p. 284; and *E.M. s.v. Ζεωφῶν*, p. 684, 54.

<sup>41</sup> Ellius: "ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντί καὶ φῶς, quasi dicas, lumen contra adferens, aut, adversa lux, quod obvius appareat" (p. 92).

<sup>42</sup> Forcellini, *s.v.*; cf. Elmer: "talker-back, the disrespectful" (p. 74); Laming: "one who contradicts," (p. 69); and especially Dziatzko-Hauser, p. 88.

<sup>43</sup> For the frequency of the name, see *Pros. Att.* 1275-1307; Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*; Dittenberger, *Syll.*,<sup>2</sup> 3, 14; Pauly-Wissowa, 1, 2526 ff.; *Thesaurus L.L. s.v.*; Forcellini, *s.v.*; Schmidt, p. 177; Gatzert, p. 21 (add Lucian, *Verae Hist.* 2, 33); Mras, pp. 309 f.; Sundwall, p. 17.

<sup>44</sup> This is indeed the more probable since the Latin declension of *Antipho* is *Antiphonis*, etc. Cf. Koenig, pp. 34 f.

and the possible relation to *φωφή* in mind, chose the name Antipho as appropriate to the figure of a pessimistic objector.

**PHAEDRIA.** The character of Phaedria is sharply contrasted with that of his cousin, Antipho. They enter the stage apparently in the midst of a conversation (153 ff.). Antipho is complaining of his own conduct; Phaedria is surprised at first (156), but, as soon as he discovers the trouble, tries in a cheerful way to prove to him how happy he really is (158 ff.). Later, when Antipho runs away, he undertakes, with a breezy "I'll do my best" (228), to meet his uncle, Demipho, and try to pacify him. He approaches with a beaming face, full of verve and good humor (254 ff.), which he maintains throughout a rather stormy scene. The encounter with Dorio is very trying (485 ff.), but he exhibits the marks of a perfect gentleman throughout, and only because he is in a desperate plight is he discouraged. It is never sheer despondency nor abject pessimism, for he braces up soon (534) and with considerable strength of character determines to follow Pamphila or else to die (551 f.). A marked indication that his reversal of form was only temporary, is the sudden return to his natural disposition of cheerfulness when Geta promises to get him the money.<sup>45</sup>

The Greek form of the name is *Φαίδριος*, a derivative proper noun from the adjective *φαίδριος*, "bright," "cheery,"<sup>46</sup> with the suffix *-ias*,<sup>47</sup> forming a clip-name to *Φαίδριος*, *et al.*<sup>48</sup> The name was rather common in Greece, and must have been regarded as altogether appropriate for a gentleman.<sup>49</sup>

Phaedria is an average young man with the exception of his optimism. He shows a beaming countenance and a cheery heart beyond the typical young man in comedy, even beyond the average young man anywhere in real life. Therefore his is an individualizing name, and eminently appro-

<sup>45</sup> *O lepidum* (559). Note the suddenness of this return to good humor, and the optimism expressed at Geta's promise, in contrast to Antipho's suspiciousness and pessimism (cf. above p. 30).

<sup>46</sup> *φαίδριος* is connected with the Indo-European root *\*g<sup>h</sup>ai:* *\*g<sup>h</sup>i*, "to be bright" (Prellwitz, p. 479; Boisacq, s.v. p. 1010), and has nothing to do with the root *\*bhā* or *\*bhe* as Curtius, p. 657, Vaniček, p. 572, and L. and S. s.v. *φάω*, would have it. For the meaning see especially Schmidt, *Synonymik*, 1, 593 f.

<sup>47</sup> Lobeck, *Proleg.* 491; Curtius, p. 645; Pape-Benseler, p. xviii; Kühner-Blass, 1<sup>a</sup>, 281; Fick-Bechtel, pp. 24 f. This suffix seems to have grown out of the old suffix *-ios*, and was widely used in forming proper names, denoting a person who had some quality to a high degree, or even in excess (Peppler, *Com. Term.* p. 38). For the origin of first declension masculines in *-ias* and *-is*, see Brugmann-Thumb, §§ 252, 1; 258, 2; 451, 2.

<sup>48</sup> Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 436.

<sup>49</sup> *Pros. Att.* 13933-45; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Sondag, pp. 25, 59; Breitenbach, pp. 93 f.; Gatzert, p. 25, who, however, is mistaken in stating that Phaedria in Turpilus (fr. 2 of the *Lemnias*, p. 112 R.), and in *I.G.* 2, 1856, is the name of slaves, for the former is undoubtedly a ransomed soldier (*redempto*), and the latter is clearly an Athenian citizen, because of the addition of the deme-name, and hence is included in the *Pros. Att.*



priate to his disposition and to his rôle, especially in the scene with Demipho.

DEMIPHO is a highly respectable old man. He is honest, though somewhat acquisitive (69, 394 ff., 644, 664) as old men in comedy are apt to be (cf. *Ad.* 831 ff.), and reluctant to part with his money; in fact, Chremes has to furnish most of the money with which to bribe Phormio (679 ff.). He believes himself to be exceedingly cautious, and does not intend that any one shall play a trick on him (713). But the stronger his character is, the more easily he falls into the meshes of Phormio's trickery, as applied by Geta. Moreover, he is a bit testy, and when irritated, can be very outspoken (436 ff., 930 ff.). Although rather suspicious of his brother (572 ff.), yet he is always faithful and helpful to him (590, 1014 ff.). He has the marks of a gentleman: he is outraged at Phormio's proffer of friendship (431 f., cf. 977 ff., 1000 f.); he is all courtesy to Nausistrata (784), and wins from her respect and confidence (719 ff., 784 ff., 795, 1011 ff., 1031 ff.). He is a firm believer in law and order (237, 296, 412, 936, 978 ff.); he seems to accept the conventional religion (388 f., 894); and makes a point of calling upon his friends and his brother for counsel and assistance (312 f., 446 ff., 460 f.). On the whole, he is about the best example of the old man in comedy, set off in bold relief by his brother Chremes.<sup>60</sup>

The Greek form of the name is *Δημοφῶν*,<sup>61</sup> composed of *δῆμος*, "deme," "people," and the element *-φῶν*, for which see the discussion of the name Antipho (above, pp. 30 f.). Maass (*G.G.A.* 1889, 821, n. 1), followed by Meister (*B.B.* 16 (1890), 174, quoted, with approval, by Crusius, *N.J.* 143 (1891), 385), believes that *Δημοφῶν* may be a "Kurznam" for *Δημόφιλος*. If that be true,<sup>62</sup> then it would be evidence in support of the suggestion made above that *-φῶν* was regarded as a mere suffix, equal to not much more than *-ων* in *Δήμων*.<sup>63</sup> The name was common in Greece,<sup>64</sup> and in comedy used exclusively of old men.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Siess' characterization of Demipho as "der richtige strenge Vater aus der Komödie" etc. (*W. St.* 29 (1907), 293 ff.), is not altogether complimentary, and in some respects is overdrawn; he fails to give due weight to the gentlemanly respectability of the man.

<sup>61</sup> Lindsay, *L.L.* p. 231, "Latin *i* may represent any short vowel in an unaccented syllable not long by position." Cf. Corssen, *Vokal.* 2, 319.

<sup>62</sup> Angermann argues against this, deriving *-φῶν* from the root \**φα* (*Gr. Onomatol.*, 1893, p. 2), and Knaack thinks that it would be better to call *Δημόφιλος* a "Nebenform," rather than a "Langform" for *Δημοφῶν* (Pauly-Wissowa, 5, 146).

<sup>63</sup> Also a "Kosename" for *Δημόφιλος*, Maass, *Herm.* 23 (1888), 614, and Fick-Bechtel, p. 22.

<sup>64</sup> *Pros. Att.* 3692-3701; Sundwall, p. 51; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Roscher, s.v.; Schmidt, p. 186; Pauly-Wissowa, 5, 148 ff.; Forcellini, s.vv. *Demipho*, *Demophoon*, the explanation of which, however, as "*populi occisor*," cannot be supported.

<sup>65</sup> Pl. *Cist.* and *Merc.*; Theopompus, fr. 43, K. 1,745; Ephippus, fr. 16, K. 2, 259.

Demipho displays the current and conventional virtues of a good citizen.<sup>56</sup> Therefore his name suggests that he is something more than the conventional old man of comedy, who was not, on the whole, any too reputable a pillar of society, that is, he is a typical citizen in a democracy, and as such represents essentially its ideal average.

PHORMIO is first mentioned by Geta in a highly descriptive way, the cue to his whole character and action: *Est parasitus quidam Phormio, homo confidens* (122 f.). As Lofberg has shown (*C.P.* 15 (1920), 69 ff.), the qualities distinctive of the parasite are practically lacking in Phormio (p. 72),<sup>57</sup> and it was probably in deference to the popular demand for that type of character on the stage that the poet called Phormio a parasite, and according to Donatus (on 315), approved of Ambivivus' representation of the character as a fawning κόλαξ. In fact, "Phormio is really an excellent example of an expert sycophant of the old school, *bonorum extorior, legum contortior*" (374).<sup>58</sup>

Now Terence concentrates upon two traits of Phormio's character, sycophancy and poverty. To the Romans the name became a by-word for an impudent rascal, *homo confidens*.<sup>59</sup> His poverty (334, 904) is made the more notable by the absurd pretensions to wealth: he owns a farm, a house, he needs servants for his wife-to-be (661 ff.), and something with which to pay his debts (655 f.)—to be able to contract debts is generally an indication of some financial rating—, his father owned so much land that he was able to let a poor friend have enough to eke out a living upon (364 f.), and he invites Phaedria to drink with him at his home (837).

The name Φορμίων is derived from φορμῖος (<φέρω, "I carry"), and the patronymic and diminutive suffix -ίων (cf. φορμῖον, "a little φορμῖος").<sup>60</sup> The word φορμῖος seems to mean anything that is woven or plaited (Suid. s.v.), especially out of rushes, as either a "basket" (Hes., Hdt., Polyb.),<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Elmer, "representative man" (p. 74); Heyne, "*qui in populo splendet vel 'qui populo decori est'*" (p. 46).

<sup>57</sup> The exceptions (335, 1053) are really quite insignificant, and probably were intended merely to raise a laugh; poverty seems to have been a trait common to several types of character in comedy.

<sup>58</sup> For a description of the sycophant, see Lofberg, *Sycophancy in Athens*, 1917; for a description of Phormio's character as a sycophant, see *id.* *C. P.* 15 (1920), 70 f., with references cited. Cf. Schlegel, *Sämmtl. Werke*, 1846, 5, 245.

<sup>59</sup> Cicero, *Pro Cael.* 27: *nec minus niger nec confidens quam ille Terentianus est Phormio*. Cf. *id.* *Phil.* 2, 6, 15; *De Nat. Deor.* 3, 93; Ausonius, *Ep.* 22 (p. 273, Peiper).

<sup>60</sup> Fick-Bechtel: "Die verkleinernde Bedeutung liegt deutlich vor in dem Aristoph. Frieden 214 scherzhaft gebildeten Ethnikon Ἀττικῶν ("Athenierlein" <"Master Attic," Rogers>). Wo die Endung -ίων diesen Werth hat, gehört sie zu dem verkleinernden -ιον" (p. 343). Cf. *id.* p. 319; Peppeler, *Com. Term.* p. 36; Brugmann-Delbrück, <sup>2</sup> 21, 685, "Deteriorativa"; Solmsen, *Untersuch.* p. 50 f.; Kühner-Blass, <sup>1</sup> 281.

<sup>61</sup> ἀγγεῖον τι πλατέον ψιλάτοις ὡς κάρφος, Hesych. s.v.; *formio*, κάρφος, *C.G.L.* 2, 72, 70; *formiones*, *corbes*, *C.G.L.* 5, 296, 10.

or a "mat" (Hdt., Arist., Aristoph., Polyb.), or a "seaman's cloak" (Theocr., Paus.), or a "veil" (Suid. s.v. φορμός· προκάλυμμα); or it may mean a "measure of grain" (Lysias, Aristoph.).

A few attempts have been made to explain the etymology and significance of this name. There are three statements in the commentary of Donatus, (1) *Praefatio*, 1, 1: *Quamobrem nulla dubitatio est . . . errare eos, qui in hac Phormionem parasitum putant a formula litis, quam intenderit, nominatum, cum Graeca lingua fiscus sparteus et stramen nauticum sic dicatur: a cuius rei uel capacitate uel uilitate etiam ab Apollodoro parasitus Phormionis nomine nuncupatur;*<sup>62</sup> (2) on 26: *φορμιων tegiculum dicunt Graeci, a quo insternitur pauimentum,—unde Φορμιων correpta prima syllaba apud Apollodorum est. non ergo a formula, ut quidam putant—et inde parasitus, uilissimae condicionis homo, nomen accepit . . . si a formula esset nomen comoediae, produceremus primam syllabam, si a phormione, corrigere debemus;* (3) on 122: *Phormio non a formula sed a phormione dictus sparteo, quem nos eronem dicimus triuialiter et pro consuetudine.* These passages are quoted at length here in order to present the opinions of Donatus on this particular name, and incidentally, to add further evidence of the antiquity of the belief in significant names, and of attempts at etymological explanations of them (see above, p. 10). In the opinion of Dziatzko-Hauler (p. 88), Phormio is derived "wohl von φορμός 'Decke, Matte' mit Rücksicht auf das bequeme Wesen solcher Leute, vgl. 339 ff."<sup>63</sup> where Phormio generalizes on the ways of his type, referring especially to the lower class of fawning diners-out. This passage by no means strikes the key-note of Phormio's character. The explanation given by Bechtel (*Spitz.* p. 81): "zu Grunde liegt φορμός, das Kleid des Schiffers," is equally inadequate, for it rests upon a derived and rare meaning of φορμός, and hence it produces a name which could only suggest to an audience the figure of a seaman or fisherman, which was comparatively rare in comedy,<sup>64</sup> and could have no possible bearing here. According to Sargeant, "Phormio is the normal stage name of an adventurer" (p. 63), an explanation which does not explain. Kock (3, 285), Elmer (p. 74) and Gatzert (p. 55) believe that the name is merely a general class designation, from the famous parasite of Seleucus.<sup>65</sup> The Phormio of Terence, however, is not a typical parasite and can claim no kinship with his namesake.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *formon dicatur grece saccum sparteum. ab hoc parasito nomen est uel [a uentris?] capacitate, . . . non ergo a formula, ut quidam putant* (Umpfenbach, *Herm.* 2 (1867), 378).

<sup>63</sup> This interpretation is accepted by Laming, p. 69.

<sup>64</sup> See Legrand, *Daos*, p. 132.

<sup>65</sup> 'Αριστόδημος δ' ἐν β' γελῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων παρασίτους ἀναγράφει . . . Σελεύκου δὲ φορμίωνα, Athen. 6, 244 f. Meineke (*C.G.F.* 1, 465) and Kock (3, 285) are inclined to consider that the Phormio in the *Diabolos* of Apollodorus was derived from this parasite of Seleucus, but Legrand doubts this and also the identification of the Phormio

There was, however, a famous man by the name of Phormio, the Athenian General of the Peloponnesian war, who seems to have more in common with the Phormio of Terence. One of his notable characteristics was poverty. He became *ἄτιμος* once because he could not pay a fine.<sup>66</sup> As a general, he was a sort of berserker, and distinguished for sharing hardships with the soldiers. This is referred to by the chorus in Aristophanes' *Peace*, which bewails its troubles and pallets because they are such as also fell to the lot of Phormio.<sup>67</sup> Now there is probably a pun here on the word *Φορμίων*, diminutive of *φορμός*, meaning "a little rush-mat," and thus synonymous with *στιβάς*, "a pallet made from rushes and green hay," the bed of the soldier on campaigns.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, there is evidence for the existence of a proverb, "poor as Phormio's pallet," in Suidas, s. v. *Φορμίων*: *καὶ παροιμία*: *Φορμίωνος στιβάς ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελῶν*, and in the scholion on Aristophanes' *Peace*, 347: *διὸ καὶ στιβάδας εἶπε Φορμίωνος*. St. Chrysostom speaks of the poor as having to go too often to their pallets of straw,<sup>69</sup> suggesting that a bed of straw, a *στιβάς* or a *φορμός*, fell to the lot of the poor.<sup>70</sup> To a similar effect is the modern Italian phrase for a poverty-stricken man "povero in canna,"<sup>71</sup> and the French proverb: "un homme de paille vaut une femme d'or," and the modern English nursery rhymes:

See, saw, Marjorie Daw,  
Sold her bed and lay on straw.

or

Tommy Trot, a man of law,  
Sold his bed and lay on straw.

There are others by the name of Phormio, ranging from an orator (Dem. 20, 51; 100; 159) to a galley-piper (Dem. 18, 29); the name is common in

in the *Epidicasomenos* of Apollodorus with this historic parasite (*Daos*, p. 33, n. 5). The origin of the Phormio of Valerius (*ibid.* p. 367 R.) is equally uncertain.

<sup>66</sup> Thucyd. 1, 117; 2, 80 ff.; 3, 7.

<sup>67</sup> See Merry's note on the *Peace*, 347.

<sup>68</sup> Hesych. s. v.; Suid. s. v.; Schol. Aristoph. *Peace*, 347. Cf. Plut. *Marius*, 2, 335, 7 (Sintenis): *ἐπὶ στιβάδος* (said of a general). For the suggestion of the pun, see Paley's note on Aristoph. *Peace*, 347.

<sup>69</sup> *Hom.* 66 in *Math.* 655 D.: *ἐς στιβάδα χόρτον*. See Rogers' note on Aristoph. *Peace*, 347.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 2, 7, 3: *οἷον δ' ἐν Δικείῳ τὸν φορμὸν δοῦναι*, to assist a man *ἐν πτωχείᾳ*. Cf. further the *Etym. Gud.* 556, 38: *Φορμηδόν· φορμός ἐστι πλέγμα τινὸς μεγάλου εἶδους, ἐν ᾧ κοιμῶντο οἱ πτωχοί*.

<sup>71</sup> Nencini, p. 112, n. 2.

every Greek community,<sup>72</sup> and in Greek literature,<sup>73</sup> so that it cannot be said to belong to any one class or type.

It remains to determine Terence's use of the name Phormio. It is reasonably evident that, in constructing his play, he was portraying a type of the sycophant-parasite, individualized by means of a special concentration upon one outstanding feature, poverty. In looking about for an appropriate name, he would find that beyond all other good Greek names Phormio best recommended itself to his purpose, as being a name admirably suited to a very poor man, not only by virtue of its denotation and connotation,<sup>74</sup> but also by a folk-etymology, connecting it with *formula*, "a law-suit." The polemic of Donatus makes it certain that this view was widely held by commentators. It is obvious, of course, that the name is not derived from *formula*, but it would be quite natural for the Romans to associate Phormio with *formula* through similarity of sound, especially as Phormio brings on one law-suit and threatens Demipho with another.<sup>75</sup>

Therefore the name chosen originally by Apollodorus and retained for additional reasons by Terence, is highly appropriate to just such a character as Phormio.

HEGIO is clearly the leader of the *advocati*, for he appears first, acts as spokesman and is addressed first by Demipho (447). As spokesman, he calls upon Cratinus to deliver his opinion. Then he offers his own. When the three have spoken, it is Hegio who says, *Numquid nos uis?* (458), a formula for courteous leave-taking.

This name, Ἡγίων in Greek, is a derivative from the verb ἡγέομαι, "lead, take charge of,"<sup>76</sup> with the suffix -ίων.<sup>77</sup> It seems to have been

<sup>72</sup> *Pros. Att.* 14948-61; Sundwall, p. 168; Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 3, 117 (index); *I.G.* 7, 298, 5 (Oropia); 9<sup>2</sup>, 244 (Pharsalus); 794 (Larisa); 12<sup>2</sup>, 245A, 405; 249B, 25. 26 (Eretria); 14, 370 (Sicily); Höfer in Roscher, *s.v.*; O'Connor, *Actors and Acting in Anc. Gr.* p. 138, no. 498 (actor ca. 360 B.C.).

<sup>73</sup> See, for example, the index in Blass' ed. of Demosthenes (1898); the index in Hall and Geldart's ed. of Aristophanes (1906).

<sup>74</sup> In view of the close association of the name Φορμιών, in word-play and in proverb, with σπιθάς, it seems not at all unreasonable to suppose that the meaning "a rush-mat" for φορμιός would suggest itself to the poet and his audience rather than the meaning "a wicker basket."

<sup>75</sup> There is, however, certainly no word-play intended, since Terence uses *dicam* (127, 439) for a law-suit, and, moreover, seldom makes use of puns or etymologies (see R. Hecht, *De Etym. apud Poetas Gr. obviis*, pp. 71, 79 ff.).

<sup>76</sup> So Koenig, p. 15, quoting Muretus: "ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι, a ductu seu principatu"; Linderström-Lang, p. 10; Elmer, p. 74; Gatzert, p. 16; Laming, p. 69. The name does not appear under Ἡγ- in Fick-Bechtel, p. 134. See, however, Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* pp. 187 f.

<sup>77</sup> See under the name Phormio, above p. 34. Under the heading of this suffix, the name Ἡγίων is lacking in Pape-Benseler, pp. xxi, xxvi.

considered suitable to a respectable old man, as the father of Tyndarus and Philocrates in the *Captivi* of Plautus, and the old man in the *Adelphoe*, the defender of the family of his deceased friend Simulus. It does not seem to be an Athenian name<sup>78</sup> but occurs in other parts of Greece.<sup>79</sup> The special appropriateness of the designation 'Hegio' for the rôle played is, accordingly, placed beyond all doubt.

CRATINUS: Κραῖνος. The derivation is from κράτος, "strength," κραῖνω, "I am strong,"<sup>80</sup> with the suffix -ῖνος, denoting material or origin.<sup>81</sup> Such was the name of a dramatist of the Old Comedy, and one of the Middle Comedy; it was very common throughout Greece,<sup>82</sup> and it seems to suggest a wealthy and influential man. It occurs in the *Asinaria* of Plautus (866), and in the *Adelphoe*: *Cratini huius diis aedes* (581), upon which Donatus comments: *congrue nomen inuenit diuini Cratinus ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτους; id est a potentia*, the inevitable concomitant of wealth.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the poet chose this name to suggest the "strong" man in the group of *aduocati*, who was to give the bold counsel to defy the law, and to return things to the *status quo ante* (449 ff.).

CRITO is the third speaker in the group of *aduocati*, who would naturally be expected to cast the deciding vote. In the *Andria* a man by this name does decide the point at issue.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, in the *Phormio*, Crito is the judge who makes the decision, such as it is. There is undoubtedly a take-off here on the contemporary arbiters and informal arbitrations, and the jest is especially in point at Rome where there was the recognized form of verdict, a *non liquet* decision. For Crito says: *Ego amplius deliberandum censeo* (457).<sup>84</sup>

The name Κρίτωρ, from κρίνω, "decide, choose," with the suffix -ωρ,<sup>85</sup> may have two meanings: an active, "the judge" (κρίτης), a passive, "the

<sup>78</sup> *Hylas*, however, is not uncommon, *Pros. Att.* 6359-67.

<sup>79</sup> Collitz-Bechtel, 4, p. 206 (index) in the form 'Αγλωρ (Delphi); *I.G.* 12<sup>5</sup>, 875, 10 (Tenos); 12<sup>5</sup>, 275, 2 (Thasos).

<sup>80</sup> Don. on *Ad.* 581; Linderström-Lang, p. 10; Elmer, p. 74; Fick-Bechtel, p. 173; Gatzert, p. 57; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* pp. 256 ff. For the etymology of κράτος, see Prellwitz and Boisacq, s.v.

<sup>81</sup> "Das Konglutinat -ω-, womit Adjectiva des Bestehens aus einem Stoff, der Herkunft, der Art gebildet wurden . . ." (Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>1</sup>, 271, 187). Cf. Pape-Benseler, p. xxi; Kühner-Blass, 1<sup>2</sup>, 285, 296; Fick-Bechtel, p. 28; Brugmann-Thumb, p. 224.

<sup>82</sup> *Pros. Att.* 8750-64; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3, 69; Schmidt, p. 185.

<sup>83</sup> Rossius, 1, 8; Spengel, *And.* 2 p. xiv; Fairclough, *And.* p. 69.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Don. on 459: *ex tribus enim unus suavit, alter dissuasit, tertius nihil dicit.*

<sup>85</sup> The secondary suffix -ωρ, -ωρος, "hatte seit uridg. Zeit die Funktion, ein Wesen zu bezeichnen, das etwas als Merkmal besitzt" (Brugmann-Thumb, pp. 220 ff.; cf. Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>1</sup> 299 f., Peppeler, *Com. Term.* p. 33). This suffix is very productive of personal names, both "Kosenamen" and "Spitznamen" (Fick-Bechtel, p. 28; Osthoff, *Forsch.* 2, 50 f.; Solmsen, *Beitr.* 1, 53).

chosen one" (*κρίτος*). The evidence seems to weigh heavily on the side of the former meaning.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, owing to the analogy of such common Latin words as *cerno*, *certus*, *decretum* with meanings closely associated with *κρίνω*, "decide," and perhaps the analogy of active nouns of agency in Latin, as *aleo*, *erro*, *caupo*, *gerro*, *helluo*, *ganeo*, it is not at all unlikely that to a Roman audience the active meaning of *Κρίτων* would first suggest itself.

Therefore, it appears quite certain that the name Crito is specifically appropriate to the third advocate in his capacity of judge.

DORIO exemplifies the typical traits of the *lenones*: cupidity, shamelessness and dishonesty. He differs, however, slightly from others in his insistence upon the act of giving (witness the repetition of forms of the verb *do*).<sup>87</sup> This, then, seems to be the characteristic Terence meant to emphasize.

Dorio, *Δωπλων*, is a character name, derived from *δῶρον*, "gift,"<sup>88</sup> with the suffix *-λων*, which here seems to have a derisory or contemptuous force.<sup>89</sup> It was common in Greece,<sup>90</sup> but as a fictitious name in comedy this instance in Terence seems to be without a parallel.<sup>91</sup>

The name Dorio clearly suggests the man who harps on the idea of giving,<sup>92</sup> and hence is highly appropriate to a *leno* who, by an unusual emphasis upon the act of giving, is thus individualized.

CHREMES is an old man, brother of Demipho. He is poor (587), a spendthrift (788), and his notions of honesty are not above question (679

<sup>86</sup> Pape-Benseler, pp. xx, 721; Riley, p. 1; Spengel, *And.* p. xiv; Linderström-Lang, p. 10; Elmer, p. 74; Laming, p. 69; Fairclough, p. 69; Forcellini, s.v.; against Fick-Bechtel, p. 177 and Gatzert, p. 17.

<sup>87</sup> *dei*, *da* (522), *dare* (532), *dandumst* (533).

<sup>88</sup> Ellius, pp. 377, 92; Schmieder, pp. 313, 82; Koenig, p. 31; Fick-Bechtel, p. 104; Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.* 1, 70; Elmer, p. 74; Laming, p. 69; Dziatzko-Hauler, p. 88; Gatzert, p. 53; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 144; against Gray, *Pl. Epid.* p. xxxi, Lambertz, 1, 12, Knapp, *C. P.* 2(1907), 12, n. 4, Brix-Niemeyer, *Pl. Men.* p. 13, and Jones, *Pl. Men.* p. 119, who erroneously derive the name from *Δῶπις*.

<sup>89</sup> See under the name Phormio, above, p. 34.

<sup>90</sup> *Pros. Att.* 4584; Sundwall, p. 66; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Pauly-Wissowa, 5, 1563 f.; Collitz-Bechtel, 1, 934, II, 13 (Boeotia); 2, 2162, 14 (slave at Delphi); 3, 3207, 10 (Cercyra); 3, 3647 (Cos); 3, 4108, 17 (Rhodes); 3, 4266 (Rhodes); 4, n. 54, p. 794 (Thera); Lambertz, 1, 12; Gatzert, p. 52; Mras, p. 311.

<sup>91</sup> Dorion in Mnesimachus' *Philip* (*fr.* 10, K. 2, 442) is a historical figure; see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Dorion* 4). In Lucian (*Dial. mer.* 14), "la situation, sans nul doute, est une situation de comédie; mais Dorion, de par sa condition sociale, ne semble pas être un personnage comique" (Legrand, *R.E.G.* 21 (1908), 69, accepted by Mras, p. 311).

<sup>92</sup> Compare Dorion in Lucian, *Dial. Mer.* 14, whose name is obviously significant, since the dialogue consists chiefly in the enumeration of his gifts to Myrtale: *λόγισαι γούν ἅπαντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀρέσθαι μοι ἐκδύνας* (14, 1).

ff.). His nature is weak (esp. 965, 995 ff.) and shifty (567 ff.), and his double life, so full of deception toward everybody, even his brother (574), leads him into a great deal of trouble so that he is often embarrassed or apprehensive. This is especially evidenced by his constant hemming and squirming when in tight places, *rogas* (574), *iam recte* (798), *ah* (809), *recte* (812), *heus* (819), *nil est* (995), *at* (1002), and *hem* (749, 941, 1040), *chem* (795), expressions particularly natural under such circumstances.<sup>93</sup>

The name *Χρέμης* is derived from the root *χρεμ-*, primitive Indo-European \**ghrem*, "crash, roar."<sup>94</sup> From this root, in Greek, come *χρεμίζω*, *χρεμιτίζω*, *χρεμετάω*, *χρεμέθω*, "neigh";<sup>95</sup> also *χρέμπτομαι*, "clear the throat," "hem and haw." The ending *-ης* is the primary suffix *-e-t-* used often for "Kurznamen."<sup>96</sup> The name is very common, both in life and in literature;<sup>97</sup> and many scholars have sought to explain its meaning.<sup>98</sup>

Terence has portrayed Chremes as an old man who is constantly in embarrassing positions, and has much difficulty in extricating himself. It is natural for an old man to hem and haw; it is also natural for people of any age to hem and haw when they are annoyed and confused. It seems certain, then, that the poet has chosen a name which would suggest to the audience just such a character as Chremes.

SOPHRONA, the *nutrix*, had assumed headship of the household at the death of Phanium's mother, and had arranged for the marriage with Antipho (730). She did this *interea vita ut in tuto foret* (734), and also, as she says, *ego autem, quae essem anus deserta, egens, ignota, / ut potui nuptum uirginem locavi huic adulescenti* (751 f.), and again, *quo modo hanc amans habere posset / sine dote* (756 f.). To be sure, this marriage was practically forced upon her, but the outcome proves her foresight and prudence. She was wise, according to her own standards, in doing the best she could

<sup>93</sup> Siess' characterization of Chremes as "weicher und rücksichtsvoller als sein Bruder" (*W. St.* 29 (1907), 296), is much too favorable, for it disregards his insincerity, his hypocrisy and his petulance.

<sup>94</sup> Prellwitz and Boisacq s.v. *χρεμίζω*; Vaniček, s.v. \**ghram*, p. 266.

<sup>95</sup> Compare in connection with Chremes' immorality, the metaphor from the neighing of stallions, in describing lewd men, the *LXX*, *Jeremiah*, 5, 8: *ἵπποι θηλυμαρεῖς ἐγερθήσαν, ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐχρεμετίζον*. Cf. also Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 4, 14; 5, 22. This etymon is also suggestive of Horace: *iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore* (*A.P.* 94); cf. below, p. 94, esp. n. 6.

<sup>96</sup> Brugmann-Delbrück, <sup>2</sup> 21, 425; Brugmann-Thumb, p. 233. Cf. *ἐχης* "der Besitzende."

<sup>97</sup> *Pros. Att.* 15566-69; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Schmidt, p. 183; Sondag, p. 57; Gatzert, pp. 6, 11 f., 20 f.

<sup>98</sup> "*Fortasse eum significat 'cuius vox vel cachinnus equorum hinnitum imitatur, cachinnosus'*" (Heyne, p. 24); Koeng, p. 12; Rossius, 1, 8; Spengel, *And.* <sup>3</sup> p. xiv; Linderstrøm-Lang, p. 10; Bechtel, *Spitsn.* pp. 47 f.; Schmidt, p. 183; Fairclough, *And.* p. 69, who fails to see any appropriateness in the name as applied to the old man in the *Andria*; Süß, p. 103; cf. Jacobs, in Dübner, *Anth. Pal.* 7, 134, *ann.*



under the stress of circumstance. Furthermore, she exhibits a matter-of-fact sense in cutting short Chremes' effusions and bringing him down to business (762 f.); and later gives renewed evidence of her discretion in regard to his secret (765). Moreover, she is distinguished from many other nurses<sup>99</sup> by her modesty and temperance: she was forced to make the marriage (733); she is shocked at Chremes when he wonders if Antipho also has two wives (754); she has no tippling propensities, nor Lesbian boon companions. Terence is at pains to insist upon the respectability of the young mistress Phanium, and "like mistress, like maid," her nurse must be above all suspicion. Since her rôle is not a prominent one, it is therefore most important that the name be obvious and unequivocal.

The Greek name Σωφρόνη, feminine of Σωφρονος (*E.M.* 87, 35), is derived from the adjective σωφρων, -ονος, "prudent, temperate," which is composed of σω- (i.e., σαω-, <\*σάφος, <\*τῆαφος, \*τῆαφος, Sanskrit *taviti*, "is strong"; contracted, σῶς), "sound," and φρον- from φρήν (φρεν-, cf. φρονέω), "sense," that is literally, "having a sound sense."<sup>100</sup> The name was common, especially at Delphi,<sup>101</sup> and in comedy used of nurses,<sup>102</sup> apparently with some notion of suitability.

The name, then, is plainly indicative of the character of Sophrona, according to both meanings, "prudence" and "temperance."

NAUSISTRATA. The rôle of Nausistrata is as of one on a "campaign" against her husband Chremes, which she wins by the aid of her captain, Phormio. The 'usual good nature' (784, 1020) of which Demipho (no doubt ironically, but also with the intent to flatter and please) reminds her, she nowhere exhibits, for she becomes greatly wrought up on two occasions (792 ff., 1009 ff.), and in anger and scorn at Chremes she expresses a strong desire to be a man (792). In other respects, she acts as a typical *matrona* might (784 ff., 814 ff., 1031 ff.).<sup>103</sup>

Ναυσιστράτη, the feminine of Ναυσίστρατος, is composed of ναύσι-, i.e. ναυσι, the dative plural of ναῦς, and στρατός, "army."<sup>104</sup> The name occurs in

<sup>99</sup> Compare Canthara in the *Ad.* and *Heaut.*, Achilles and Lesbia in the *And.*

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Σωφρων, "*qui mentis sanae particeps est*" (Heyne, p. 29). See Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 23 (1869), 327; Fick-Bechtel, pp. 257, 282; Prellwitz and Boisacq, *s.vv.* σῶος, φρήν; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 413. Cf. *σάββρων*, *Iliad*, 21, 462; *Odyssey*, 4, 158; *Bacchylides*, 12, 186; *et al.*

<sup>101</sup> Collitz-Bechtel, 4, 317 (index); Lambertz, 2, 6; Copalle, p. 60; Gatzert, p. 44; Roscher, *s.v.*

<sup>102</sup> Men. *Heron*, *Epit.*; Ter. *Eun.*; Aristaenetus, *Ep.* 1, 6.

<sup>103</sup> Similarly Siess, *W.St.* 29 (1907), 301 f., against Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.* 1, 149 f.

<sup>104</sup> Fick-Bechtel, pp. 214, 255; Bechtel, *Alt. Fr.* pp. 27 f., 33; *Hist. Pers.* p. 326. Cf. Gatzert, p. 59. *ναυσι* is really the old locative plural (Brugmann-Thumb, p. 278). For this type of compound, see Brugmann-Delbrück, 2, 1 70, 97; Brugmann-Thumb p. 200; Meillet, p. 255.

fragments of Philemon,<sup>106</sup> and on five inscriptions in *I.G.* 2;<sup>108</sup> the masculine form was common in Athens.<sup>107</sup>

The obviously correct interpretation, "*magnificum nomen a copiis navalibus, quarum gloria populus Atheniensis aliquando floruit*," is ascribed to Muretus by Koenig (p. 9), to Schrevelius (ed. 1644) by Schmieder (p. 312), and is probably older than either. This merely suggests that the name was respectable, perhaps even aristocratic, and fit for a well-to-do citizen of the better class.<sup>108</sup> Such is, to be sure, Nausistrata in the *Phormio*. Therefore, what meaning there is in the name seems to indicate the character of Nausistrata, a woman of means (788 ff.), with a tempestuous and war-like disposition, involved in a "campaign," almost as one might say "on the warpath", against her husband.<sup>109</sup>

**DORCIUM.** This name occurs but once, where Geta tells a slave to give the bag of money to Dorcium (152). No doubt this is his wife or *contubernalis*. Nothing is known of her other than that she seems to have had charge of the money in her household, and is therefore to be regarded as entirely trustworthy.

Dorcium is a Greek diminutive, Δόρκιον,<sup>110</sup> from δόρξ, δорκός, "gazelle,"<sup>111</sup> the etymology of which is the source of considerable doubt and controversy,<sup>112</sup> but which is productive of a large group of personal names.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>106</sup> *Fr.* 66, K. 2, 495; *fr.* 132, K. 2, 519.

<sup>107</sup> 751a, 1; 763, 1, 10; 1396 (*Pros. A.H.* 10586), 1930 (*Pros. A.H.* 10585); 4160. Add Sundwall, p. 132.

<sup>108</sup> *Pros. A.H.* 10587-99; *I.G.* 2 (indices).

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Steiger, p. 8: "Die Namen auf -στρατος und -στρατη waren in ganz Griechenland beliebt, besonders aber bei der attischen Frauen, cf. die Verse des Philemon (K. 2, 495, 66)."

<sup>110</sup> στρατεύω, "make a campaign." Cf. Nencini: "*Compositis quoque verbis Νικοστράτη vel Ναυσιστράτη matrona potens significatur et amara viro*" (p. 83, n. 1); Elmer: "The woman on the war-path" (p. 74); Dziatzko-Haule: "N. scheint mit dem zweiten Teile des Wortes auf die streitbare Sinnesart der Namensträgerin hinzuweisen" (p. 88).

<sup>111</sup> This seems to be an exception to the rule that diminutives of dactylic measure in -ιον are paroxytones (Chandler, *Gr. Accent.* p. 101); not included, however, in his list of exceptions (p. 106); cf. Janson, *N.J. Suppl.* 5 (1864/72), 203. On Greek diminutives in -ιον, see in particular Priscian, 5, 12; 6, 24; Peppler, *Com. Term.* pp. 6 ff.; Brugmann-Thumb, p. 220, with the literature there cited; Petersen, pp. 173 ff.; Friedrich, *Diminutiv-bildung*, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>112</sup> Fick-Bechtel, p. 321; Mraz, p. 325; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 589.

<sup>113</sup> According to Herzog, *Philol.* 56 (1897), 48; 52, δорκός is a Semitic loan-word; cf. however, Muss-Arnolt, *T.A.P.A.* 23 (1892), 98. Bezzenberger, *B.B.* 4 (1878), 316, G. Meyer, *Lit. Centralb.* 1893, 2, 50, Fick, *Wörterbuch*,<sup>4</sup> 2, 244, Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* 3, 610, connect it with the Celtic. Basil and Anastasius, quoted in Stephanus, *Thes.*, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, Curtius, pp. 101; 134; 662, and Vaniček, pp. 350 f., derive it from δорκομαι; cf., however, L. Meyer, *Gr. Etym.* 3, 241, Prellwitz and Boisacq, s.v.

<sup>114</sup> Δόρκος, Δόρκις, Δόρκων, Δорκεύς, Δорκίων, Δорκείδης, Δорκίνας, Δόρκοις, Δорκύλος, Δорκύλωτ, Δорκωνίδας, Δорκυλίδας, Δорκυλίων, Δорκύλλεις, Δорκύλλιος, Δорκός, Δόρκιον, Δорκέ, Δорκυλís, Δорκύλων, Δорκύλλα. The oldest of these seem to be Δόρκων (*I.G.A.* 20, 42

Dorcium is undoubtedly a pet name given to a girl on account of bright eyes,<sup>114</sup> or slenderness,<sup>115</sup> either one a quality admired in a woman. The name was very common, both in the simple form and in the diminutive.<sup>116</sup>

All that can be said in regard to this name is that it is not inappropriate to a pretty maid servant, who, perhaps in later years, might have been allowed to marry a faithful old slave like Geta.

PHANIUM. This girl does not appear in the action of the play. She is neither a courtesan<sup>117</sup> nor a slave, but an Athenian citizen (114 f.). All that is known about her is that she is a good girl (115), of good parentage (115) and breeding (815, 896), and of striking beauty (104 ff.).

This name is the same as the Greek substantive *φᾶλον*, "a little torch," the diminutive of *φᾶνός*, n.<sup>118</sup> and *φᾶνός*, adj., the Attic of *φαεινός*, composed of \**φα-* and the secondary adjective suffix *-εινός*.<sup>119</sup> The name,<sup>120</sup> like "Bright-eyes," was probably given to her by her nurse or parents as a pet name, on account of her striking beauty. In addition to this general appropriateness of the name, one might well imagine that Antipho had the same feeling which, later, inspired Meleager, ὦ βραχὺ φέγγος / λάμψαν ἔμοι μέγα πῦρ, *Φανόν, ἐν κραδίᾳ* (*Anth. Pal.* 12, 82).

PAMPHILA. All that is known about her is that she is a young slave of Dorio, a *citharistria* (82), desperately loved by Phaedria, and, at least to him, well worth thirty *minae* (558). She is, however, not at all individualized, for any other *meretrix* might be the apparently faithful mistress of a young man.

The name Παμφίλη is composed of *παν-*, the neuter *πᾶν* from \**παντ*, used adverbially in compounds as *πάνσοφος*, "all-wise,"<sup>121</sup> and *φίλη*, "loving."<sup>122</sup>

(Corinth), 6 cent. B. C., perhaps (Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> pp. 101 ff.) and *Δόρκις*, satyr-name (Roscher, s.v.) and the name of a Lacedemonian, (Thucyd. 1, 95, 476 B. C.).

<sup>114</sup> Koenig, p. 31; Gatzert, p. 33.

<sup>115</sup> Bechtel, *Att. Fr.*, p. 91. Cf. Lucretius, 4, 1161: *nerosa et lignea dorcas*.

<sup>116</sup> See Copalle, p. 33, and Mras, p. 335. Add *I.G.* 2, 836, 96; 3210.

<sup>117</sup> *Apud ueteres peregrinae mulieres in meretricum numero habebantur* (Don. on 415), hence Sophrona is careful to inform Antipho of her Athenian citizenship.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Schol. Luc. *Kataph.* 12: Ἀττικὰ ὑποκοπόμενα . . . ἡ Φανόν.

<sup>119</sup> Brugmann-Thumb, p. 223; Prellwitz, Boisacq, s.v. *φᾶος*. The derivation from *φᾶν-*, connecting it with *ἐπαφῆφανος* (countenanced by Fick-Bechtel, p. 173, but since corrected by Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 122, n. 1), is incorrect, and also the proparoxytone is an error on the part of Fick-Bechtel, Schmidt (p. 200), Gatzert, (p. 70); see Buttman, *Lexilogus*, 2, 334; Chandler, *Gr. Accent.*<sup>3</sup> p. 101; Kock, 3, 143; Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 122.

<sup>120</sup> *Φανόν* as a personal name is rare: *I.G.* 2, 3097 (*Κορυθαία τριτθῆ*); Men. *tit.* K. 3, 142 (hetaira); *Anth. Pal.* 12, 82. 83 (hetaira); Breitenbach, p. 141; Terzaghi, p. 148; Gatzert, p. 30; Durham, *Vocab. Men.* p. 100.

<sup>121</sup> Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>1</sup> 2, 53; Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>1</sup>, 90; Brugmann-Thumb p. 202.

<sup>122</sup> Fick-Bechtel, pp. 228, 280; Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 30; Gatzert, pp. 59 f.

It seems to have been given to *matronae* and *uirgines* as well as to *meretrices*.<sup>123</sup> Breitenbach (p. 117) thinks that it is "*meretrici aptum*," referring to Archilochus, *fr.* 19 (Bergk<sup>4</sup>), where, however, the *meretrix* Plangon is called Πασιφιλη, "loving to all."<sup>124</sup> Although it is probable that "all in love" is the original meaning, it is not unlikely that the name, as given to *meretrices*, came to have the significance "loving all," "everybody's friend."<sup>125</sup>

In any case, it is quite clear that Phaedria's Pamphila has passed from the "all-lover," to the "all in love," and therein lies such appropriateness as the name has.<sup>126</sup>

STILPO.<sup>127</sup> This is the *alias* which Chremes used in Lemnos (389). The Greek form is Στιλπων,<sup>128</sup> derived from the root \*στιλ-π, softened \*στιλ-β,<sup>129</sup> (found in such words as στιλβω, "shine," στιλπνός, "glittering"), with the suffix -ων (above, p. 38). Hence it is a character name,<sup>130</sup> meaning "the shining, sleek man," especially appropriate to a lascivious old gentleman, who is no longer faithful to his wife, but goes off and plays the gallant with other women. The audience would certainly feel the humor in the contrast between Stilpo, "Mr. Sparkler of Lemnos," and Chremes, "Mr. Hen-pecked of Athens."<sup>131</sup>

MIDAS is the slave-boy in the household of Demipho, and, since the marriage of his young master, attendant upon Phanium. He is mentioned

<sup>123</sup> *Pros. Att.* 11521-23; Terzaghi, p. 147; Gatzert, p. 29.

<sup>124</sup> See Brugmann, *K. Vgl. Gram.* 2, 287.

<sup>125</sup> Brugmann-Delbrück<sup>1</sup>, 2, 53, admit that in some compounds πω- may be the equivalent of the stem πωρ-. Compare the English "all-loving" where "all" may be adverbial, or nominal. Examination of a list of Greek personal names containing πω-, πωμ-, πωγ- as the first member of the compound such as that of Bechtel (*Hist. Pers.*), discloses the fact that the adverbial meaning was the commoner.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. "*a fidei amore*" (Venice ed. 1580 on Pamphilus in the *Andria*); Mendelssohn, p. 63.

<sup>127</sup> The form *Stilpho* is the reading of the MSS. of Terence (*Stilpho* A), Donatus (except on 356, *Stilbonem*, RC), and, according to Dziatzko-Hauley (p. 244), of Cicero, *Orator*, 157, though Sandys, Müller, and others record *Stilbonem* POM, *Stilponē* A, *Stilionem* F. The true reading *Stilpho* occurs in a lemma of Codex Monacensis of Donatus, on 389 (Schlee, p. 28).

<sup>128</sup> Not uncommon, Aristoph. *Birds*, 139 and Schol.; Diphilus, *Gamos*, *fr.* 23, K. 2, 547; *I.G.A.* 20, 59; *I.G.* 7, 2431; *I.G.* 12<sup>a</sup> (index).

<sup>129</sup> Curtius, p. 539; Vanicek, p. 1147. Cf. Prellwitz, Boisacq, s.v. στιλβω.

<sup>130</sup> "Kurzname direkt zu Στιλπωπος," Fick-Bechtel, p. 254; cf. Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.*, pp. 407, 558.

<sup>131</sup> It might be observed, in passing, that Stilpo of the Megarian School, an older contemporary of Menander, who, according to reports of even his friends, was somewhat addicted to wine and women (Cic. *De Fato*, 5), may have had some influence upon Terence or Apollodorus in his choice of an appropriate *alias* for Chremes. In fact, it is known from Diogenes Laertius (2, 11, 50 ff.) that Stilpo was ridiculed by Diphilus in the *Gamos* (K. 2, 547). Also suggestive is the comparison with Στιλβωνίδης the fictitious name of a dissolute pleasure-seeker in Aristoph. *Birds*, 139.

but once, in verse 862. The name is a common one for slaves,<sup>122</sup> being that of the famous king of what was no doubt their native land.<sup>123</sup> It is distinctly appropriate for a delicate servant, who apparently is in charge of the *γυναικωνίτις* (862), as the name of the old Phrygian king "of the golden touch" cannot but call to mind visions of oriental wealth and luxury.

<sup>122</sup> See Schulze, *Rh. Mus.* 48 (1893), 256, and n. 5; Tzetzes, *περὶ κωμῶδας*, Kaibel, *C.G.F.* 1, 19, where *Midas* is commonly read; Lambertz, 1, 25 f.; Copalle, p. 46; Gatzert, pp. 10, 48 Headlam, Herodas, 1922, on 2, 1. Add Pindar *Pyth.* 12, 5; Apollonius of Tyana, *Ep.* 7; Collitz-Bechtel, 1, 1161, 7 (Elis); 3, 4245, 547 (Rhodes); *I.G.* 2<sup>1</sup>, 769 II, 7; 1037b, 2; *I.G.* 12, <sup>a</sup> 300, 13 (Thasos); 12, <sup>a</sup> 1164 (*Χρηστέος*, Chalcis); *B.C.H.* 37 (1913), 221, no. 30 (Chios, early 4th cent.).

<sup>123</sup> Strabo: *ἡ τοῖς ἐπιπολάζουσιν ἐκεῖ ὀνόμασιν προσηγόρευον ὡς Μάδην ἢ Μίδα τὸν Φρύγα* . . . (7, 3, 12); Grasberger: "Oder die Sklaven führten die in ihrer Heimat gebräuchlichen Namen" (p. 42); Koenig, p. 32; Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Athen*, 2, 176; Copalle, p. 46.

### III. ADELPHOE

MICIO. Micio is an elderly gentleman, who has no business or matrimonial troubles or worries, but through the fortunate possession of an inheritance (815), is able to lead an *urbanam uitam*<sup>1</sup> in circumstances of such comfort that he can afford to indulge himself and his adopted son in the luxuries of life (51 ff., 816, 863 ff.). He is well satisfied with his style of life and thinks very highly of his own success as a father, which he ascribes to a pet theory of his own upon education. He evinces a genuine affection for his son (48 ff.), a naturally easy-going disposition,<sup>2</sup> and a very tolerant sense of morality (101 ff., 687 f.), which may, perhaps, be weakness of character.<sup>3</sup> He is lenient and indulgent to his son Aeschinus (51 ff., 117 ff., 699). Not only this, but he is also *clemens*, *placidus*, *nulli laedere os*, *adridere omnibus* (864; cf. *animus aequos*, 837), especially toward Demea (144 ff.), and Hegio (592 ff.). In the last scene he is induced, through his pliant good humor and especially his affection for Aeschinus (927 f., 944 f. 956, 969 f., 982), to accept a marriage, grant a farm to Hegio, set Syrus and Phrygia free, and can do no more than postpone a decision in regard to lending Syrus some capital. In short, Donatus is essentially correct in his statement: *seruatur per totam fabulam mitis Micio*.<sup>4</sup>

The name Μικίων is composed of μικρός, by-form of μικρός, Hom. σμικρός "little," and the suffix -ίων, for which see the name Φοπύλιον (above p. 34).

<sup>1</sup> Don. on *Ad. Praef.* 1, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Don. on *Ad. Praef.* 3, 6: *mitis Micio*; cf. *Praef.* 1, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Legrand, *Daos*, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> The question raised in regard to the final scene of the play, whether, namely, the characters of Micio and Demea undergo any material and permanent transformation, lies outside the scope of the present study, since whatever appropriateness there may be in the names would be found almost exclusively in the beginning and early scenes of the play. In regard to the words: *apud Menandrum senex de nuptiis non grauatur: ergo Terentius euperuicax* (Don. on *Ad.* 938), it should be noted that Micio, even in opposing the marriage and other requests, is still "in character," for such action on his part was to be expected from his somewhat vigorous reprimand of Aeschinus in an earlier scene (683 ff.). For the literature on this whole question, see especially Klasen, *Quam Rationem Terentius in Contaminatis* etc., 1884, pp. 15 ff.; Regel, p. 8, n. 1; Teuffel, *Stud. u. Char.*, pp. 359 ff.; Kauer, *W. St.* 23 (1901), 98 f.; Dziatzko-Kauer, *Ad.* pp. 3 ff., 16 f.; Spengel, *Ad.* pp. 164 ff.; Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 97 ff.; Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 411, 556; Henry.

<sup>5</sup> Meisterhans, *Gram. att. Inschr.* p. 83. μικρός occurs in papyri (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap.* 14, 1655, 9); Μίκος occurs as a personal name, Bechtel, *Spisn.* p. 9, and n. 3; 'Ερ. 'Αρχ. 1908, 208, 8; Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 5467b, 8; 5472b, 11.

As the name of a city gentleman, it was fairly common in different parts of Greece.<sup>6</sup>

The meaning of the name Micio has been variously interpreted. According to Vallat, cited by Stampini (p. LXI, n. 3): "*Micio nomen suum a verbo dorico μικρός pro μικρός sine dubio per ἀντιφάσειν trahit, quod filium adoptivum non exigue tractat*," an interpretation so strained and unplausible that Gustarelli rightly rejects it (p. LI). The explanation of the name as referring to the fact that Micio is five years younger than Demea (938) does not meet with the approval of Spengel (*Ad.*<sup>2</sup> p. 161), who also sets aside the possible reference to Micio's small stature (similarly, Gustarelli, p. LI), against Bechtel (*Spitzn.* p. 9), Dziatzko-Kauer (*Ad.* p. 2, n. 3) and Hirzel (*Der Name*, p. 89). But his argument here is untenable, for smallness of stature is an essential and suitable quality of a dapper, dainty, delicate city gentleman, and as such, highly significant in the development of the plot. Spengel's own interpretation, namely, that Micio was chosen with a view to its similarity to the Latin *mitis* "das für den Charakter des Micio das bezeichnendste Wort ist," though perhaps possible, is extremely improbable in view of the following considerations: first, Terence never plays upon the name Micio by associating it with *mitis*; and second, it is inconceivable that his audience would have felt any connection between Micio and *mitis* without an obvious word-play; by the time of Donatus, of course, the pronunciation of *ci* was often confused with *ti*,<sup>7</sup> so that to Donatus and his readers Micio might readily suggest *mitis*; later in codices F (10th cent.) and G (11th cent.) of Terence, Mitio occurs in place of Micio; and finally, some of the early editions derived Mitio from *mitis* (e.g., Ellius, p. 286). To a Roman of the classical period, however, Micio could scarcely have suggested *mitis*, but rather, if anything, *mica* or *mico*, words, by the way, which suggest ideas of sparkling and brightness that are quite in harmony with the character represented, and may conceivably have influenced Terence in the choice of this particular name.<sup>8</sup>

Nencini disclaims any appropriateness whatsoever for the name, because "*Micio avari potius hominis et sordidi nomen videtur*," and is inclined to connect it with *μικρολόγος* and *Σμικρῶλης* (p. 128, n. 2). But the

<sup>6</sup> *Pros. Att.* 10172-90; Sundwall, p. 129; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 54, n. 442; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 3, 80; Collitz-Bechtel, *passim*, especially in Rhodian and Ionian inscriptions; Gatzert, p. 18. The name-group of *μικρός* is large and wide-spread; see Bechtel, *Spitzn.* pp. 9 f.; *Att. Fr.*, p. 42; *Hist. Pers.* pp. 485 f.

<sup>7</sup> Earliest examples, 2nd cent. after Christ, Lindsay, *L.L.* p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> If the original had been *Δαμπρας* (see below, p. 53, n. 50), there would be a certain correspondence *Δαμπρας*: *δάμνω* = *Micio*: *mico* and this would be an adequate reason for the change of names on the part of Terence, if, indeed, this is ever proved.

former association is far-fetched and unnatural, and based upon a common noun *μικας*, known only from Hesychius; in the case of *Σμικρόλης*, there is ample ancient evidence attesting its meaning as *ὁ δύστροπος καὶ δύσκολος*,<sup>9</sup> whereas for *Μικίων*, although a much commoner name, there is no such traditional connotation recorded. Micio is rather a *kalos*-name; on an Attic black-figured alabastron (550–500 B.C.) there appears the inscription: *Μικίων καλός*, and the figure of a young man holding a cock in his hand, preparing for a cock-fight,<sup>10</sup> evidence, undoubtedly, that this Micio was a popular member of the smart set of the best Athenian society.<sup>11</sup> Another *Μικίων καλός* is found on an Attic red-figured vase (500–450 B.C.).<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Nencini suggests the special appropriateness of *Δαμπρίας* for the character of Micio, although he regards as well-founded the doubt respecting the fragment from Stobaeus, *Flor.* 96, 11 (3, 204 M.), whether, namely, the last two verses, containing the name *Δαμπρίας*, really belong, together with the first two verses, to the *Adelphoi* of Menander.<sup>13</sup> On the whole, the hypothesis is too dubious to necessitate a discussion of the name *Δαμπρίας* as the original of Micio in regard to its appropriateness and the reason of the supposed change made by Terence.<sup>14</sup> It is sufficient to demonstrate that the name Micio is significant, whatever name Menander may have employed.

Micio is a little, dapper, suave, easy-going, self-confident city gentleman. No other *senes comici* are like him;<sup>15</sup> none of them could the playwright, with the least suitability, have called Micio, meaning “the little man,” with that phrase’s connotations. The name, however, is decidedly appropriate to the sort of character Terence has portrayed.

<sup>9</sup> Alciphron, *Ep.* 3, 7, 3; cf. Kock, 3, 25, fr. 76, and 3, 51, fr. 174; Sondag, p. 61; Gatzert, p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Wernicke, *Liebingsnamen*, pp. 23 f.; Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases*, 1, 423; *Pros. Att.* 10172. Cf. Crusius, *Herondas, deutsch.* p. 48, where he suggests that the significance of the name Mikion in Herondas, 7, 43 may be explained by this analogy, against his former view, *Untersuchungen*, p. 135.

<sup>11</sup> See Sittl, *Arch. der Kunst.* p. 557; Walters, *Hist. of Anc. Pottery*, 2, 265 ff.; and Miss Herford, *Gr. Vase Painting*, p. 77.

<sup>12</sup> *Pros. Att.* 10173.

<sup>13</sup> Nencini, p. 128. Cobet’s disjunction of the fragment (*Mnem.* 4 (1855), 256) has been accepted by Meineke (*Stobaeus, loc. cit.*, against *C.G.F.* 4, 71, fr. 9), Nencini, and Kauer (*Ad.* p. 17, n. 2), and is almost certainly correct. Spengel (*Ad.* p. 162, n.) and Gatzert, (pp. 17, 23) also regard the identification of this *Δαμπρίας* with the Micio of Terence’s *Adelphoi* as doubtful, and, as Gatzert points out, elsewhere the name *Δαμπρίας* is used for young men, and “*adulescenti magis aptum est quam seni*” (p. 23). *Mras* (p. 313), and Saekel (p. 57), however, accept this identification.

<sup>14</sup> It has already been hinted that Terence would have had an adequate and significant reason if he had made the change.

<sup>15</sup> See the list in Robert, *Die Masken*, pp. 6 (fig. 11); 61 ff., 93, and Roth, pp. 45 f.



DEMEA. Demea is the choleric ἡγερῶν πρεσβύτης, the opposite of Micio, the phlegmatic πρεσβύτης μακροπόρων.<sup>16</sup> But just as Micio proved to be highly individualized within the type, so, too, Demea exhibits some peculiarities which stamp him as a distinct species of his type. *Ab adolescentia* the two brothers parted ways: Demea became a farmer, living *semper parce et duriter* (45), while Micio lived an easy, comfortable city life. This difference *inter rusticam uitam et urbanam* (Don. on *Ad. Praef.* 1, 9) is the cue to the character of both. Demea came to possess the traits characteristic of hard, thrifty country life. He reared his son with the utmost severity and puritanism, for whom his affection, however, is so great that it exposes him to the mendacious flattery of Syrus (398 ff., 413 ff., 433 ff.). In fact, as in the case of Demipho in the *Phormio*, the stronger the character, the more readily is it victimized by the tricks of a rascal (402 ff., 554 ff.). The oppressive self-righteousness of his attitude towards his own son, as well as towards Micio and his adopted son, is somewhat exceptional.<sup>17</sup>

When, finally, in doubt and discomfiture, Demea comes to take stock of himself, he finds that he has become a man *agrestis, saeuus, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax* (866), and thereupon determines to about-face and follow the foot-steps of his brother. Some think that the conversion of Demea in the final scene is complete and genuine.<sup>18</sup> The following considerations, however, argue against such a conclusion. Demea ridicules Micio, parodying his personality and precepts, going him one or two better every time (912 ff., 952 f., 958 and *passim* in the last scene). In his speech to the young men, he offers his services to "reprove, correct and indulge them when it is fitting" (994).<sup>19</sup> In the future he will even show some indulgence to Ctesipho, but there is no evidence that this involves a complete departure from his former standards, for he himself will interpret the saving qualification *in loco*, which is intended to safeguard his principles of morality and thriftiness, one may safely surmise.

Demea is, therefore, the ἄγρικός, the country-man with the characteristic virtues and weaknesses of the type.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Pollux, 4, 143; Robert, *Die Masken*, p. 61; Roth, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Legrand, *Daos*, p. 169.

<sup>18</sup> Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 95 ff., and, apparently in agreement with him, Henry, p. 66. For the general discussion regarding the final scene of the *Adelphoe*, see above, p. 46, n. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Legrand, *Daos*, p. 557.

<sup>20</sup> ἐγὼ δ' ἄγρικός, *Men. Ad. fr.* 10, K. 3, 6. Cf. Photios: ἄγρικοί καὶ Ἀγροίκων τὸν σωφρόνων. ἄγρικός: σκληρός. ἄγρικός, ἀσκιατρόφητος [ὅλον] ἐργάτης. ἔφρων, θέσπελος ἢ ὁ ἐν ἀγρῷ κατοικῶν (*Lex.* p. 24, 17, 21 f., Reitzenstein). Compare the modern term "farmer," meaning either "the honest, thrifty farmer," or the "bumpkin," or "hayseed." For the character of the ἄγρικός see Ribbeck, *Agroikos*, in *A.S.G.W.* 10 (1885), summarized with special reference to the New Comedy, by Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 73 ff.

The name Δημέας is derived from δῆμος, which, coming from the root *dd(š)* (as in *δαλομαί*, "apportion"), meant originally the land apportioned for tillage among the members of a community,<sup>21</sup> but in Homer it denotes a "country district," and also "the people who live in country districts," as opposed to the nobles in the cities; later in the historians the word often signified the "common people," in county or city; finally it was used to designate the people in general. Also at Athens it bore the technical meaning of a local administrative unit. The suffix is -εο, -εᾶ-, appearing in adjectives of material as χρύσεος; "made of gold," hence δῆμεος, "of the common people."<sup>22</sup> Especially the noun-suffix -εἰας, shortened -εας, contracted to -ᾶς, was used for abbreviated proper names, especially pet names and nicknames, and for appellatives denoting a character or occupation, often with the idea of ridicule or scurrility.<sup>23</sup> In general, such appellatives and proper names belonged to members of the lower classes<sup>24</sup> and have increased in popularity in common speech down to the present day.<sup>25</sup>

The name Demea, then, is both a character name, signifying a personality composed of the qualities found among the common people,<sup>26</sup> and a nickname, gently satirizing these same qualities, as being exhibited in excess,<sup>27</sup> and hence the name is admirably suited to the rôle of Demea.

SANNIO. There are two procurers portrayed by Terence, Dorio in the *Phormio*, and Sannio in the *Adelphoe*. They both exhibit the characteristic traits of their type: shamelessness, cupidity and dishonesty. Dorio was found to be slightly individualized by his insistence upon the act of giving. He also differs from Sannio in strength of character: he is high-handed, insolent, and uncompromising; to the end he will follow out his rule *tu*

<sup>21</sup> Boisacq, s.v.; Leaf on *Iliad*, 2, 547.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>3</sup> 21, 198 f.; Brugmann-Thumb, pp. 212 f.; Fick-Bechtel, p. 25.

<sup>23</sup> Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gram.* p. 110, §287; Peppler, *Com. Term.* pp. 41 f.

<sup>24</sup> "Nomina hominum propria Κομᾶς . . . ordinaria quidem et haud dubie antiquae, sed vernaculi et plebeji sermonis finibus conclusa . . . Plebeji sermonis propria blandimenta" (Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 434). "Verba quae in -as terminantur hominibus humilibus, abiectis, sordidis conveniunt" (Bergk, *Comm.* p. 72).

<sup>25</sup> See Jannaris, *ibid.*, and p. 295, §1043.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. "ἀπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, quasi plebeium dicas," Schrevelius, quoted by Schmieder, p. 236.

<sup>27</sup> See Dziatzko-Kauer, *Ad.* p. 2, and n. 2, where reference is made to two monographs dealing with the specially plebeian and, if you will, countrified speech of Demea: Tschernjaew, *Terentiana, Ueber die Redeweise des Demea in der Terenzianischen Komödie "Adelphoe"*, Kasan, 1900, and *Terentiana, De Sermone Terentii plebeio aut quotidiano*, Casani, 1900; from the index of the latter it appears that Demea uses 17% of the total number of plebeian words used by all the old men in Terence, 34 more than the average (p. 169). Cf. above, 24. The name Demea was common in Athens, and widely used in comedy as the name of old men; see Gatzert, p. 15; Mras, pp. 308 f.; cf. Men. *Misogynes*, fr. 325, 5, K. 3, 94, from Stobaeus, *Flor.* 105, 10 M. where, however, Σμῆλε is generally read from a longer piece of the same fragment, *Flor.* 108, 44 M. See below, 62, n. 115, n. 4.

*potior sit, qui prior ad dandumst* (*Phor.* 533). On the other hand, Sannio is *miser, innocens, inops* (155 f.). In his relations with Aeschinus and Syrus, he is apologizing, cringing and wheedling, a slave-dealer who is a slave to his dealing. He suffers a physical beating (172 ff.) and a legal and pecuniary discomfiture (223 f., 247 ff.). Despite his many brave threats, he is ready to fawn upon Aeschinus, expecting a fair offer (187), and upon Syrus, begging him to see to it that the offer is carried out (247 ff., 278).<sup>22</sup>

The name Sannio is not Latin,<sup>23</sup> although *sannio* is a common classical Latin word, but it is a Greek name, Σαννίων, occurring as early, at least, as 408/5 B. C. (*I.G.* 1, 324), and in Plato (*Theag.* 129a) and Demosthenes (21, 58). The long and varied list of personal names belonging to the same group as Σαννίων<sup>24</sup> points toward direct derivation from σάννω (<\*σάννω).<sup>25</sup> In the case of Σαννίων, moreover, there are two Greek words that must have exerted some influence in connection with its idea and use among the Greeks: σάννας, ὁ μωρός,<sup>26</sup> and σάννιον, τὸ αἰδοῖον.<sup>27</sup> The latter association, perhaps a folk-etymology, is especially suggestive of a *leno*.<sup>28</sup> It might seem unlikely, to be sure, that Greek parents would give a child a name with such connotations, but as the names Πόσθων (<πόσθη, *membrum virile*) and Σάθων (<σάθη, *membrum virile*) point back to pet-names given to little boys by nurses, playmates, or parents,<sup>29</sup> so, too, Σαννίων may be traced back to a similar origin.<sup>30</sup> Judging from such names as Σανίων, Σανίων, however, it is probable that the real etymological formation of Σαννίων is σαν- (<\*σάννω) with a double diminutive, hypocoristic gemination of the *v*<sup>31</sup> and the diminutive suffix -ίων, having an uncomplimentary or derisive significance. Again, the Greek name Σαννίων may be connected with σάννας,<sup>32</sup> in which case the suffix -ίων might indicate character or occupation. This

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Spengel, *Ad.* 2 pp. 160 f.; Legrand, *Daos*, p. 120; Henry, p. 85; and Stolz, *De Lenonis in Comoedia Figura*, 1920, pp. 49f.

<sup>23</sup> As Fisch would have it (*Lat. Substantiva personalia auf o, onis*, p. 16).

<sup>24</sup> Bechtel, *Spitzn.* pp. 66; 68; *Alt. Fr.* p. 41; *Hist. Pers.* pp. 504 f. Add Σαννίος, Σαννίον, Σαννίος, Σαννίον. See Solmsen, *I. F.* 30 (1912), 38.

<sup>25</sup> The etymology of σάννω is doubtful; see Prellwitz, s.v.; Solmsen, *loc. cit.*; Boisacq, s.v.

<sup>26</sup> Kratinos, *fr.* 337, K. 1, 112; Aristophanes of Byz. in Miller, *Mélanges de la Litt. gr.* p. 427.

<sup>27</sup> Eupolis, *fr.* 440, K. 1, 366.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Koenig, p. 19; Copalle, p. 53 f.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Hesychius: σάθων· ὑποκρίσιμα παιδίων ἀρτίων, ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰδοῖον.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Βαλλίων from Βαλλία; "es ist ein kosewort in ammenjargon wie πόσθων" (Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Athen.* 2, 177, n. 19).

<sup>31</sup> Solmsen, *loc. cit.* Cf. Fick-Bechtel, pp. 30 f.; Brugmann-Delbrück, 2<sup>a</sup>, 44 f.; Brugmann-Thumb, p. 153, §120, *Anm.* Cf. σάννας, below.

<sup>32</sup> Solmsen thinks that this word and its cognates have grown out of the word-group represented by σάννιον αἰδοῖον (*loc. cit.*).

last fits in very well with the meaning of the Latin loan-words<sup>39</sup> *sanna* and *sannio*. "*Sanniones dicuntur a sannis qui sunt in dictis fatuis et in motibus et in schemis; quos moros vocant Graeci.*"<sup>40</sup> *Sanna* is explained by the scholiast on Persius 1, 62: *os distortum cum vultu: quod facimus, cum alias deridemus*, and is glossed by *μῶκος*.<sup>41</sup> *Sanniones* is the title of a *fabula Atellaniana* by Novius (Ribbeck, *C. R. F.*<sup>3</sup> p. 324). As the name of the buffoon in the mime, *Sannio* seems to have survived down to the present day in Italy in the form *Zanni*.<sup>42</sup>

It seems clear, therefore, that to a Roman audience the name *Sannio* would suggest a little, grimacing, mocking buffoon; to those who knew any Greek,<sup>43</sup> it would suggest the characteristic business of a *leno*; and to any who might know the etymology of the name (*σαλτω*), it would suggest a fawning, cringing creature. In each case the name is admirably suited to the figure of *Sannio*.

AESCHINUS. The character and rôle of Aeschinus have been excellently outlined and discussed by Henr. Siess,<sup>44</sup> so that for the present purpose, there is need only to point out the individual elements. He has been reared  *pudore et liberalitate* (57); this is the cue to his character and action. When the play opens, he has already committed one *αλσος* (*uitiauit*, 467; *peccatum*, 687) against a free-born Athenian girl; until forced to confess, he commits an *αλσος* (*iniuriam*, 148; cf. 639 f.) against his father; in the second act he commits an *αλσος* against a free *leno*, which causes him to appear to commit an *αλσος* (*uitium*, 308) against Pamphila. In short,

<sup>39</sup> Prellwitz, s.v. *σαλτω*.

<sup>40</sup> Nonius, p. 61, 2, M. Cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* 4, 50.51; *Cic. De orat.* 2, 61, 251; *Epist.* 9, 16; *Arrian, Epikt.* 3, 22, 83; *Diod. Excerpt. Vat.* p. 129 D.

<sup>41</sup> *C.G.L.* 2, 374, 41; cf. 2, 178, 31; 493, 68; and the definition of *μῶκος* in *Simplicius*, on *Epict.* 22, p. 137.

<sup>42</sup> Munk, *Fab. Atell.* p. 38, n. 117; Bernhardt, *Röm. Lit.*<sup>3</sup> p. 447, n. 328; Dieterich, pp. 236 f.; Sand, *Harlequinade*, 1, 60. Winifred Smith, however, asserts that "the derivation of Zanni's name from the Bergamask abbreviation of Giovanni is now generally accepted" (*The Commedia dell' Arte*, 1912, p. 42, n.); this is indeed the derivation given by most of the modern dictionaries, such as those of Diez, Pianigiani, Skeat, Hoare, and Cappuccini, but at best the question is uncertain; cf. also Cerro, *Nel regno delle maschere*, 1914, pp. 122 f.

<sup>43</sup> There is the possibility of a word-play in verse 197, where *Sannio* plays upon his name: *minime miror qui insanire occipiunt ex iniuria*; the words are not only similar in sound, but also similar in meaning (*sannio: fatuus*), and, while not etymologically cognate, nevertheless fit in very well with the significance of the name *Sannio*. Compare *Plautus, Cist.* 517: *delenis*, a play upon *Melaenis*, and *Mil.* 366: *scelestes*, a play upon *Sceledrus* (Mendelssohn, p. 44). In regard to word-plays in Terence, it should be noted that only a few can be found: *Raebel* does not note any (*De Usu Adnominationis*, etc., pp. 55 ff.) and *Koenig*, (p. 4) finds but one, in *And.* 944: *Voluptatis*, a play upon *Glycerium*; cf. above, p. 37, n. 75.

<sup>44</sup> *W. St.* 29 (1907), 103 ff. Cf. *Spengel, Ad.*<sup>3</sup> p. 157; *Henry*, pp. 71 ff.

Aeschines commits four *αἰσχέα*, for two of which he feels great *αἰσχύνῃ*.<sup>46</sup> He also exhibits *αἰσχύνῃ*, though of a different sort, in his relations with Sostrata and Pamphila (471 ff.).

The name Aeschinus is the usual Latin form<sup>46</sup> of the exceedingly common and wide-spread Greek name *Αἰσχίνης*.<sup>47</sup> It is formed from *αἰσχος*, "shame, disgrace,"<sup>48</sup> originally, no doubt, merely "ugliness," with the suffix *-ῖνης*, denoting material or quality.<sup>49</sup>

The name, then, suggests a rôle that is made up of *αἰσχέα* or a character that possesses *αἰσχύνῃ*, or both. The significance of the name, therefore, is placed beyond question.<sup>50</sup>

BACCHIS. There can be no doubt that the name of the *meretrix* Bacchis, which stands in the Bembinus in the heading at 2, 1 (155), but which is lacking in all the other MSS., and is not found in the text of the play, was inserted by copyists from a character of the same rôle and name in the *Heauton, Hecyra*, and in Plautus' *Bacchides*.<sup>51</sup>

PARMENO. His is a very slight rôle, and that entirely in the scene from the *Συναποθνήσκοντες* of Diphilus. He is Aeschinus' faithful slave. His particular task is to stand near Sannio and prevent him from laying hands on the girl. This commission he fulfills, a little overzealously, in fact (173 f.). He then escorts the girl into Aeschinus' house.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> *Non me hanc rem patri indicasse*, 629 f., *me tui pudet*, 683.

<sup>47</sup> See Schmidt, p. 175, and Dziatzko-Kauer, p. 25.

<sup>48</sup> *Αἰσχύνῃ* is one of the clip-names of *Παλαισχύς*, Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> The etymology is uncertain; see Prellwitz, s.v.; Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>2</sup> 21, 479; Boisacq, s.v.

<sup>50</sup> Similar to suffix *-ῖος*, see above under Cratinus, p. 38. For the origin and history of masculines of the first declension in *-ης*, see Brugmann-Thumb, §§252, 1; 258, 2; 431, 2.

<sup>51</sup> If Lamprias were the original of Aeschinus (Gatzert, p. 23, and mentioned, without comment, by Poland, *N. J.* 33 (1914), 586, n. 2), it would be certain evidence that Terence changed the names of his originals from inappropriate to appropriate or from less appropriate to more appropriate. For Lamprias (from *λαμπρός*, "bright") is appropriate enough to one type of young man, but the name Aeschinus has the advantage of a peculiar significance for the character of the young men in question here, differentiating him from all others of his type. Compare Koenigshoff: "*Hoc igitur Terentius ni fallor spectavit in hac re, ut personis nomina inderet, quae eorum moribus magis responderent quam a Menandro imposita*" (p. 14).

<sup>52</sup> Haupt, *Opusc.* 3, 457; Spengel, *S.B.A.W.* 1883, 2, 259; Dziatzko, pp. xxxvii; Dziatzko-Kauer, p. 140; Watson, *H.St.* 14 (1903), 112, n. 1.

<sup>53</sup> It is uncertain whether or not Parmeno has a speaking part: in A and D the name appears in the scene-heading with the letter Γ; in verse 172 Kauer, following A and Umpfenbach, assigns *em serva* to Aeschinus, *omitte mulierem* to Parmeno (p. 154); Spengel, however, with considerable plausibility, feels that *omitte mulierem* suits Aeschinus better, and assigns *em serva* to Parmeno on the strength of a parallel in Plaut. *Pers.* 809 f.; C<sup>1</sup> E<sup>1</sup> G<sup>1</sup> P<sup>1</sup> L<sup>1</sup> D<sup>2</sup> assign all four words to Aeschinus; D<sup>1</sup> F<sup>1</sup> C<sup>2</sup> E<sup>2</sup> L<sup>2</sup> P<sup>2</sup> assign them to Parmeno; the first two words are assigned to Aeschinus by Donatus. See particularly Watson, who is inclined to accept, but without ample proof, the more usual view, assigning all four words to Aeschinus (*H. St.* 14 (1903), 127).

The name Παρμένων (-ωνος) is equivalent to the present participle of the verb παρα-μένω.<sup>53</sup> It is one of the commonest slave-names in comedy;<sup>54</sup> Parmeno is the typical faithful slave,<sup>55</sup> as loyal as Davos, but not as useful to his young master; he is a more stolid character. The one possible exception in Plautus' *Bacchides* (649) is only apparent: it is probable that *Parmenones* and *Syri* are not synonyms, but representative examples of two types of slaves, either one of which Chrysalus considers far inferior to himself.<sup>56</sup> Parmeno was a commonly used slave-name in Athens, and "natürlich konnten auch Freigelassene oder ihre Nachkommen so heißen,<sup>57</sup> allein da der Name doch geradezu typisch für Sklaven war, konnte kein Komiker einen freien Mann so benennen; daher irrt sich Kock gewaltig, wenn er 3, 43 meint, der Clinias im Hautont. habe bei Menander vielleicht Parmenon geheissen!" (Mras, p. 324). Gatzert, likewise, is mistaken when he (p. 49) considers Parmeno the name of an *adulescens* in three fragments of Menander: in fr. 407 Parmeno is the *servus bonae frugi* (Aul. Gell. 2, 23, 18); in fr. 481 Chairestratos is the name of one of the young men while that of his brother is either Moschion (Ribbeck, *Agroikos*, p. 11), or Aischines (Spengel, in Ribbeck, *C. R. F.*<sup>3</sup> pp. 54 f.), or Eutychos (Cic. *Pro Rosc. Am.* 16, 46); fr. 649 sounds very much like the words of a father confessing to his trusty slave some trouble that he has had with his son.<sup>58</sup>

The particular appropriateness of the name Parmeno for a trusty slave is further elucidated by the use of the verb παραμένω and its adjectives παραμόνιμος and παράμorus; the verb is often used of a slave who "remains by his master," as opposed to one who runs away (ἀποδιδράσκειν); the adjectives describe one of the prime virtues to be found in slaves.<sup>59</sup>

In the case of Parmeno in the *Adelphoe*, the name has an additional sig-

<sup>53</sup> Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 307, and Hirzel, *Der Name*, pp. 96 ff. See Breitenbach, p. 63, n. 164.

<sup>54</sup> See the list in Copalle, p. 50; Gatzert, p. 49; Mras, p. 324. Add Antiphanes, *Kuris*, fr. 128, K. 2, 63 (conj.); Men. *Heaut. fr.* 145, K. 3, 42 f. (conj.); Posidippus, *Syntrophi* (conj., Bethe, p. 693); New Comedy, *fr. inc.* 5, 45 (add. Sudhaus).

<sup>55</sup> Don. on *Ad.* 26, *fidelis Parmeno*.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Naudet, *Pl. Com.* note *ad loc.*; Schmidt, p. 199; Lambertz, 2, 5, n. 83.

<sup>57</sup> Aelian, *Ep.* 9; Alciphron, *Ep.* 2, 18, 1 (conj.). Add *Pros. Att.* 11639-43. See Hirzel, *Der Name*, pp. 69; 98.

<sup>58</sup> Breitenbach (*loc. cit.*) and Mras (*loc. cit.*) seem to take it for granted that in all these instances slaves are meant.

<sup>59</sup> εἶναι καὶ παραμόνιμον . . . (Xen. *Mem.* 2, 4, 5; 2, 10, 3). The explanation of the meaning of the name Parmeno given by Curtius (*Anecd. Delph.* p. 39) and accepted by Sondag (p. 62, n. 4), that Παρμένων is so named from παραμένω, "a staying with," used of the status of a *λεπιδούλος*, is unconvincing; one objection is especially patent: the inscription upon which Curtius bases his theory is of the second century (*I.G.* 7, 3322; see Kirchner in Pauly-Wissowa, 5, 793, s. v. *Diokles*, 21), while the name Παρμένων is at least as old as the 6th century B. C. (*I.G.A.* 378; see Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> p. 83).

nificance in that Aeschinus orders him to go up to Sannio and stand close beside him.<sup>60</sup>

SYRUS. As was suggested in the discussion of the name Geta in the *Phormio*, Syrus does not belong to the same class of crafty slaves as Davos and Geta. For, whereas the latter are usually at pains to explain the *raison d'être* of their machinations, with the view to justify their actions, and they are usually commanded or begged by their young masters to think up some scheme to help them out, Syrus feels no such scruples, nor does he wait for an invitation to set his trickery to work. "He would rather not tell the truth if he could help it";<sup>61</sup> and one lie or a simple lie is never enough for him (403 ff.). He unnecessarily and with malicious satisfaction makes sport of Demea (364 ff.; 521; 534 ff.), and scarcely seems kindly disposed toward Ctesipho, for he makes mock of him also (528). He is self-interested, eats and gets drunk (587 ff.), and in this state treats Demea with gross insolence (767 ff.); when the latter bursts into the house to find Ctesipho, Syrus, the guard, merely goes off to take a nap. He is a fit person to deal with Sannio; it is the old proverb: Σύροι πρὸς Φόινικας.<sup>62</sup>

The fact that Syrus is such a dyed-in-the-wool rascal, heightens the irony of Demea's lavish politeness (883 ff.) and the request for the emancipation of him and his wife (959 ff., 972 ff.), while the fact that Micio finally loses his patience and refuses to advance money to Syrus, may be indicative of his appreciation of the true character of the slave (981).

Indeed the rôle of Syrus is hardly essential to the plot; the most he does is to keep Demea out of the way for a little while so as to afford Ctesipho a quiet hour or two more of love-making. Outside of this, Syrus' part is to furnish comic by-play; the Greeks in the days of the New Comedy enjoyed a clever piece of deception or trickery, however wanton, fully as well as their ancestors enjoyed those "heroic liars," such as Autolycus, Odysseus, or Sinon.<sup>63</sup>

Syrus is an ethnic slave-name.<sup>64</sup> The source of Syrian slaves for the period prior to Alexander's conquest, at all events, was for the most part, undoubtedly, piracy and kidnapping. Two passages in the *Odyssey* (14, 295; 15, 415), a fragment of the *Neottis* of Antiphanes (K. 2, 79), and a

<sup>60</sup> *Hic propter hunc adsiste* (169): "Stand-by, stand by Sannio!"

<sup>61</sup> Henry, p. 83. His further statement, that Syrus so complicates the plot that Hegio is brought in to unravel it, seems to be unfounded.

<sup>62</sup> Phot. *Lex. s.v.* . . . ἐκάτερα τὰ ἔθνη διαβέβληται ὡς πανούργα. Cf. Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu Herondas*, p. 178.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Legrand, *Daos*, p. 401.

<sup>64</sup> Strabo, 7, 3, 12: ἡ τοῖς ἑθνεσιν ἐκείνοις ὁμωνύμους ἐκάλουν τοὺς οἰκείας ὡς Λυδὸν καὶ Σύρον. Cf. Helladius in Phot. *Bibl.* p. 532 b, 36 f.: ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους.

passage in Herondas<sup>66</sup> throw considerable light upon the Syrian slave trade.<sup>66</sup>

In Athens and other parts of Greece, *Zôpos* was the name of slaves and freedmen,<sup>67</sup> and in comedy the typical name for the tricky, untrustworthy slave.<sup>68</sup> The Romans also were familiar with Syrian slaves, and the *Syri*, the title of a *fabula Atellana* of Pomponius, may treat of the "*servorum genus vilissimum*," as Ribbeck suggests (C.R.F.<sup>3</sup> p. 303). The character and rôle of Syrus in the *Adelphoe*, therefore, lends support to Donatus' comment, *infidelis Syrus*,<sup>69</sup> and therein lies the appropriateness of the name.

**SYRISCUS.** In verse 763 Syrus comes under the influence of his *uillum*, and fondly addresses himself as Syruscus. This occurs as a real name in Menander's *Epitrepontes*, in Anaxippus' *Phrear* (fr. 8, K. 3, 308), and perhaps in the *Eunuchus* (772).<sup>70</sup> In the *Adelphoe*, it is clearly an endearing diminutive of Syrus: "Syrus, old dear."<sup>71</sup>

**CTESIPHO.** This is the name of the young lover in the secondary plot, a foil to Aeschinus. His rôle may be best understood and his character appreciated by realizing that his strict up-bringing under the eye and hand of such a father as Demea would not tend to produce a strong character,<sup>72</sup> and that this is probably his first love-affair, his first peccadillo.<sup>73</sup> For the acquisition and enjoyment of this love he is indebted to his brother Aeschinus, who takes upon himself the entire blame. Ctesipho is afraid of his father, and is prepared any moment to be required to give up the girl (283). He cannot tell a lie, however, not even a *Nollüge*, to save himself

<sup>66</sup> Crusius, *op. cit.*, on mime 2, 17.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Wallon, *Hist. de l'Esclavage*,<sup>2</sup> 1, 168 ff., and Richter, *Die Sklaverei*, 1886, p. 50.

<sup>68</sup> Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Dittenberger, *Herm.* 42 (1907), 212 f.; Lambertz, 1, 16.18; Copalle, pp. 58 f.; add *I.G.* 12,<sup>2</sup> 178, 2; 12,<sup>3</sup> 483.888; Kirchner in *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 1,96 (p. 128); *B.C.H.* 37(1913), 221, no. 30 (Chios, early 4th cent.).

<sup>69</sup> *infidelis uel Syrus uel Geta*, Don. on *Ad.* 26. Add to Gatzert (pp. 14; 51): *Ryland Pap.* 16 (Schröder, p. 58). Cf. Breitenbach, p. 107, and n. 286. For Geta, however, see above, p. 28, where Donatus' error is demonstrated.

<sup>70</sup> Siess' characterization of Syrus seems to be somewhat too favorable; he makes too much out of the last scene where, certainly, the characters of Demea and Syrus are not seen in their true light (*W. St.* 29 (1907), 107 f.).

<sup>71</sup> *diminutivum est a Syro*, Don. on *Eun.* 774. Cf. Dziatzko-Kauer, p. 114. It also occurs in inscriptions, see Lambertz, p. 17; Copalle, p. 58. For the corresponding feminine *Surisca*, see Vergil, *Copa*, 1, where the name is also in keeping with the usage here.

<sup>72</sup> *Syriscum se dicit, non Syrum*, τὸ βρομοπλαγίον, Don. on *Ad.* 763. For the diminutive suffix -σκω-, see Janson, *N. J. Suppl.* 5 (1864/72), 247 ff.; Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>1</sup>, 501 f.; also the special study of Petersen: *The Greek Diminutive Suffix -σκω-, -σκης* (*Trans. Connect. Acad. Sci.* 18 (1913), 139-207).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.*<sup>3</sup> 1, 153.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 106.



from his father's wrath (527 ff.). He hopes, to be sure, that Demea will get so tired out that he will have to stay in bed for three days, but his wish is conditioned by *quod cum salute eius fiat* (519). On the whole, Ctesipho is not a bad character: simple-minded, timorous and helpless, to be sure, but withal "im Grunde seines Herzens gut und unverdorben."<sup>74</sup>

The name Κτησιφῶν is composed of κτησι-, the stem of κτήσις, abstract noun from κτάομαι, "acquire, possess,"<sup>75</sup> and -φῶν, which may bear the root meaning "light" or "shine," or perhaps "speak," or may be merely a suffix (see above under the name Antipho, pp. 30 f). The name was not very common in Athens or other parts of Greece,<sup>76</sup> and in comedy this seems to be the only occurrence.

It is not at all inconceivable that Ctesipho was named by his father with special reference to κτήσις, and hence the name would be appropriate to Ctesipho as the heir to a farm, the model son who is supposed to attend strictly to business and lead a thrifty and sober life in the country (95), and also appropriate to him "als ansprechenden Typus des *rusticus adulescens*."<sup>77</sup> The name may also be suggestive of the young man who is seen coming upon the stage *laetus de amica* (252 f.), and who is in raptures because he possesses such a brother as Aeschinus.<sup>78</sup>

SOSTRATA. Sostrata is a widow, the mother of Pamphila, poor and lonely, dependent, apparently, upon her slave Geta for the necessities of life (292, 481 f.). Although quite womanly (330), she has considerable strength of character, and is firmly resolved to guard her respectability and her daughter's honor (342 ff.). She is *proba et modesta*, a suitable match, so Demea and Aeschinus seem to think, for Micio (930).<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Spengel, *Ad.* 3 p. 158, who accepts Lessing's masterly characterization of Ctesipho's character (*Hamb. Dram.* 98 St., 10, 199 f.). Similarly Dziatzko-Kauer, p. 3, and Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 105 ff., against Teuffel, *Stud. u. Char.* 2 p. 360 who calls him a "Duckmäuser."

<sup>75</sup> ἁκρωτεπλος-type of compound. See Brugmann-Delbrück, 2<sup>1</sup>, 64 f.

<sup>76</sup> *Pros. Att.* 8891-8902; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; *I.G.* 2, 3795; *I.G.* 2, 775; Robinson, *A.J.P.* 31 (1910), 395; Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 4444, 54 (Sparta); Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3, 70 (index).

<sup>77</sup> Ribbeck, *Agroikos*, p. 11. It should be noted, however, that this is not borne out, as in the case of Demea, ἄγροικος, by the parlance test, for of the 21 plebeian words used by the young men in the *Adelphoe*, 15 are by Aeschinus and only 6 by Ctesipho, and, discounting the fact that Aeschinus speaks three times as many lines and parts of lines as Ctesipho, the young men are still so nearly equal in this respect that no argument can be deducted from this evidence (Tschernjaew, *De Sermone Terentii plebeio*, index).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *habere* (258), *habeam* (270) with κτάομαι.

<sup>79</sup> G. E. W. van Hille's harsh words about Sostrata: "nam mater lenae partes agens — alio enim nomine eius operam aut indulgentiam significare non possum, quoniam de vi illata (308 coll. 470) nil credo . . ." (*Mnem.* 30 (1902) 135 f.), are absolutely unjust and unwarranted by her own conduct in the play, by her reputation (930), and by the example of all *matronae* in comedy.

The name *Σωστράτη* is composed of the stem *σω-* and *στράτη*.<sup>80</sup> The meaning of the compound, however, is not clear: it may be "having a sound army," or "making a safe campaign," or "saving the host." *σω-* and its by-forms are very common as first members of compound personal names, and *-στρατος*, *-στράτη* are very common as second members.<sup>81</sup>

Sostrata is a name of good omen,<sup>82</sup> and, as such, is suitable to a respectable *matrona*. Furthermore, the first part of the name may be suggestive of her part in saving her household from dishonor and continued poverty.<sup>83</sup> The last part of the name, also, may conceivably be suggestive of her "safe and sound campaign" to save herself and household (344 ff.),<sup>84</sup> but Steiger's view (above, n. 82) seems to offer the best explanation for the selection of this particular designation.

CANTHARA. The character of the nurse Canthara is but slightly portrayed, and the other two personages in comedy by the name of Canthara are even less fully characterized.<sup>85</sup> In the *Adelphoe*, she is a kind, sympathetic old servant, respectful and faithful to her mistress. She possesses one of the traits typical of old crones in comedy, garrulity,<sup>86</sup> and, though there is no direct evidence in the text, it is to be assumed that she also possesses the other typical trait of her class, tippling,<sup>87</sup> for such behavior on the part of nurses did not seem to interfere with the faithful performance of their duties.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See above under Sophrona and Nausistrata (p. 41).

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Fick-Bechtel, pp. 255 f., 257 ff.; Bechtel, *Alt. Fr.* p. 33; *Hist. Pers.* pp. 408 ff., 413 ff. It is conceivable that in the case of some names, at least, the precise meaning was not understood by the Greeks, and in others, perhaps, that were formed by analogy, there is no consistent meaning. A detailed study of all the Greek personal names formed with *σω-* and *-στρατος* might reveal the feelings which the Greeks had in regard to them.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Sostratus, Achaean hero, Robinson, *A. J. P.* 31 (1910), 400. See Höfer in Roscher, 3, 2718 s.v. Polystratus. Cf. Steiger in regard to Aristoph. *Ecd.* 41: "Mir scheint der Name *Σωστράτη* nur der guten Vorbedeutung wegen vom Dichter gewählt zu sein" (p. 6).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Spengel, *Ad.* 3 p. 163; Gustarelli, p. li.

<sup>84</sup> As Gatzert suggests (p. 55), if verse 92 of *fr. 6 Hieck Pap.* *ἐπὶ στρατοῦ* [δου], refers to Sostratus, then it may be the name of the soldier; in that case the name would be appropriate to the "savior of the host."

<sup>85</sup> Plaut. *Epid.* 567; Ter. *And.* 769. In the *Heauton* the Bembinus gives the name of the *nutrix* as Canthara in the scene-heading 4, 1 (614), though she is nowhere named in the text, and the MSS. other than A have only the rôle-title. It is evident that some copyist has taken liberties with the Bembine heading, as in *Eun.* 5, 5 (971) and *Ad.* 2, 1 (155). See Spengel, *S.P.A.W.* 1883, 2, 258; Watson, *H. St.* 14 (1903), 112; Kauer, *W. St.* 28(1906), 117.

<sup>86</sup> Verse 624 and Don. *utpote anxi*. Cf. Men. *fr.* 66, K. 3, 22.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Legrand, *Daos*, p. 132, with references there cited, and especially Eubulus, *fr.* 80-82, K. 2, 192.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Sister Mary Rosaria Gorman, *The Nurse in Greek Life*, 1917, p. 32.

The name *Κανθήρα* is the feminine of *Κάνθαρος*,<sup>89</sup> which originally meant "beetle," then acquired several derived meanings, the commonest of which is that of a certain kind of drinking vessel.<sup>90</sup> As a historical name *Κανθήρα* is extremely rare,<sup>91</sup> but *Κάνθαρος* occurs rather frequently.<sup>92</sup>

There are several possible explanations of the name *Κανθήρα* as applied to an old servant or a nurse: (1) with reference to the Greek proverb *κανθήρου σοφώτερος* (Philemon, *Thes. fr.* 33, K. 2, 487), and the old fable of the eagle and the beetle (Aesop, 7), *Canthara* may signify the clever, crafty woman;<sup>93</sup> (2) inasmuch as *κάνθαρος* was used for the scarab as a piece of feminine adornment (Antiphanes, *fr.* 61, K. 2, 36) it has been suggested that *Canthara* may be so called because she wore such an ornament;<sup>94</sup> (3) the name may also signify the filthy, squalid woman, in view of the meaning of *κάνθαρος* as "the dung-beetle;"<sup>95</sup> (4) "da Cantharus ein breites, bauchiger Gefäss ist, deutet das wort vielleicht auf eine wohlbeleibte, breite Körper-gestalt der Nutrices;"<sup>96</sup> (5) *ἀπὸ τοῦ κανθήρου, a poculo, quod nutrix infanti praeberet potum;*<sup>97</sup> (6) the name *Κανθήρα*, from *κάνθαρος*, "drinking cup or tankard," is appropriate to the typical nurse and old crone "die mit dem *κάνθαρος* Freundschaft geschlossen hat."<sup>98</sup> In the comic poets the word *κάνθαρος* meaning "cup" is frequently used (Athen. 11, 473d ff.), and nearly every occurrence of the word in Latin has this same meaning, so that the connection is almost certainly with "drinking cup," and the connotation is that of the not uncommon bibulousness of nurses.

The name *Canthara*, therefore, is appropriate to the typical nurse in

<sup>89</sup> The etymology is unknown. Boisacq suggests a possible connection with *καρθός*, "corner of the eye." The etymology given by Suidas is fanciful.

<sup>90</sup> Athen. 11, 474d; Hesych. s.v.: *ποτηρίου εἶδος*.

<sup>91</sup> Collitz-Bechtel, 2, 1348, 3.4.8: *Κανθήρα* (Epirus).

<sup>92</sup> *Pros. Aθ.* 8247 f.; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; *I.G.A.* 20, 52 (conj.); Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 3119d; 4262b, 28; 5727c, 30/31.

<sup>93</sup> Bechtel, *Spitzn.* p. 57; *Aθ. Fr.* p. 96; *Hist. Pers.* pp. 582, 589. Cf., however, Don. on *Ad.* 288: *namque illius nutrix est, quippe anicula est, neque sapientior nutrix est quam domina sua.*

<sup>94</sup> Pape-Benseler, s.v. *Κάνθαρος*; Koenig, p. 25; properly dismissed by Spengel, *Ad.*<sup>3</sup> p. 163.

<sup>95</sup> Arist. *Hist. An.* 552a, 16 ff., b, 1; this is a suggestion of Bechtel, *Aθ. Fr.* p. 96, who admits it is uncertain.

<sup>96</sup> Spengel, *Ad.*<sup>3</sup> p. 163. A *kantharos*, however, would not readily suggest a broad, rotund woman. Compare a picture of one, Hopkin, *Handbook*, 1919, 1, 233.

<sup>97</sup> Farnabius (quoted in Koenig), Schrevelius (quoted in Schmieder), and Ellius; condemned by Koenig, p. 25.

<sup>98</sup> Bechtel, *Aθ. Fr.* pp. 96 f., who also cites the parallel *Χώνη*, the nickname of Diotimus of Athens; cf. Spengel on *And.* 769; Spengel, *Ad.*<sup>3</sup> p. 163, who thinks that this explanation does not fit *Canthara* in the *Adelphoe*; Schmidt, p. 181, who compares *Scapha* in the *Mostellaria*; Gatzert p. 43; Mras, p. 326. This seems to be the only adequate interpretation of the name; it certainly is the most obvious one.

comedy who is faithful to her mistress, and withal addicted to the cup that cheers.

**GETA.** Geta is the faithful slave of Sostrata, the mainstay of the household (291 ff.). He repeatedly identifies himself with the family (301, 324, 326). He is very respectful to Sostrata (350) and Hegio (448). He fully merits the commendation which that gentleman bestows upon him *ut captus est seruorum, non malus neque iners* (480 f.), and also even, in considerable part, the extravagant praise of Demea (891 ff.).

For the appropriateness of the name see the discussion apropos of its use in the *Phormio* (above, pp. 26 ff.).

**HEGIO.** He is a kinsman of Pamphila, and her father's closest friend (352, 465, 494, 947). He exhibits initiative and firmness in his resolve to prove loyal to the memory of his friend (492 ff.), and the trust which he received from him (457). He is apparently poor (948), but is by no means abashed or cowed in the presence of the rich and influential (500 ff., 604 ff.). From the moment he enters the stage, he takes a leading part in the action (454, 604). He takes charge of the affairs of Sostrata and Pamphila; he commands Demea and Micio (490 ff., 601).<sup>99</sup>

The appropriateness of the name, therefore, as derived from ἡγεμῆαι, "lead," is placed beyond all doubt (see above, in the *Phormio*, pp. 37 f.).

**PAMPHILA.** She is a free-born girl of poor but respectable parents. She has been wronged by a wealthy gentleman's son, who, however, had promised to marry her, and accordingly she had remained for ten months as the faithful mistress of Aeschinus (333 f., 471 ff.). Sostrata is at pains to insist upon her own innocence and respectability and that of her daughter (348 f.).

The name Pamphila, the meaning of which is discussed in connection with Pamphila in the *Phormio* (above, pp. 43 f.), is appropriate to the faithful mistress and bride-to-be of Aeschinus.

**DROMO.** Dromo and Stephanio are probably kitchen-slaves in the household of Micio (376, 380).<sup>100</sup> The headings in MSS. of all classes assign the name Dromo to the rôle *puer* (act 5, scene 2), but there is no ground for this since the name does not occur in the text; in fact, Stephanio might have been given to this rôle.<sup>101</sup> This is undoubtedly another example of arbitrary assignment.<sup>102</sup> The name Dromo, perhaps, from its etymological

<sup>99</sup> Hegio's rôle is discussed in detail by van Hille (*Mnem.* 30 (1902), 134 ff.).

<sup>100</sup> The rôle-title *cocus* in the Bembine heading at 3, 3 (355), is an error, explained by Watson, *H. St.* 14 (1903), 127 f.

<sup>101</sup> See Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 118, n. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Bacchis, above, p. 53, and Canthara, above, p. 58, n. 85, n. 2.

meaning "the runner,"<sup>108</sup> may have been favored by the author of the headings, or a later copyist, as being more appropriate to the errand-boy who is sent by Ctesipho to get Syrus. The name as used by Terence, however, has no significance so far as the rôle or character is concerned; it is merely appropriate to one of the numerous boy-slaves in the household of Micio, who may be the errand-boy or simply a kitchen-slave.

**STORAX.** The *Adelphoe* opens with the word 'Storax.' That it is the name of a slave of Micio is made certain by the scholium,<sup>109</sup> and by the comment of Donatus.<sup>108</sup> The latter is also the authority for the generally accepted interpretation of the action, namely, in the words of Kauer: "Micio ruft, in der Tür sich umwendend, nach dem Sklaven Storax, einem der *aduersitores* (27) seines Pflegesohnes Äschinus" (*Ad.* on 26). Another explanation, that of Spengel, is based upon the scholium, namely: Storax comes out with Micio and listens mutely to his long speech. Objections have been raised to both of these explanations by Kroll, who, however, is inclined for the present to be content with the former.<sup>108</sup>

The name Storax, Greek *Στύραξ*,<sup>107</sup> is the Greek loan-word *στύραξ*, "sweet-scented Syrian resin," from the Semitic *šēri*, *šūri*, *šūru*.<sup>108</sup> The name is exceptionally rare both in Greek and in Latin.<sup>109</sup> Inasmuch as there is another common noun, *στύραξ* (\**sthrā*, "raise"),<sup>110</sup> signifying the spike at the lower end of a spear shaft, it has been suggested that herein constitutes the significance of the name *Στύραξ*, especially as applied to a dog.<sup>111</sup> The more obvious significance, however, is the former, especially in view of the existence in Latin of the noun *styrax* or *storax* meaning the styrax tree or the resin therefrom.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, the name Storax is particu-

<sup>108</sup> *δρόμος*, "running" (<*δραμεῖν*, *δρόμος*), with the suffix *-ων* (see above p. 38). Cf. Helladius in Phot. *Bibl.* p. 532b, 39 f. Dromo is a common slave-name and is occasionally used as the name of an errand-boy (Mras, pp. 423 f.); in the *Adelphoe*, 376 ff., Dromo is not, probably, a *cocus*, but a kitchen-slave, the cook's assistant, it may be.

<sup>109</sup> Schlee, pp. 149 f.

<sup>110</sup> Don. on *Ad.* 26, 3.

<sup>111</sup> *Rh. Mus.* 60 (1905), 313 f. A third explanation may be suggested: Micio comes out of his house, looks up and down the street calling *Storax*, and upon seeing no one nor getting an answer, he begins a monologue.

<sup>112</sup> For the change of vowel, see Fleckeisen, *N.J.* 93 (1866), 10; Corssen, *Vokal.* 2, 81 f.; Kroll, *loc. cit.*

<sup>113</sup> Muss-Arnolt, *T.A.P.A.* 23 (1892), 117; Boisacq, *s.v.*, against Olshausen, *Herm.* 14 (1879), 145 ff., followed by Grasberger, p. 141.

<sup>114</sup> Bechtel, *Spitsn.* p. 82; Kroll, *loc. cit.* Add *Pap. Soc. Ital.* 4, 332, 30; 398, 9.

<sup>115</sup> Prellwitz and Boisacq, *s.v.*

<sup>116</sup> Xen. *Cyn.* 7, 5; Bechtel, *loc. cit.* Cf. Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*; Bechtel, *A.H. Fr.* p. 123; *Hist. Pers.* p. 607. This is properly rejected for the slave-name by Dziatzko-Kauer, p. 31.

<sup>117</sup> *Puer ab odore Storax*, Don. on *Ad.* 26. Similarly Dziatzko-Kauer, *ad loc.*; Bechtel, *Spitsn.* p. 82, who suggests this as an alternative explanation; Cosack, *Lessings hamb. Dramat.* p. 400. Koenig, following Muretus, has misconstrued the comment of Donatus, and hence regards the name as appropriate *per antiphrasin* (p. 32).

larly appropriate to a fragrant little slave in the household of the dainty Micio, one of the *aduersitores*, no doubt, who escorted Aeschinus home from his banquets.

SIMULUS *nomen patris puellae est, diminutium a Simo uel a Simone* (Don. on *Ad.* 352). He was poor, but respectable, a close friend of Hegio, and an acquaintance of Demea and Micio. Simulus is a pet-name from *σῆμψ*, "snub-nosed,"<sup>113</sup> with the diminutive suffix *-υλο-*.<sup>114</sup> *Σιμόλος* is the name of four Athenian citizens (*Pros. Att.* 12680-3), of a *senex rusticus* (Aelian, *Ep.* 10), and of the misogynist in Menander's *Misogynes*.<sup>115</sup> The name Simulus, then, is not inappropriate to a rather humble, but respectable citizen who is spoken of by the *dramatis personae* with the utmost affection and regard.<sup>116</sup>

STEPHANIO. He is a kitchen-slave in the household of Micio (380). The name is a diminutive formation from *στέφανος*, "wreath," similar to *Φορμίων* (above, p. 34). *Στέφανος* is a very common name, both of free men<sup>117</sup> and of slaves.<sup>118</sup> Stephanio is the name of a slave in Turpilius' *Epiclerus* (p. 106, R.);<sup>119</sup> Stephanium is the name of a maid servant in the *Stichus* of Plautus.<sup>120</sup> The name Stephanio, like Storax, is appropriate for a dainty slave, significant of the delicacy and luxury of Micio's mode of life.

CRATINUS. Cratinus is the name of some well-known rich man.<sup>121</sup> It was chosen no doubt to signify a man of power and influence, the natural concomitant of wealth.<sup>122</sup>

BABYLO. If this is a personal name,<sup>123</sup> it is undoubtedly a jocular or

<sup>113</sup> On snub noses, compare a recent article by Knapp, *C.W.* 14 (1920/21), 137 f.

<sup>114</sup> Brugmann-Thumb, p. 231; cf. Koenig, pp. 16, 22; Fick-Bechtel, p. 27; Bechtel, *Spitzn.* pp. 25 f., and *Hist. Pers.* pp. 490 f., where there is a long list of names from *σῆμψ*; Dziatko-Kauer, on *Ad.* 352; Spengel, on *Ad.* 352.

<sup>115</sup> This point is uncertain, for *Δημίας* is the name of the old man in one fragment (Stob. *Flor.* 108, 44, M.); Meineke suggests *Δημόλε* (*C.G.F.* 4, 165), but retains *Σιμόλε* in the text, followed by Kock (3, 94), and Wachsmuth-Hense (*Stob. Anth.* 5, 968). At any rate, Gatzert is mistaken in supposing *Σιμόλος* to be the name of a young man in this fragment (pp. 18, 24); "*ex quinto versu nomen istius mulierum osoris disceremus*" (Mein. 4, 164).

<sup>116</sup> One may compare Simulus, the hero of the *Moretum*, a humble but self-respecting peasant. There the name is surely Greek in origin, and its etymological significance is fixed by the pun in line 108: *simo . . . voltu*.

<sup>117</sup> *Pros. Att.* 12877-93; Sundwall, p. 153; Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 4833, 9; 4, 4679 (p. 756); *et al.*

<sup>118</sup> Lambertz, 2, 18; Copalle, p. 57. See Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 405.

<sup>119</sup> "Der vertraute Sklave," Herzog, *Herm.* 51 (1916), 314.

<sup>120</sup> See Schmidt, p. 208.

<sup>121</sup> *Scin Cratini huius diis aedis? Scio* (581).

<sup>122</sup> Compare Cratinus in the *Phormio*, above, p. 38.

<sup>123</sup> Kauer has made an excellent study of this word, attempting to prove that it is not a proper noun, but "eine Weiterbildung der Interjektion *babae*," and refers not to Micio but to Syrus (*Festschr. d. W. St. Bormanns*, 1902, p. 305 ff.; *Ad.* p. 193). Since the explanation has not been accepted by subsequent scholars (such as Spengel, Ashmore,

derisive nickname of Micio, referring to his wealth and extravagance,<sup>124</sup> like the use of the term "Nabob"; and as such, is also a significant name.

PHRYGIA. This is the name of the wife or *contubernalis* of the slave Syrus, who was the first to nurse Pamphila's baby, and for whose freedom Syrus asks after his own had been extorted from Micio (973). She has neither character nor a rôle in the play.

Phrygia is an ethnic slave-name, rather uncommon in Greece, both in inscriptions and in literature.<sup>125</sup> It is found on an Attic inscription of about the sixth century B.C.,<sup>126</sup> and the masculine Φρύξ appears on a Corinthian vase, 650–550 B.C.<sup>127</sup> The servant of Helen in Euripides' *Orestes* is designated Φρύξ, though there it is doubtless a pure *ethnikon* rather than a personal name.<sup>128</sup> Aristophanes did not name any important character in his comedies Φρύξ or Φρυγία,<sup>129</sup> nor did Menander, at least in the extant portions of his plays.<sup>130</sup>

The Greek estimation of the Phrygians may be gathered not only from the *Orestes* of Euripides, wherein a Phrygian eunuch in a long passage illustrates the reputed pusillanimity, effeminacy and treachery of the oriental peoples, but likewise from a fragment of Epicharmus: ἡ παῖσαι <τυ> βάκτρῳ καλίνῳ κατὰ τὰ σκύτα Φρύξ ἀνὴρ,<sup>131</sup> and the associated proverb: Φρύξ ἀνὴρ πληγείς ἀμεινων καὶ διακονέστερος, which appears in Herondas,<sup>132</sup> and in the paroemiographers, who variously interpret it: ἐπεὶ δοκοῦσιν ἀργότεροι καὶ πωχελέστεροι εἶναι οἱ Φρύγες οἰκέται;<sup>133</sup> πωθοὶ γὰρ δοκοῦσιν οἱ Φρύγες οἰκέται;<sup>134</sup> πωθοὶ γὰρ οἱ Φρύγες ἐπεὶ τις πόλεμος αὐτοῖς ἐπεγένετο ἄριστα μετεβλήθησαν;<sup>135</sup> also from a fragment of the *Phormophoroi* of Hermippus, where someone, in enumerating the blessings of Dionysus, says: ἀνδράποδ' ἐκ Φρυγίας,<sup>136</sup> and finally from a proverb: δειλότερον δὲ λαγῶ Φρυγός.<sup>137</sup>

Wahrmann (*W. St.* 30 (1908), 79), Gustarelli, Dziatzko-Hauler, p. 75), it is best to regard Babylo, for the time being at least, as a personal name, despite the doubt which has been cast upon it.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Wyss, *Sprichwörter*, p. 24; Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 52.

<sup>125</sup> See Schmidt, p. 201; Breitenbach, p. 107, n. 287; Copalle, p. 62; Roscher, s.v.; Gatzert, p. 45; Terzaghi, p. 148.

<sup>126</sup> Lolling, *Karál.* 1, 13, no. 44 (Bechtel, *Au. Fr.* p. 58).

<sup>127</sup> *I. G.* 4, 348.

<sup>128</sup> The origin of "der einzelname aus dem wirklichen Ethnikon" is here indicated: δ Φρύξ came to be called Φρύξ.

<sup>129</sup> Φρύξ, *Birds* 762, 1244; *Wasps*, 433.

<sup>130</sup> *Fr.* 940, K. 3, 243; Plaut., *Aul.* 333.

<sup>131</sup> *Add.* 100, a, Kaibel, *C.G.F.* p. vii.

<sup>132</sup> *Mimes*, 2, 100; cf. Crusius, *Untersuchungen*, p. 49, and Herondas, 1914, *ad. loc.*

<sup>133</sup> Suidas, s.v.; Apostolius, 18, 1, Leutsch-Schneidewin.

<sup>134</sup> Greg. Cypr. L. 3, 24, Leutsch-Schneidewin.

<sup>135</sup> Miller, *Mélanges*, p. 378. For the proverb in Latin, see Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 278.

<sup>136</sup> *Fr.* 63, K. 1, 243; cf. Göbel, *Ethnica*, p. 54.

<sup>137</sup> Strabo, 1, 2, 30 (36).

It is obvious that oriental slaves, however much they differed among themselves, were regarded as distinct from other types, notably the northern slaves.<sup>128</sup> A Greek or Roman audience, then, might conceivably feel a certain humor and significance in the fact that Syrus has a wife whose name is Phrygia.<sup>129</sup> Other than this, the name is appropriate to her as a typical menial.

<sup>128</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>129</sup> Copalle seems to hint at this: "*Serva, marita, Syri* (!)" (p. 62).



#### IV. ANDRIA

SIMO. The character of Simo, one of the old men in the *Andria*, has been studied, in considerable detail, by Henr. Siess;<sup>1</sup> his thesis, that Simo is individualized within his type, is sound, and well substantiated. He fails, however, to regard two important traits in Simo which add to the "Menge individueller Züge, die ihm zu einer ganz originellen Persönlichkeit machen," namely: conceited cock-sureness, and lack of dignity. The former trait he shares to a certain degree with others of his type,<sup>2</sup> but the latter is peculiar to him, making him a comic old man, one who stoops to banter with his slaves, and to try to beat them at their own tricks.<sup>3</sup> That this is an essential element in Simo's character, may be seen from the fact that the major portion of five scenes<sup>4</sup> is devoted to dialogues between Simo and his slave Davos. Furthermore, Simo does not exhibit even the rudiments of dignity and gentlemanly courtesy to the stranger, Crito, a friend of Chremes (908 ff.). His witticism at Davos' punishment is likewise beneath the dignity of a true gentleman (954).<sup>5</sup>

The name Σίμων is derived from σῆμνος,<sup>6</sup> "snub-nosed," with the common suffix -ων (above, p. 38). It was frequently used at Athens, and in other parts of Greece, from the sixth century on.<sup>7</sup> In comedy it was a typical name for an old man.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *W. St.* 28 (1906), 231 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Demipho (*Phormio*) and Demea (*Adelphoe*). The type is ἡγεμῶν πρεσβύτης (Siess, *loc. cit.*; Robert, *Die Masken*, p. 29; Roth, p. 42).

<sup>3</sup> Compare the similar character and action of Simo in Plaut. *Pseud.*, especially in verses 507 ff., and 896 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Act 1, sc. 2; act 2, sc. 6; act 3, sc. 2; sc. 4; act 5, sc. 2.

<sup>5</sup> The inconsistency in character between Simo in the first scene and in subsequent scenes is to be explained by the fact that the first scene is taken from the *Perinthia* of Menander, and also may contain an allegory of Terence's relations to his patron, who is represented as a high type of gentleman; see Jacoby, *Herm.* 34 (1909), 362 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Σίμων from σῆμνος, Σῆμος; cf. Μῆκων beside Μῆκος; see Bechtel, *Spitzn.* p. 9, n. 3. In his first edition of the *Andria*, Spengel rejected the derivation of Σίμων from σῆμνος (p. xiii), but in the second, he is inclined to accept it (p. xiv).

<sup>7</sup> *Pros. Att.* 12684-12709; Sundwall, pp. 151 f.; *I.G.A.* 372, 95 (Styra); Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*; Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 4616, 1, 16 (Laconia, late 4th cent.); 5284 (Apollonia); *et al.* The whole name-group connected with σῆμνος is very wide-spread; see the lists in Fick-Bechtel, p. 251; Bechtel, *Spitzn.* pp. 25 f., *Att. Fr.* pp. 42 f., and *Hist. Pers.* pp. 401, 490 f.; add Σιμάριστος (*I.G.* 9<sup>a</sup>, 67, 4, Lamian archon; *Flinders Petrie Pap.* 3, 40 b, I, 1); Σιμυλίων (*I. G.* 12<sup>a</sup>, 369, Mytilene).

<sup>8</sup> Schmidt, p. 207; Gatzert, p. 19; add *Oxyrh. Pap.* 11 (5, 43, Schröder). There seems to be one exception, though it is not at all certain: *fr. inc. inc.* 2 (p. 132 R.); see Gatzert, p. 25.

In addition to its obvious etymological meaning, the name *Σίμων* had a bad connotation from comparatively early times. The comic poets, the physiognomists<sup>9</sup> and the paroemiographers unite in attesting the disrepute into which it had fallen.<sup>10</sup> But that the name early lost its sting may be surmised from an inscription<sup>11</sup> which shows that a man by the name of *Σιμωνίδας* named his son *Σίμων*, perhaps after his grandfather.<sup>12</sup> Or again, *Σιμωνίδης* might be familiarly called *Σίμων*.<sup>13</sup> Or a parvenu might change his name from the vulgar *Σίμων* to the high-sounding *Σιμωνίδης*,<sup>14</sup> evidence, at least, that short names were not in vogue in the best society in the second century after Christ and perhaps earlier.

In Latin, moreover, the word *simia*, "ape," also named from *σῆμῆς*, "snub-nosed," may have influenced to some extent the meaning which a typical audience would see in the names *Simo* and *Simus*.<sup>15</sup>

The name *Simo*, therefore, is particularly appropriate to a comic old man, who has none of the dignity, courtesy, or honor of a true gentleman, but who stoops to play the part of a fellow-trickster with his slave *Davos*.

*SOSIA.* *Sosiae persona protatica est, ut est Davi in Phormione.*<sup>16</sup> He is characterized by *fides* and *taciturnitas* (34), and, having served *liberaliter* (38), he is now a trusted freedman (37). He proves to be a sympathetic interlocutor, and is as fond of moralizing as the typical slave in comedy (60 f., 67 f.).

*Sosia* is a Greek name, *Σωσίας*, derived from the stem of the aorist infinitive *σῴσαι* of *σα[ρ]ῶ* "save" (cf. *σῶς*, *σῶζω*), with the suffix *-ias*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Robert, *Die Masken*, p. 34.

<sup>10</sup> This general significance of the name *Σίμων* is fully discussed and the more important literature cited, by Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu Herondas*, p. 60. For the reference to *Σῆμος*, a satyr-name, see Höfer in Roscher, s.v. Cf. the discussion of the name *Σιμωνίδα* (Aristoph. *Ach.* 524) by Steiger, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *I.G.*<sup>2</sup>, 864, III 9 = *Pros. Att.* 12707 (early 4th cent.).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bechtel, *Spitzn.* p. 6. In a similar manner may be explained many complimentary and ill-omened personal names, both in Greek and in Latin, such as, e.g., *Στράβων*, *Κόλλων*, *Balbus*, *Paetus*, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Pindar, *Pyth. arg.* 2a, 298, Boeckh = *Pros. Att.* 12685; Bergk, *P.L.Gr.*<sup>4</sup> 2, 233, n., citing Eustath. on *Od.* 1653, 35, previously cited by Pape-Benseler, s.v. *Σίμων*; similarly, Bekker, *Anecd. gr.* p. 856, cited by Fick-Bechtel, p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> Lucian, *Somn.* 14. See Crusius, *N.J.* 143 (1891), 394, who mentions the Cynic association of the name *Σίμων* derived from the pupil of Socrates by that name (see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Herm.* 14 (1878/9), 187 ff.).

<sup>15</sup> The word-play on *simulo* (48, 472, 500, 588), emphasizing *Simo*'s pretending, fits in very well with the significance of the name.

<sup>16</sup> Don. on *And.* 28, 6. See Jacoby, *Ein Selbstzeugnis des Terenz*, in *Hermes*, 44 (1909), 362 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Literally: "the man who has the quality of *σῶσις*, 'salvation,' the man with whom things are safe and sound." Cf. Fick-Bechtel, p. 260, Hoffmann, *Gr. Dialekte*, 3, 456, and Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 416 f.: it is a "Kurzname."

Even though it is a name of good omen,<sup>18</sup> yet it is not an aristocratic name, at least not sufficiently aristocratic for the social aspirations of a parvenu who first changed it into Sostratos, then into Sosidemios.<sup>19</sup> It is reasonably certain that the name was originally that of a free man, for the earliest known instance of Sosia as a slave-name, in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, is considerably later than the occurrence of the name in an Attic inscription of 465 B.C.<sup>20</sup> Lambertz' statement that the slave in Aristophanes' *Wasps* ielleicht ist Ursache dass ausser dem Σωσίας 'Αναφύστιος I.G. 2, 1876 vom 4. Jahrh. ab nur Fremde und Unfreie in Attika den Namen führen" (1, 5, n. 5) is unsound because there is no evidence that the name in I.G. 2, 772 b; 951; 1327; 3874; 4148; 4149, is that of a foreigner or a slave.<sup>21</sup> A more likely view would doubtless be that Σωσίας in the *Wasps* is the prototype of the numerous slaves of that name in subsequent comedy and imitations of comedy.<sup>22</sup>

The character of Sosia is but slightly portrayed; his rôle is of no essential importance in the development of the plot. The name is appropriate in that it is significant of a faithful freedman, and also is suggestive of the one who is requested to keep "safe" the interests of his master, although, in reality, Sosia does nothing of the kind, at least during the action of the play.

DAVOS. In considering the character of Davos, one should discount the evidence of Simo, his professed and permanent enemy (159 ff., 183, 192), and his temporary enemies, Pamphilus and Charinus (607 ff., 665). In a monologue, undoubtedly spoken with sincerity, Davos explains his position, fraught with danger to himself and to his young master, and justifies his decision to stand by Pamphilus in the face of Simo's threats (206 ff.); in choosing this course, he is actuated, certainly, by a genuine affection and by sympathy with Pamphilus (210), and also, perhaps, by his own ultimate interests, but herein one cannot condemn him outright for doing a natural thing. He sums up his duty and obligation in these words (675 ff.):

*Ego, Pamphile, hoc tibi pro servitio debeo,  
conari manibus pedibus noctisque et dies,  
capitis periculum adire dum prosim tibi.*<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Plato, *Kratylos*, 397 b: πολλά δ' ὅσπερ εἰχόμενοι τίθενται οἶον Ἐδρυχίδην καὶ Σωσίαν καὶ Θεόφρονος καὶ ἄλλα πολλά. Cf. Sondag, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Theophr. *Char.* 28. See note in the edition of the Philol. Ges. of Leipzig, p. 243. Cf. Σίμων, Lucian, *Somn.* 14.

<sup>20</sup> Aristoph. *Wasps*, 422 B. C.; I.G. 1, 432 a, A, 31, 465/4 B. C.; cf. also I. G. 1, 433, I, 54, 459/8 B. C.; I.G.A. 102 (Tegea), early 5th cent.

<sup>21</sup> Σωσίας Σωσίδειος who was born 359 B. C. (*Pros. Att.* 13180), should not be omitted.

<sup>22</sup> See the lists in Schmidt, p. 207; Copalle, pp. 59 f.; Gatzert, pp. 11, 51. Add Alexia, *fr.*, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *S.P.A.* 1918, 2, 744.

<sup>23</sup> Siess finds in these verses, together with verse 210, the key-note to the individual-

The mere fact that the poet is at pains to justify Davos' actions is evidence enough that he is not to be regarded as a purely malicious and wanton slave.

For the significance of the name Davos (Δᾱος), see the discussion in the *Phormio* (above, pp. 24 ff.).

**MYSIS.** Mysis is the faithful servant of Glycerium, full of solicitude and affection for her mistress (232, 240, 251, 264, 698, 719, 803). She is a common menial, rather dull-witted, but willing to lend a hand in Davos' scheme for Pamphilus' benefit.<sup>34</sup>

Mysis, that is, *Μυσις*, is an ethnic name, meaning "the woman from *Μυσία*."<sup>35</sup> It is the name of a freedwoman in an inscription from Pharsalos;<sup>36</sup> its only occurrence in literature seems to be this one in the *Andria* of Terence.

The significance of the name Mysis may be understood from the Greek proverb, *Μυσῶν ἔσχατος*, which is explained by the scholiast: *ἐπὶ τῶν εὐρελεστάρων*;<sup>37</sup> that is, to call a person "the last of the Mysians" is to call him a "nobody," "the scum of the earth," "last year's peas," "last year's birds' nest." That a name bearing this significance is particularly appropriate to the character of Mysis becomes conceivable when one considers that she

ity of Davos (*W. St.* 28 (1906), 239). His detailed study of the character and rôle of Davos confirms the contention that Davos, as portrayed by Terence, is never a wanton rascal, but a crafty slave, faithful to the young master to whom he feels that he owes his services.

<sup>34</sup> *Ego quid agas nil intellego: sed si quid est  
quod mea opera opus sit uobis, ut tu plus uides  
manebo, ne quod nostrum remorer commodum.* (737 ff.).

Cf. 734: *Nescio quid narres*; 752: *Deliras: non tuta ipse . . . ?* where she nearly gives Davos' trick away. Siess' statement, then: "Auch diese gehört wie Davos, zu den intelligenten Sklaven, die ihren Herren mit Rat und Tat beistehen" (*W. St.* 28 (1906), 240), requires some reservations. Cf. Fairclough, *And.* p. xlix; Henry, p. 90. Davos' words: *tua exprompta malitia atque astutia* (722 f.) are mere flattery; cf. *Phor.* 784.

<sup>35</sup> Spengel, *And.* p. xiv; Fick-Bechtel, p. 345; Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 60; *Hist. Pers.* p. 546; Fairclough, *And.* p. 69. The corresponding masculine name seems to be *Mūs*, according to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Arist. und Athen.*, 2, 176, n. 16, cited by Lambert, 2, 16, and Copalle, p. 47. Bechtel, however, derives the name *Mūs* from "mouse," but he notes that it is common in Asia Minor (*Att. Fr.* p. 62). It was also common in Athens, mostly as a slave-name, and, as one would naturally expect to find Mysian slaves in Athens, it is quite likely that *Mūs* is the form of the masculine ethnic name (*Mūros*, *I.G.* 4, 82 is a conj. of Boeckh; *Mūsos*, is probably not an ethnicon, see Höfer in Roscher, s.v., and Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 532.)

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.* 9<sup>2</sup>, 256, b, 8.

<sup>37</sup> Schol. Plato, *Theait.* 209 b. Cf. Schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 248. The proverb is found in Magnes, *fr.* 5, K. 1, 8; Plato, *Gorgias*, 521 b; Philemon, *fr.* 77, K. 2, 499; Menander, *fr.* 55, K. 3, 19; 199, K. 3, 57; 751, K. 3, 211; Diogen. 2, 47 (Leutsch and Schneidewin, 2, 25, and note); Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 27, 65.

is simply a menial in the household of a humble, inconsequential *meretrix*,<sup>28</sup> in service with Archilis and Lesbia, *compotrices*, and Canthara, who are obviously slaves or freedwomen of a low degree and humble station. Herein, therefore, lies what special significance the name Mysis may have.

PAMPHILUS. Pamphilus is a typical representative of the young lover in comedy. He exemplifies the usual qualities characteristic of his class: passion, loyalty in love and friendship, fear and respect for his father (262, 918), resourcelessness (264) and dependence upon his slave Davos (335 f., 384), immoderate and unreasonable anger (toward Davos, 607 ff.).<sup>29</sup> A close analysis of his character, however, will disclose the fact that he has many individual traits which give him a distinct personality. Perhaps his chief characteristic is moral earnestness, a deep-seated sense of duty,<sup>30</sup> especially as exhibited in his relations with Glycerium. His love for her is genuine and honorable, and, having received her in trust from Chrysis (282 ff.), and having accepted her *animum atque omnem uitam* (272), and treated her *pro uxore* (273), he is bound by his sense of duty and honor, coupled with a considerable degree of strength of character,<sup>31</sup> to protect her and consummate his promised acknowledgment of their child (400 f.). The third individual trait of Pamphilus mentioned by Siess: "seine kindliche Liebe gegen seine Vater" (p. 237), cannot be regarded as altogether peculiar to him, for it is exhibited to a very high degree by Aeschinus in the *Adelphoe*. It should be admitted, however, that it is an important characteristic of each of these young men, although Legrand seems inclined to think that it is not peculiar to them, for the majority of young men in

<sup>28</sup> Glycerium is, until proved otherwise, a *meretrix*, *nam apud ueloces peregrinae mulieres in meretricum numero habebantur* (Don. on *Phor.* 415; cf. Don. on *And.* 469; on *Eun.* 107); and, besides, she was generally known as the sister of the hetaira Chrysis (124). Little weight, however, should be attached to the accusation of Davos, who, undoubtedly as a means to his end, calls Mysis a *meretrix* (756, following the text of Bentley, Umpfenbach, Dziatzko, and others; Klotz, Spengel, and Fleckeisen omit *meretrix*, retaining *ancilla*), or to that of Simo, who, in anger, calls Glycerium a *meretrix* (913).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Siess, *W. St.* 28 (1906), 235 ff.; Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 175 ff.; 184 ff.; Roth, pp. 10 ff.; Henry, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Siess, *loc. cit.*; Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 190 f.

<sup>31</sup> Henry dismisses Pamphilus with the statement that he "exemplifies faithfulness to a trust" (pp. 69 ff.), and then includes him with the other "sentimental, puny specimens of mankind" (p. 71). That this is unjust and unauthorized by the rôle of Pamphilus in the *Andria* may be observed from the masterly discussion of Legrand (*Daos*, pp. 209 f.), who rightly contends (*contra* Siess: "Als endlich alles entdeckt ist, begegnet er dem Erzürnten mit demütiger Unterwerfung," *op. cit.*, p. 236) that "on ne saurait dire cependant que l'amour cède chez lui à la piété filiale (695) . . . sa résolution lui est dictée par le sentiment du point d'honneur (897 ff.)." Fairclough, also, seems to imply that such is his opinion, but considers Pamphilus in other respects a weak character (p. xlvii).

comedy had considerable affection as well as respect for their fathers.<sup>32</sup> After all, then, the strongest and most essential characteristic of Pamphilus is his overmastering love for Glycerium, which, together with his fidelity to the trust imposed upon him, rules his action through the greater part of the play.

Pamphilus in formation corresponds to Pamphila (p. 43). It was an extremely common name in Athens, particularly in vogue in the fourth century,<sup>33</sup> and in comedy, beginning with Eubulus,<sup>34</sup> it was widely used to designate young men.<sup>35</sup>

Just as Pamphila was the girl who was entirely devoted to Aeschinus, so Pamphilus is a young man entirely devoted to Glycerium, and, as has been pointed out, his character and rôle is "all love." Therefore, as the name is, in general, appropriate to amorous young men, it is, in particular, appropriate to the distinctly individual lover, Pamphilus.<sup>36</sup>

CHARINUS. Charinus is a character introduced into the *Andria* in order that Philumena, the intended bride of Pamphilus, may not fail to be married in the end. The apparently simple and straightforward statement of Donatus: *has personas Terentius addidit fabulae,—nam non sunt apud Menandrum,—ne παθητικὸν fieret Philumenam spectam relinquere sine sponso, Pamphilo aliam ducente* (on *And.* 301), has given rise to a copious literature of controversy and conjecture. Grauert (*Analekten*, 1833, pp. 197 ff.) seems to have precipitated the discussion, when, in comparing the *Andria* with its two Greek originals, he accepted, at face value, the comment of Donatus here quoted. Köpke (in *Z.A.* 2 (1835), 1236, n.), however, interpreted the words of Donatus to mean that Charinus and Byrrhia were taken from the *Perinthia* of Menander.<sup>37</sup> It is incorrect, therefore, to assign, as all scholars seem to do, the authorship of this view to Ihne; the latter does, to be sure, go into considerable detail in examining Grauert's discussion

<sup>32</sup> *Daos*, p. 177.

<sup>33</sup> *Pros. Att.* 11524–60, 23 of which are of the 4th century; the earliest seems to be Πάμφιλος Καυρίδης, στρατηγός, 389/8 (11545); Sundwall, p. 140. The name does not occur in *I.G.* 1, or *I.G.A.* There is no evidence that a slave ever bore this name in Athens in the 4th or 3rd century.

<sup>34</sup> *Tit.* 2, 192, K., the name of a fictitious character as Breitenbach believes (p. 61 f.), whose view is accepted by Legrand, *Daos*, p. 34, and by Gatzert (p. 12).

<sup>35</sup> Gatzert, p. 24; *Mras*, pp. 314 f. In *Men. fr.* 631, K. 3, 188, Pamphilus is probably the name of a young man who is being reproached by a friend; compare Pamphilus and Charinus in Terence's *Andria*. The reason for the choice of Pamphilus is suggested by Sondag: *etymi amatorii causa electa sunt Διφιλος . . . Πάμφιλος . . .* (p. 56), and by Breitenbach: "*nomen quam multum usurparint poetae novae potissimum comoediae, nempe aptum propter etymum adulescenti in amorem praecipiti, non est, quod moneam*" (p. 62).

<sup>36</sup> The name may also be suggestive of the rôle of Pamphilus as the popular young fellow, "everybody's friend" (62 ff.).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Koenigshof: "*. . . non inveniebantur in Andria Menandrea*" (p. 42), and similarly, Saekel, p. 32.

(pp. 35 ff.) and doubtless for this reason he is given credit for the interpretation, which, indeed, has received wide acceptance, e.g., by such scholars as Ritschl (*Parerg.* p. 602); Rummeler (p. 18); Dziatzko (*Rh. M.* 31. (1876), 249); Braun (pp. 11 f.); Regel (p. 2); Kampe (pp. 7 f.); Teuffel (*Stud. u. Char.*<sup>2</sup> p. 353); Ribbeck (*Röm. Dicht.*<sup>2</sup> 1, 133); Fabia (*Eun.* p. 38); Schlee (*Bu. J.* 93 (1897), 138 f.); Lindskog (*Stud. zum antiken Drama*, p. 11); Legrand (*Daos*, pp. 350, 358); Schoell (*S.H.A.* 1912, *Sonderabdruck*, pp. 12 ff.), who finds new evidence that Byrria appeared in Menander's *Perinthia* (see below, p. 100), and argues that the same is true for Charinus; this latter view is accepted by Fossataro (*Riv. Fil.* 43 (1914), 449 ff.); Poland, (*N.J.* 33 (1914), 588, n. 7); Ullman (*C.P.* 11 (1916), 64); Wüst (*Bu. J.* 174 (1916/18), 215); Hartman (*Mnem.* 46(1918), 133); Kunst (*Studien*, p. 88, n. 3). The followers of Grauert are Dübner (*N.J.* 10 (1834), 32); Benfey (*Ter.* 1837, pp. 19 ff.); Klotz (*And.* p. 13); Wagner (*Ter.* 1869, p. 10); Francken, (*Mnem.* 4 (1876), 148); Meissner (*Ter. And.* 1876, p. 21); Spengel (*And.*<sup>2</sup> p. xiii); Schanz (1890, 1, 1, 64; 1907, 1, 1, 144); Nencini (p. 32 ff.); Sipkema (*Quaest. Ter.* 1916, p. 71); Fairclough (*And.* p. xlv); Siess (*W. St.* 28 (1906), 240); Ashmore (Notes, p. 32); Körte (*Herm.* 44 (1909), 311, n. 2; *Men.* p. LIII); Leo adds the possibility that they may be from another Attic original (*Röm. Lit.* 1, 239, and n. 1); K. Preston finds evidence<sup>28</sup> in favor of this view, but is disinclined to exclude the *Perinthia* from consideration (*C.P.* 9 (1914), 201); a more recent view, and one which seems to be representative of the present status of the question, is that of Prehn: '*sed, utrum etiam personas Charini et Byrriae ex Perinthia sumpserit Terentius necne, iam incertus est*' (*Quaest. Plaut.* p. 26). Until more evidence is produced, one may accept the simple statement of Schanz: "es ist unmöglich, diesen klaren Worten gegenüber an eine Entlehnung der Nebenhandlung aus des *Perinthia* zu denken" (1907, 1, 1, 144).<sup>29</sup> Therefore, for the present, the statement of Donatus may be accepted as attesting an independent selection of personal names on the part of Terence. Now if it is demonstrated that the names Charinus and Byrria are equally appropriate or even more appropriate to those characters than the other names used by Terence, evidence is thereby afforded to show that Terence observed the practice of the significant name to a higher degree than is implied when this practice is proved for the names which he took over from his Greek originals.

Charinus is a charming, graceful, young gentleman who is deeply, but not passionately in love (306, 325f.). He exhibits the usual traits of his type: love-sickness, resourcelessness, immoderate anger; in addition he

<sup>28</sup> Not adequately disproved by Postgate, *C. P.* 10 (1915), 26; cf. Kunst, *loc. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> The last part of the comment, likewise, has engendered controversy; on the text, see Dziatzko, Nencini and Schoell; on the meaning, see particularly Teuffel, Ribbeck, and Spengel (*And.*<sup>2</sup> pp. xix ff.).

is characterized by suspicion (413 f., 957), and selfishness (708, 975); utter helplessness, and abject dependence upon his slave and his friend (314, 373 f., 711, 975 f.) and simple-minded and groundless hopelessness (333, 370, 973); but at the last he apologizes handsomely for his baseless suspicions and becomes grateful and happy (973 ff.).

The name *Xapīnos* is derived from *χάρις*, "grace, favor, gratitude," with the suffix *-īnos*,<sup>40</sup> and signifies, primarily, "the man of grace and charm", an appropriate name for a wealthy young society man of Athens;<sup>41</sup> it may also signify "the man who has or shows gratitude." The former significance fits Charinus in the *Andria* in a general way, but the latter is peculiarly appropriate to the strongest trait in his character, his utter helplessness and dependence upon others. He expresses his gratitude to Davos (*liberatus sum hodie, Daue, tua opera*, 370), and to Pamphilus (*bene factum*, 975). The name, therefore, is doubly appropriate to the character and rôle of Charinus.

**BYRRIA.** Byrria is the confidential slave of Charinus. He is the representative, *par excellence*, of the type *οἷλος θεράπων*, the stolid and lazy slave.<sup>42</sup> He is too dull to think of a plan to help his master, and too lazy to accomplish it if he did invent one, so that he counsels Charinus to cure himself of love by not loving (305 ff.). Of course he could not see through Davos' clever scheme (423 ff.), and is evidently willing to report bad news to his master, nay more, he cannot blame Pamphilus, for *omnis sibi malle melius esse quam alteri* (427). He is more than glad that his master discovers his uselessness in comparison with Davos, and relieves him of further duty (337). Besides being stupid and lazy, he has a low mind (315 f., 324, 430).

Byrria is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *Πυρρῆς*,<sup>43</sup> which is a nickname from *πυρρός*, "fiery-red," with the suffix *-las* (above, p. 32, n. 47, n. 3), meaning "red-headed."<sup>44</sup> Lobeck and Janson are correct in refuting the

<sup>40</sup> See above on the name Cratinus, p. 38.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Pros. Att.* 15434-58; Sundwall, p. 171; it is the name of young men in comedy and in Lucian; cf. Gatzert, pp. 26 f.; Mras, p. 317. In Martial the name is typical for a man "der wildernatürlicher Wallust ergeben ist" (Stein in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 7). In Doric comedy it is the name of a stock-character, as the Spanish *Gracioso* (K. O. Müller, *Dorier*, 4, 7, 3; cf. Baumeister, *Denkm.* 3, 1754, fig. 1830, and see Gatzert, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>42</sup> Pollux, 4, 149: *ὁ δ' οἷλος θεράπων δηλοῖ μὲν τὰς τριχὰς, εἰσι δὲ πυρρὰι ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ χρώμα.* See Roth, p. 55.

<sup>43</sup> Ter. Scaur. Keil, 7, 14. Cf. Corssen, *Vokal.* 1, 126 f.; Lindsay, *L.L.* p. 75.

<sup>44</sup> Compare the English "Red," "Pinky," "Rusty," and "Mr. Redhead"; the Latin *Rufus*; Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 730: *ὡν ὁ μὲν πυρρὸς ἦν τὴν κόμην*; Serv. on *Aen.* 2, 469. There is some slight evidence that *πυρρὸς* might be used of "red face": Aristoph. *Progs.* 308, and schol.; see Rogers' note *ad loc.*; Hdt. 4, 108, where Stein refers *πυρρὸς* to the skin on the strength of Hippocr. *De Aer.* 20, but this is rejected by Abicht, Macan, and How and Wells. The Latin *burrus* also may mean "a red-faced man" (Festus, p. 28, 9, Lindsay), and *burra* may bear the transferred meaning *fatua* (*C.G.L.* 5, 8, 20),



observation of the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 730, and the comment of Coraes on Hippocrates (p. 327), that *Πυππας* is solely a slave-name, on the ground that it occurs also as the name of free men.<sup>46</sup> In comedy it is found in Pherecrates (*fr.* 145, K. 1, 188): *Μελήσιος τις Πυππας*, a jocular epithet of Timotheus, the dithyrambic poet, possibly referring to the slave-name;<sup>46</sup> the first extant occurrence of a slave bearing the name *Πυππας* who is a *dramatis persona* is in a fragment of Menander's *Perinthia*.<sup>47</sup> This character, however, is not the original of Byrria in Terence's *Andria*, for here he is the slave of Laches and a fellow-slave of Davos, who, apparently, is the faithful and helpful slave of the young master. As far as can be judged from the fragment, he is no more than a menial.

As is well known, Thracian and Scythian slaves were very numerous in Athens, furnished by the extremely active slave-markets of the North. Inasmuch as these Northerners usually had yellow or red hair, the names *Ξάνθος*, *Ξανθίας*, *Πύρρος* and *Πυππας* became typical of Northern slaves or metics. To the quick and intelligent Greeks, these big blond Northerners were types of stolidity; it is altogether likely that to the Greeks red hair connoted stolidity,<sup>48</sup> as to the people of this country red hair often connotes a fiery temper. Davos in the *Phormio*, for example, has red hair (51), and, undoubtedly, Davos in the *Andria*, both of whom, in a general way, belong to this type, as opposed to the Syrian type of slaves.<sup>49</sup> As for Byrria, the suffix of his name signifies that he possesses the quality of *πυρρός*, with its associations, in excess.<sup>50</sup> This is indeed true. Therefore the name is entirely appropriate to him.

LESBIA. Lesbica is the *obstetrix*, procured for Glycerium. She is de-

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but see Buecheler, *Rh. M.* 33 (1878), 309 f. *Πυππας* is one of the clip-names from the full names formed with *πυρρός*; see Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* pp. 392 f.

<sup>46</sup> Lobeck, *Prol.* p. 493; Janson, *N. J. Suppl.* 5 (1864/72), 272, n. 82. See Pape-Ben. s.v.; *I.G.A.* 372, 327, 328 (Styra, 5th cent., perhaps); *I.G.* 2, 768, 26 (freedman, late 4th cent.); 2,3031 (Θρᾷξ); 2,3352 (Σιωπρεῖς); 2,3553 (*inc.*); 2,4108 (a freedman according to Lambertz, 2, 10; 4th cent.); 2 *add.* 834 c. 91, (possibly a freedman; 317/07 B.C.); and also *I.G.* 12, 277 A, 1 (Thasos, 6th cent.). It should be noted that there is no certain instance of the name *πυππας* belonging to an Athenian citizen at least down to Roman times.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 730: *πυππας*, Schol. ἀπὸ τοῦ δοῦλου. Gatzert writes without authority, *Πυππας* (p. 10).

<sup>47</sup> *Oxyrhyn. Pap.* 855 (6, 150 ff., Gr. and H.). The reading *Πυππας* is a conjectural restoration, by Leo, verse 1, by Wilamowitz, verse 8, by Grenfell and Hunt, verse 21. The latter, in fact, suggest *Ξωπίας* in col. 1 (cf. Körte, *Men.* 3 p. 133) and in verse 21 of col. 2. *Πυππας* is accepted by van Leeuwen, Crönert, Leo, Wilamowitz, and Körte. In van Leeuwen's third edition, it is *Ξωπίας*, in Allinson's recent edition, it is *Πυππας* who enters at verse 21 and speaks.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the Latin gloss of Placidus: *Burrae Valtronicae, fatuae ac stupidae* (C.G.L. 5, 51, 3).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Ξανθίας* in Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

<sup>50</sup> See Pepler, *Com. Term.* p. 38.

scribed as *illa temulenta mulier et temeraria nec satis digna, quoi comittas primo partu mulierem* (229 f.), and as the *compotrix* of Archilis (232). She later appears, enters the house, performs her duties and returns (481). As she comes out of the door she stops and calls back to Archilis, giving instructions for the care of the patient. Her rôle does not furnish an adequate cue to her character, other than that she is a typical *obstetrix*.

The name *Λεσβία* is an ethnic name, from the island of Lesbos.<sup>61</sup> As a personal name, it does not seem to occur in Greek except in Lucian (*Dial. mer.* 2), where it is the name of an acquaintance of the hetaira Myrtion, and in *C.I.G.* 3266, the name of the wife of Alexander of Smyrna.<sup>62</sup> In Latin the name has become famous from Lesbia, Catullus' pet-name for Clodia;<sup>63</sup> Horace gave the name to a servant or a *lena* (*Ep.* 12, 17).

The obvious significance of the name, and undoubtedly the one which guided the poet, is that given by Donatus: *Nomina comicorum seruorum . . . sunt indita . . . aut ex accidentibus, ut Lesbia uelut ebriosa a Lesbo insula, quae ferax est suauissimi candidissimique uini* (on *And.* 226).<sup>64</sup> The name Lesbia is exactly descriptive of the character of the *obstetrix* in the *Andria*, and therefore is a significant name.

**GLYCERIUM.** This is the name of the supposed sister of the courtesan Bacchis. She is represented throughout in a most favorable light. It is quite clear that the poet was at great pains to portray a character of irreproachable respectability, whose natural goodness and loveliness had not been corrupted by a low environment.<sup>65</sup>

Glycerium is a Greek diminutive of *Γλυκέρα*, the feminine of *γλυκερός*, a by-form of the adjective *γλυκός*, "sweet."<sup>66</sup> Both *Γλυκέρα* and *Γλυκέριον* were pet-names of hetairai,<sup>67</sup> though the former is also the name of a *virgo* in Menander (*Perik.* and, possibly, *fr.* 569, K. 3, 164), and occurs frequently in *I.G.* 1 and 2, once as the name of the daughter of Tleson, and wife of Callistratus (*I.G.* 2, 2605, *Pros. Att.* 3038). In *I.G.* 2, 836, 82.91.97

<sup>61</sup> See Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 58, and Hirzel, *Der Name*, p. 79.

<sup>62</sup> The masculine *Λεσβιος* is found in *I. G.* 3; 5; 12<sup>1,2</sup>; cf. Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 540.

<sup>63</sup> For a recent discussion of the significance of this name as used by Catullus, see A. H. Weston in *C. J.* 15 (1919/20), 501.

<sup>64</sup> Similarly, Koenig, p. 31; Spengel, *And.* p. xiv; Mras, 334. Then, too, Lesbian women were known as the lowest and vilest of prostitutes, cf. *Λεσβιάζω*, Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1308, and notes of van Leeuwen and Rogers.

<sup>65</sup> Siess has given an excellent character-sketch of Glycerium, *W. St.* 28 (1906), 240 f.

<sup>66</sup> "Der Frauenname ist ein appellatives Adjectivum," and "rühmt Leibreiz, Jugend, Fülle," Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 44. Concerning the suffix *-ιον*, see under the name *Dorcium* in the *Phormio*, above, p. 42.

<sup>67</sup> A *Γλυκέρα* is familiarly called *Γλυκέριον* in Menander (*fr.* 944, K. 3, 244), Lucian (*Dial. mer.* 1), Alciphron (*Ep.* 4, 18, 17; 19, 2), and Aristaeetus (*Ep.* 1, 22).

Γλυκέριον may be the name of a slave or even, as Gatzert suggests (p. 32), of a *meretrix*.<sup>58</sup>

The original name of Glycerium in the *Andria* was Pasibula. That seems to be the only occurrence of the name either in Greek or in Latin.<sup>59</sup> The formation, however, is obvious enough: *πασι-*, locative plural of *πᾶς* or *πᾶν*, and *βομή*, "having or giving counsel in all things or to everybody,"<sup>60</sup> formed on the analogy of *Πασιθέα*, *Πασικράτεια*, *Πασικόμψα*, and *Ἀριστοβούλη*, *Εὐβούλη*, *Νικοβούλη*. It is evidently a respectable and good-omened name. Other than this it seems to bear no significance.

Glycerium, however, is a name admirably appropriate to a sweet, modest young girl, and it is not improbable that Chrysis herself gave it to Pasibula as a pet-name,<sup>61</sup> or else, perhaps, Chrysis' admirers familiarly called her supposed little sister "Sweetie." Whatever its origin, the name fits her ostensible position as the sister of a *meretrix*, and especially fits her appearance and character in so far as they are delineated.

CHREMES. Chremes, it is true, represents, in contrast to Simo, the thoroughly mild and complaisant father,<sup>62</sup> but he is differentiated from the type by a certain element of hesitancy and petulance in his nature. Not long after promising his daughter to the supposedly model young man, Pamphilus, he hears rumors of the affair at the funeral of Chrysis, and on the next day visits Simo *clamitans*, and after much hesitating and arguing, as one may conjecture, he departs in a mood which augured ill for the match (144 ff.). When the news reaches him that Simo is advertizing the wedding, he has more complaint to enter, but, after hesitating and questioning the story of the quarrel, he finally yields with reluctance, and again betroths his daughter (572 f.). When at last he learns the truth of Pamphilus' love affair, he becomes firm once more and objects, with apparent finality, to the marriage (833). Simo, upon realizing the hopelessness of the match, flies into a rage, in which he remains, against Chremes' objections and remonstrances, until the recognition is completed (939). But even after this, Chremes entertains more doubt, this time in regard to Glycerium's name (940), so that he elicits from Pamphilus the significant ejaculation: *Dignus es cum tua religione, odium . . . ! nodum in scirpo quaeris* (940 f.).

<sup>58</sup> See Sondag, p. 47; Gatzert, pp. 30; 32; Mras, p. 326 f.

<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Gatzert, p. 29.

<sup>60</sup> Compare Heyne: "*Πασιβούλη quae ad omnes casus consilium et operam in proximis paratamque habet*" (p. 47); Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.*: "*Πασι- zu πᾶσι* (p. 361), *Βούλη- zu Βούλη*" (p. 98); Mendelssohn (p. 51): "*Chaeribulus . . . 'one who rejoices in giving counsel'*" (similarly, Gray, *Plaut. Epid.* p. xxxi); Ussing: "*Nicobulus . . . consilio victor*" (2, 371). For these compounds see especially Brugmann, *K. vgl. Gr.* pp. 287, 302.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Schol. on *And.* 118: *Passibulam, quae adulative postea Glycerium dicta est* (Schlee, p. 81).

<sup>62</sup> Siess, *W. St.* 28 (1906), 234f. Cf. Legrand, *Daos*, p. 411; Henry, p. 59; Roth, pp. 45 ff.

The meaning of the name Chremes has been discussed above (p. 40), and its appropriateness to the person of that name in the *Phormio* has been demonstrated. The name is equally appropriate to the character of the complaisant, yet irascible, vacillating and complaining old man in the *Andria*.

**CRITO.** Crito is an Andrian, a stranger to Athens and the cousin of Chrysis. He is a gentleman of the old school (817) and, quite unexpectedly, becomes the patron of Glycerium. Dr. Henry is led to consider him and Hegio in the *Adelphoe* as examples of a type, so nearly alike that they "could each play the other's part; they are characters not at all differentiated" (p. 58). That this is incorrect may be observed from the following considerations. Hegio is definitely summoned by Geta, on orders from Sostrata, to protect Pamphila, and, in accordance with his pledge of support to the family, he becomes their patron, takes the lead in action, and secures satisfaction from Micio. Crito, on the other hand, has come to Athens on business (807 ff.) and it is only accidentally that he helps Glycerium find her parents. Instead of being a leader (*ηγέομαι*), he is the judge (*κρίνω*) who settles the point at issue,<sup>63</sup> and makes possible the dénouement. He himself, in truth, disclaims all intentions of taking charge of Simo's affairs (as Hegio does with Micio's affairs): *Ego istaec moueo aut curo?* (921). The rôle of Crito, therefore, is distinct, and the name is highly appropriate to him.

**DROMO.** This is the name of the *lorarius* summoned by Simo to carry off Davos (860). His rôle is so meagre that practically no idea can be gained of his character. That he belongs to the menial-type of slave is obvious. The name may have been chosen with reference to his running in upon the stage in answer to Simo's irate summons. Other than this, the name does not seem to have any special significance beyond its appropriateness to this particular type of slave.<sup>64</sup>

**PHAEDRUS, CLINIA, NICERATUS.** These are the three favorites of Chrysis, mentioned by Simo in his account of his son's relations with the courtesan (86 f.). Since they are no more than mere designations with no character or rôle, it is needless to look for any special significance or to expect the poet to have been at pains to seek for any appropriateness. They are, however, good Athenian names, and would readily suggest wealthy young gentlemen.

For the name Phaedrus, see the discussion of Phaedria (above, p. 32). Clinia, *Κλεινίας* in Greek, from *κλεινός*, "famous,"<sup>65</sup> was fairly common at

<sup>63</sup> Fairclough, *And.* p. 69; cf. Spengel, *And.* pp. xiv f.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Dromo in the *Adelphoe* (above, pp. 60 f.)

<sup>65</sup> *κλεινός* < \**κλεφεσσος*, primary suffix *-esno-* (Brugmann-Delbrück<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 282), from *κλέος* (\**κλέφος*) "glory." The name, then, signifies "the man of glory," "the renowned."

Athens,<sup>66</sup> and in comedy was given, with some notion of fitness, no doubt, to young men.<sup>67</sup> Niceratus,<sup>68</sup> Νικήρατος, composed of νίκη and ἐπατός, "beloved of victory"<sup>69</sup> is an aristocratic name of good omen, suitable for a young Athenian gentleman. It was a very common name at Athens,<sup>70</sup> and in comedy frequently used for young men.<sup>71</sup> It is evident, therefore, that these names were chosen because they are, in a general way, appropriate to the young gentlemen, admirers of Chrysis.

CHRYISIS. Chrysis is an Andrian woman who had moved to Athens on account of poverty and the neglect of her relatives, and at first tried to make a decent living by distaff and loom (70 ff.). Under the pressure of toil and poverty she gradually changed her business for a more lucrative one, and finally became a full-fledged hetaira (79). She was popular with many of the young gentlemen of Athens, and when she died, they took charge of her funeral (106 ff.). The touching anxiety which she felt for her young ward on her deathbed is a striking trait. She clearly had a good heart and an essentially kindly feeling.

Χρυσίς is a feminine personal name derived from χρυσός, "gold,"<sup>72</sup> with the common suffix -ίς,<sup>73</sup> signifying "made of gold," "golden" (cf. χρυσίς, "a vessel of gold," "a dress of gold"). The name seems to have been used by women of the higher classes,<sup>74</sup> but most frequently "der Name kommt bei Frauenzimmern niederen Standes, besonders bei Hetären, vor."<sup>75</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Pros. Att.* 8502-12; Sundwall, p. 111. It also appears rather frequently in Collitz-Bechtel, *Dial. Inscr.*

<sup>67</sup> Exceptions: Plaut. *Bacch.* 912; *Asin.* 866, where, however, they are no more than names. See Schmidt, p. 184; Gatzert, p. 22; Mras, pp. 312 f.

<sup>68</sup> Of all the ingenious attempts to explain verse 87, Ritter's seems to be the most plausible: he retains the vulgate reading, scanning it: *Dicēbant, aut Niceratūm: nam hi tres tām simul.* Fleckeisen's conjecture, *Nicaretum* for *Niceratum* (widely accepted), is ably refuted by Ritschl (*Opusc.* 3, 324 f.), and rejected by its author in his second edition. Fairclough's explanation of the short *e* by citing the parallel Σίμων, Simo, is unconvincing for Σίμων is the Greek form (Aristoph. *Knights*, 242; *Clouds*, 351; 399). Jourdan's recent conjecture, *dicēbant aut Niceratūm; tum hi tres simul*, is suggestive, and at least retains the name Niceratus (*Rev. Philol.* 45(1921), 62).

<sup>69</sup> Fick-Bechtel, pp. 112; 215.

<sup>70</sup> *Pros. Att.* 10730-46; Sundwall, p. 133.

<sup>71</sup> Exception: Menander, *Samia*, of an old man, but see Gatzert, pp. 18, 23 f.

<sup>72</sup> A Semitic loan-word. See Muss-Arnolt, *T.A.P.A.* 23 (1892), 136 f.; Boisacq, s.v.; F. Miller Iac. fil., *Mnem.* 46 (1918), 145.

<sup>73</sup> See Fick-Bechtel, p. 26; Brugmann-Delbrück, <sup>2</sup> 21, 469; Brugmann-Thumb, pp. 239 f. Cf. Μυρίς and Βαρχίς.

<sup>74</sup> *I.G.* 2, 1877: Χρυσίον Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Ἀναφλυστίου γυνή, *post fin.* IV. s. (*Pros. Att.* 15578); *I.G.* <sup>2</sup> 2, 1136: Χρυσίς Νικήτρον Ἀθηναίου θυγάτηρ Ἰέρεια Ἀθηναῖς Πολιάδος 106/5 B.C.; Χρυσίς Ἀγκίσκου <γυνή>, Syracuse, 4th cent. B.C.

<sup>75</sup> Mras, p. 333; cf. Schmidt, p. 183; Breitenbach, pp. 130 f.; Gatzert, p. 37.

Chrysis is obviously a pet-name given to the Andrian woman by her admirers, perhaps with some notion of the meaning of the name.<sup>76</sup> At any rate, the name is appropriate to a prominent and popular hetaira such as Chrysis.

**ARCHILIS.** Archilis is Glycerium's housekeeper, the head-servant, as one may reasonably surmise from the words of Mysis, who is taking orders from her: *Audiui, Archilis, iam dudum: Lesbiam adduci iubes* (228). She is described as an obstinate old crone who insists upon having the mid-wife Lesbia because they are pot-companions (231 f.). Further evidence that she is the housekeeper and nurse of Glycerium is the fact that Lesbia addresses her as she leaves, giving instructions for the care of the patient (481 ff.).

Archilis is the name that appears in the MSS. of Terence and Plautus (*Truc.* 130, 479).<sup>77</sup> Bentley thought that the Greek name was Ἀρχυλῖς, and accordingly emended the Latin text of Terence. He has been followed by Ritschl (*Opusc.* 3, 305), Umpfenbach, Dziatzko, Fleckeisen, Tyrrell, and others.<sup>78</sup> There does not seem to be any extant example of either name in Greek, but Ἀρχῖλος and Ἀρχύλος occur.<sup>79</sup> The oldest form of the name that is extant seems to be Ἀρχῖλλος (*I.G.* 1, 293, ca. 450 B.C.), or possibly Ἀρχύλος, *Diod. Sic.* 14, 52, 5 (5 cent., Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 84); the former is undoubtedly a short form, with hypocoristic gemination, of the full name Ἀρχῖλαος.<sup>80</sup> It seems likely, then, that Ἀρχῖλος is a short form of Ἀρχῖλαος; Ἀρχύλος might be another short form, on the analogy of Ἀστύλος from Ἀστύλαος.<sup>81</sup> Ἀρχῖλῖς, then, would be the feminine, with *-is*-suffix, of Ἀρχῖλος<sup>82</sup>, and there seems to be no compelling reason to follow Bentley's emendation.

After all, however, it is merely a question of spelling, and the appropriateness of the name (as derived from ἄρχω "rule") is certain beyond a doubt.

<sup>76</sup> "Zu Grunde liegt doch wohl ein Kosewort. Vgl. z.B. Antiphanes *frag.* 212 K. II 104: ἐταῖρας . . . ἥδὲ τι χρυσὸν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κακτημένης" (Schmidt, p. 183). Compare Poll. (4, 152, 20): ἡ δὲ διάχρυσος ἐταῖρα πολλὸν ἔχει τὸν χρυσὸν ἐπὶ τῇ αἰσῃ, *Hor. C.* 1, 5, 9, and Hirzel, *Der Name*, p. 94. Also compare the English expression: "She is pure gold," and the personal names, Golden, Goldie.

<sup>77</sup> Exceptions: Ter. 228; 481: *Archillis*, G; Plaut. 130: *Archinem*, P. Note that Plautus declines *Archilis*: *Archilinem* (130).

<sup>78</sup> Copalle accepts Archilis in the *Truculentus*, but allows Archylis in the *Andria* (p. 30).

<sup>79</sup> Fick-Bechtel, p. 73; Schmidt, p. 178, who presents a strong case for Archilis; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 84.

<sup>80</sup> Fick-Bechtel, pp. 18, 28; Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>3</sup> 2<sup>1</sup>, 376.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Ἀρχέλα (Kos), feminine short form of Ἀρχέλαος, an older form than Ἀρχῖλαος, belonging to the ἀρχέλαος-type of verbal rection compounds (Brugmann-Delbrück<sup>3</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 63 f., Brugmann-Thumb, pp. 199 f.).

<sup>82</sup> The suffix *-is*-, especially *-υλο-* in Greek, was widely used in forming diminutives; see under the name Simulus, above, p. 62. For the *-is*-suffix, see above, p. 77.

**PHILUMENA.** Philumena is the name of the daughter of Chremes who was betrothed to Pamphilus. She is described by Byrria in rather complimentary terms: *uirginem forma bona memini uideri* (428 f.). All else that is known of her is that she is desperately loved by Charinus (306).

The name is the feminine of the present middle participle of φιλέω: φιλουμένη.<sup>83</sup> Like Pamphila and others, the name is common to matrons, virgins and hetairai.<sup>84</sup> The only place where this name occurs in the text (306) may be translated: "I don't want anything except the girl I love"—τὴν φιλουμένην, in the original.<sup>85</sup> It is not improbable that with this significance in mind, the poet chose the name Philumena.

**PHANIA.** This is the name of Chremes' brother, who died in Andros, leaving his daughter Pasibula to be brought up there as Chrysis' sister (923 ff.). Since Chremes is a wealthy Athenian gentleman, it is probable that Phania also was.

Φᾶνλας is derived from φᾶνός, "torch," as Φᾶνλον in the *Phormio*.<sup>86</sup> It is a very common Athenian name,<sup>87</sup> and in comedy used for old men and young men alike.<sup>88</sup> The name has no other significance than that it is not inappropriate to a respectable, well-to-do Athenian citizen.

<sup>83</sup> See Hirzel, *Der Name*, p. 96.

<sup>84</sup> *Uxor*: Ter. *Hec.*; *virgo*: Ter. *And.*; Athenian citizens: *Pros. Att.* 14749-57; *meretrix*: Crobylus, *fr.* 5, K. 3, 380; Alciphron, *Ep.* 4, 14; 15; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 40; uncertain: Menander, *fr.* 620 K. 3, 186; Caecilius, *tit.* (p. 68, R.); also a *prophetissa* mentioned in Tert. *Adv. Omn. Haer.* 6. Cf. Sondag, p. 50; Gatzert, pp. 30, 37. 'Philumena' in the *Stichus* of Plautus in the first scene-heading in A is without authority; see Spengel, *S.M.A.* 1883, 264.

<sup>85</sup> Spengel and Fairclough, *ad loc.*

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 43. Cf. *Mras*, p. 386, n. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*; *Pros. Att.* 14007-28, Sundwall, p. 161.

<sup>88</sup> Sondag, p. 59; Gatzert, pp. 19 f., 25; *Mras*, *loc. cit.*; cf. Phaniscus, *Plaut. Most.*, and Schmidt, p. 199.

## V. HECYRA

**PHILOTIS.** Philotis and Syra are protatic characters who take part in an expository dialogue, and then disappear from the action.<sup>1</sup> Philotis is a typical courtesan: she has been in Corinth for two years, living with a beastly Captain, and now is back in Athens, pursuing her trade. She belongs to the lower order of her type; she seems to bear no particular stamp of individuality.

The Greek personal name Φιλώτις is the feminine of Φιλώτης, a noun of agency with the suffix -στᾶ-,<sup>2</sup> one of the many clip-names from φιλος.<sup>3</sup> The name Φιλώτις is not altogether uncommon,<sup>4</sup> and the masculine Φιλώτης (more often Φιλώτας) occurs rather frequently.<sup>5</sup> Φιλώτις, the title of a play of Antiphanes, is undoubtedly the name of a hetaira,<sup>6</sup> and in one of Alciphron's letters the name of the hetaira is conjectured by Seiler to be Φιλώτις.<sup>7</sup>

Philotis in the *Hecyra* takes part only in the exposition. There was no special need, on the part of the poet, for character-portrayal other than that of a common courtesan. Therefore, one would not expect Terence to have been at any considerable pains to choose a name with individual significance, but a designation characteristic of courtesans ought to suffice. Such a one, it is evident, is that which is borne by Philotis. It is a pet-name such as young lovers might give to any hetaira. As a noun of agency, it bears a significance in keeping with the occupation of hetairai in general.

**PHILOTIUM.** This is the endearing diminutive of Philotis. On three occasions Parmeno calls her Philotium (81, 89, 197). The intimation seems to be that he is on intimate terms with her; hereby is afforded additional evidence of her lowly station.

<sup>1</sup> Don. on *Hec.* 58: *Nouo genere hic utraque protatica πρόσωπα inducuntur.* For the discussion of the relation of this comment to the question of contamination in the *Hecyra*, see Schanz, *Röm. Lit.*<sup>3</sup> 1<sup>1</sup>, 145 f., and Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.*<sup>6</sup> 1, 208, with the literature there cited. It seems to be generally accepted that the *Hecyra* is derived from a single Greek original by Apollodorus (Kock, 3, 283).

<sup>2</sup> See Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>1</sup>, 414 ff.; Brugmann-Thumb, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 452.

<sup>4</sup> *I. G.* 2, 4267, 'Αρητάδου θυγάτηρ Θεοφίλου γυνή; *I. G.* 7, 2620 (Boeotia); *I. G.* 9<sup>1</sup>, 929 (Corcyra).

<sup>5</sup> *Pros. Att.* 14931-35; Sundwall, p. 168; Pape-Benseler, s.v.

<sup>6</sup> See Breitenbach, p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> The emendation is accepted by Schepers. Sondag's interpretation of the name Φιλώτης, as he reads, may be suggestive (p. 50).



Φιλώτιον is a Greek personal name, borne even by an Athenian citizen,<sup>8</sup> but it is obvious that in the *Hecyra* Philotis is the true name, and Philotium is a pet-diminutive, expressing familiarity and endearment.

SYRA. The rôle of Syra is even slighter than that of Philotis; she simply engages in the introductory dialogue, while Philotis is Parmeno's interlocutor in the main expository scene. Syra is pictured as a broken-down old hag, who may once have been a pretty hetaira, but now is a wolfish bawd. The name is the feminine of Σύρος, an ethnic slave-name,<sup>9</sup> typical of tricky and wanton slaves. In view of this type significance of the name Σύρος, it is conceivable that Σύρα was chosen as suggestive of a tricky, rapacious *lena*.<sup>10</sup>

PARMENO. Parmeno is the confidential slave of Pamphilus. His character is summed up in these words of Donatus: *iam uide, quemadmodum seruetur Parmenoni persona loquacis, curiosi, pigri*.<sup>11</sup> Unlike the typical confidential slave, Parmeno not only conducts no intrigue to help his master, but is even removed entirely from the main action, so that his rôle, outside of the exposition, is to lend humor to the play.<sup>12</sup> This he does chiefly by his extreme laziness; his inquisitiveness and scandalmongery do not seem extraordinary nor in any way peculiar to him, but there is a decided emphasis laid upon his laziness.<sup>13</sup> On the three occasions that Parmeno is sent off on errands, he has much difficulty in getting started, balks as long as possible, and finally goes off slowly and sullenly (359 f., 430 ff., 808 ff.). He complains of being dead tired and worn out with walking and running (443, 814 f.), but when the order comes to follow his master indoors, he is all alacrity (879).

The appropriateness of the name Parmeno becomes obvious when one observes his earnest and candid desire to live up to the etymological meaning of his name. His idea of a faithful slave, apparently, and certainly of a Parmeno,<sup>14</sup> is to remain by the side of his master, share his troubles, ad-

<sup>8</sup> *Pros. Att.* 14940; cf. *I.G.* 2, 836, 55 (3rd cent.), where Gatzert (p. 37) thinks it may be the name of a *meretrix*, but there seems to be no ground for such a surmise.

<sup>9</sup> See the discussion of this name in the *Adelphoe*, pp. 55 f.]

<sup>10</sup> The name occurs frequently in comedy: see Schmidt, p. 210; Lambertz, 1, 17; Copalle, pp. 57 f.; Gatzert, p. 44. In the opinion of the latter the name was typical of *lenae* as Lesbia was of *obstetrices*. As Copalle compares "Mohr" and "Malatte," so one may compare the English "Gipsy" (Calverley's and Way's translation of Theocritus 10, 26: Σύρα).

<sup>11</sup> Don. on *Hec.* 360. See also Siess (*W. St.* 29 (1907), 316 f.), who gives an excellent and rather detailed character-sketch of Parmeno, emphasizing these traits as the individualizing elements in the delineation of this character.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Leo, *Pl. Forsch.* 3 p. 141, n. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Henry seems to regard this as the distinguishing characteristic of Parmeno (pp. 84 f.).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Parmeno in the *Adelphoe*, above, pp. 53 ff.

vise him, but by no means to leave him in order to run errands or do any other kind of work. The name, therefore, was chosen as being significant of the character and action of just such a figure as is here portrayed. It may be, in this instance, that the poet gave the name to a slave of the dull, stupid type with a view to its general appropriateness, and, thereafter, in developing the character and rôle in the course of composition, added such action as would be specially congruous with the name.<sup>15</sup>

LACHES. The character of Laches has been exhaustively described by Siess and by Legrand.<sup>16</sup> To summarize briefly the individual traits of his character, he is a stern husband as well as a stern father. At times he may be boorish and brutal to his wife,<sup>17</sup> and severe and angry with his son; "anderseits aber muss man zugestehen, dass Laches die beste Ansicht hat, seinen Pflichten als Familienvater gerecht zu werden."<sup>18</sup> Throughout the play it is he who generally takes the initiative.<sup>19</sup> He is the one old man in Terence's comedies who consistently has his own way: he commands his son and is obeyed; he overrules his wife and is feared; he questions Bacchis and is respected; he has no unruly slaves who cheat and dupe him. He is indeed a man of good luck; at the close of the play he has attained his ends: Philumena is restored to Pamphilus; Bacchis makes possible the recognition, and is linked to his family with ties of friendship. This latter circumstance does not speak for any lack of dignity and respectability on the part of Laches, but rather for the high regard and esteem which Bacchis deserved, even from a gentleman, for her good services.

Λάχης is the short form of the name Λαχέμοιρος,<sup>20</sup> composed of λαχε- which looks like the aorist stem of λαγχάνω, "obtain by lot," and μοῖρα, "portion, lot, fate," meaning literally, "he who obtains his portion or lot."<sup>21</sup> This name is found in two inscriptions<sup>22</sup>; with the possible exception of Εὐλάχης, no other full-name of Λάχης seems to occur, unless it be that Philolaches in Plautus' *Mostellaria* is a genuine Greek name and not one

<sup>15</sup> As Donatus desiderates: *etenim absurdum est comicum . . . uel nomen personae incongruum dare uel officium quod sit a nomine diuersum* (on *Ad.* 26). It should be noted that the name is particularly appropriate to the slave who stayed at home, whom Sosia calls *O fortunate* (418).

<sup>16</sup> Siess in *W. St.* 29 (1907), 313 ff.; Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 226 f.

<sup>17</sup> Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.*, 1, 137.

<sup>18</sup> Siess, *loc. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Legrand, *Daos*, p. 227, and notes 7-11.

<sup>20</sup> Fick-Bechtel, p. 184.

<sup>21</sup> This compound belongs to the ἀρχέμοιρος-type, which is very obscure; the first member may be perhaps the aorist infinitive. The meaning, however, seems reasonably clear. See Osthoff, *Das Verbum*, pp. 137 ff., esp. 166 f., Brugmann-Delbrück<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 63 ff., Meillet, p. 257, and Brugmann-Thumb, p. 199.

<sup>22</sup> *I.G.* 2, *Add.* 1512 b, 2 (*Pros. Att.* 9008, 4 cent.); Wilhelm, *Beitr. z. gr. Inschr.* p. 34 (5th cent.).

of "die nach unserer Kenntniss der neuen Komödie dort unmöglichen oder doch sehr auffälligen Namen."<sup>28</sup> The short name Λάχης may have a meaning similar to ἐχης, "der Besizende,"<sup>29</sup> that is, Λάχης, "Mr. Shareholder." The name seems to have been almost peculiar to Athens, being very common there,<sup>30</sup> but rare elsewhere.<sup>31</sup> Unlike the name Σιμωνίδης, Σωσίθεος, and others which are found frequently alongside of their short names, sometimes in alternating generations, e.g., Σωσίας, son of Σωσίθεος, grandson of Σωσίας,<sup>32</sup> the full name Λαχέμοιρος seems not to have been used, e.g., Λάχης, son of Λάχης, grandson of Λάχης, great-grandson of Λάχης,<sup>33</sup> and the abbreviated form became so common that it was practically an independent name.<sup>34</sup> There is, moreover, another short form of Λαχέμοιρος, Λάχων, which is the name of the son of Aristomenes of Ceos, who won (λάχε) the foot-race for boys at Olympia in 452 B.C.<sup>35</sup> The meaning is to be understood from the word-play in the first verses of the sixth Epinikion: Λάχων Διὸς μεγίστου / λάχε φέρτατον πῶδεςσι / κῦδος, which, as Jebb remarks, "brings out the omen of the name, in this case a happy one."<sup>36</sup>

The name Λάχης, likewise, is a name of good omen, signifying the victor, the man who has attained as his lot the results for which he strove. It is therefore most appropriate to Laches, the successful old man in the *Hecyra*.

SOSTRATA. In spite of Laches' sweeping condemnation of all wives and mothers-in-law (198 ff.), Sostrata exonerates herself before the audience (278), and Donatus, in summing up the whole play, notes among the innovations, that *inducuntur benivolae socrus* (*Praef.* 1, 9). This is particularly attested by her sincere affection and solicitude for Philumena, her daughter-in-law (337 f.). She is gentle and forbearing to her harsh and boorish husband (205 ff., 610 f.). To her son, Pamphilus, she exhibits such tender and unselfish devotion that she totally disarms him in his purpose to refuse to take back Philumena (577 ff.). The most distinctly emphasized trait in Sostrata's character is this unselfish love for her son,

<sup>28</sup> Schmidt, pp. 610; 613; cf. p. 379; Sonnenschein, *Most.* 2 p. 60; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 276.

<sup>29</sup> Brugmann-Delbrück<sup>2</sup>, 21, 425; cf. Fick-Bechtel, pp. 23 f., and Brugmann-Thumb, p. 233. For the suffix -ης, -της, see above, p. 40.

<sup>30</sup> *Pros. Att.* 9009-9027, Sundwall, p. 116.

<sup>31</sup> *I.G.* 7, 2446 (Thebes); 12<sup>o</sup>, 1163 (Chalcis); 14, 830; cf. Pape-Benseler, s.v.

<sup>32</sup> *Pros. Att.* 2921, and *stemma*.

<sup>33</sup> *Pros. Att.* 9019.

<sup>34</sup> The name Laches is commonly used for old men in comedy; the one exception is in Crobilus, *fr.* 5, K. 3, 380 where it is the name of a young man. See the lists in Gatzert, pp. 17, 23, and Mras, pp. 319 f.

<sup>35</sup> Bacchylides, *Epinikia*, 6 and 7; Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 5407, 26. This seems to be the only occurrence of the name.

<sup>36</sup> Jebb, *Bacchylides*, 1905, *ad loc.*; cf. Smyth, *Melic Poets*, p. 412.

which culminates in a readiness to remove to the country so that there may be no obstacle in the way of his becoming reconciled with his wife (574 ff.).<sup>32</sup>

In discussing the name Sostrata as borne by the mother of Pamphila in the *Adelphoe*, it was shown to be a name of good omen, and, as such, suitable to a respectable *matrona*, and also that the etymological meaning of the first part has some significance in suggesting her rôle as the savior of her household.<sup>33</sup> It is equally clear that in the *Hecyra*, Sostrata bears a name of good omen, admirably suited to her generous, forbearing disposition, her inherent nobility of character, and particularly to her self-sacrificing efforts to preserve the marriage and happiness of Pamphilus and Philumena.

PHIDIPPUS. It has appeared to some<sup>34</sup> that the characters of Laches and Phidippus are almost identical, but it does not require any exhaustive or elaborate analysis of these characters to show that each is individualized, and some scholars, in fact, have thought that they belong to opposite types.<sup>35</sup> Phidippus makes his first appearance speaking to his daughter within, reminding her that he could be severe with her, but would not, owing to his fatherly tenderness (243 ff.). A little later he explains to Laches that he cannot stand in the way of his family's wishes, for, as he says, *ego sum animo leni natus* (270). He does, notwithstanding, become considerably provoked at Pamphilus' strange behavior in refusing to take his wife back (496 ff.); he is again angry, this time at his wife who has concealed from him the birth of a child to Philumena (524 ff.); he says he is angry with Philumena likewise, but this feeling is short-lived (623 f.); and he is by no means mild and gentle with Bacchis (772), in sharp contrast to Laches. This side of his character, wrathfulness and severity, is likewise attested by Myrrina's fear of him (516 ff., 566 ff.). It appears, therefore, as Siess has pointed out,<sup>36</sup> that Phidippus combines two types in one: he is both the stern father and the mild father; he is Micio and Demea in one figure.

Phidippus is a Greek full name composed of *φειδ-*, which seems to be the stem of *φειδω*, "spare," and *ἵππος*, meaning "Sparehorse."<sup>37</sup> The name was used in various parts of Greece, particularly in Athens, where it seems

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Lamarre, *Litt. Lat.* 2, 112; Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 311 f.; Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 411, 641.

<sup>33</sup> See above, p. 58.

<sup>34</sup> Dunlop, *Rom. Lit.* 1, 294; Lamarre, *op. cit.*, 2, 113; Robert, *Die Masken*, pp. 61, 93; Henry, p. 59.

<sup>35</sup> Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 226 f.; Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.* 1, 137; Roth, pp. 42 f., 46 f.

<sup>36</sup> Siess in *W. St.* 29 (1907), 315; he also states that "die Härte wie die Milde des Phidippus notwendige Voraussetzungen für den Verlauf des Stückes sind."

<sup>37</sup> This compound belongs to the *ἀρχέανος*-type; see above, under the name Laches, p. 82, n. 21. Heyne translates "*qui equis suis parci*" (p. 50).

to have been restricted to free citizens.<sup>38</sup> It is as old as verse 678 in the second book of the *Iliad*, and the patronymic Phidippides is as old as the seventh century B.C.<sup>39</sup> This latter name is well-known from the familiar passage in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, where Strepsiades and his wife wrangle over the naming of their son, finally compromising upon Phidippides, the son of Mr. Spare and Mrs. Highstepper.<sup>40</sup> This was probably in the mind of the poet when he selected the name Phidippus for the figure of the now stern, now mild, old man in the *Hecyra*; the first part of the name is suggestive of parsimony and severity,<sup>41</sup> the latter part of the name is suggestive of well-to-do, easy-going aristocracy. Therefore, in addition to the general appropriateness of the name for a respectable Athenian gentleman, it is particularly significant of the double character of Phidippus.

PAMPHILUS. Another one of the innovations in character-portrayal introduced into the *Hecyra* is a *lenissimus in uxorem maritus et idem deditus matri suae*.<sup>42</sup> With this as a starting-point, Siess has studied, with considerable care and detail, the character of Pamphilus (*W. St.* 29 (1907), 306 ff.). He finds that the chief traits in his character are integrity, generosity and depth of feeling both in giving and craving love. Each of these he shares with one or more of the other young men in Terence's comedies. "Von allen diesen Jünglingen aber ist Pamphilus der Hecyra der einzige, der seiner Leidenschaft, so tief sie auch geht, Herr zu werden vermag; dies ist ein ganz neuer Zug." To this should be added the fact that he is ready to sacrifice this love to a vague sense of honor or delicacy (403, 648 f.), a sacrifice the more difficult to make, the less willing is he to compromise Philumena's reputation by disclosing his real motive.<sup>43</sup>

The composition, meaning and occurrence of the name Πάμφιλος have been given in the discussion of the character by that name in the *Andria* (above, p. 70).

The significance of the name Pamphilus lies in the importance attached to his love affairs in connection with the action of the play. In the first

<sup>38</sup> *Pros. Att.* 14157-65, Sundwall, p. 162, and possibly *I.G.* 2, 1044. Elsewhere: Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 4335, 3 (Rhodes); Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 660, 8 (Miletus); *I.G.* 5<sup>1</sup>, 93, 34 (Laconia); 12<sup>1</sup>, *Suppl.* 1448 (Thera); 12<sup>1</sup>, index (Thasos); 12<sup>2</sup>, 15, 3, (Carystus).

<sup>39</sup> *I.G.A.* 455 (Thera); for the date see Kirchhoff, *Stud.*<sup>4</sup> p. 64.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Lessing: "Junker Spaarross" (*Hamb. Dram. St.* 90, 10, 166). For the significance of *τῆρος* in proper names, compare Wilamowitz, who remarks upon "der lächliche stolz auf das ritterpferd, die fiction des adels" (*Arist. und Athen*, 2, 29, n. 39); Hermann, *Disp. de Equitibus att.* p. 8, quoted by Keil, *Onomat.* p. 34; Süvern, *Über Aristoph. Wolken*, pp. 35 ff.; Starkie, *Aristoph. Clouds*, notes on 64 ff.

<sup>41</sup> This connotation is doubtless due, in a large measure, to Aristophanes; originally the name must have been indicative of the love and care of horses which marked the true old nobility; cf. *Iliad*, 5, 202.

<sup>42</sup> Don. *Praef.* 1, 9. Cf. Leo, *Pl. Forsch.*<sup>2</sup> p. 141, n. 2; Henry, p. 70.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 207 f.

place, while still devoted to Bacchis, he is forced into marriage with Philumena, a girl of his father's choice, whom he does not at first love, but to whom gradually he becomes attached (114 ff.). The fact that, for a few months, he continues on intimate terms with Bacchis, is of vital importance to the plot, inasmuch as thereby Laches and Phidippus are led astray when they seek to find the true reason for the separation of Philumena and Pamphilus (538 f., 675 ff.). Moreover, the love which he comes to feel for his wife, together with his conflicting affection for his mother, constitutes or motivates the major portion of the action of the play.

It has been demonstrated that the name Pamphila is appropriate to the character by that name in the *Adelphoe*, as wholly loving Aeschines (above, p. 60), and that Pamphilus, in the *Andria*, bears a name that is appropriate to him as entirely devoted to Glycerium (above, p. 70). The name is likewise significant of the character and rôle of Pamphilus in the *Hecyra*, in as much as he is at first totally in love with Bacchis, and then wholly attached to Philumena.

**SOSIA.** The rôle of Sosia may or may not be a *εὑρημα* of Terence; the question is of no great importance with regard to the significance of the name.<sup>44</sup> Sosia is a typical faithful slave, who has been off to Imbros with his young master, undergoing a severe trip at sea for the latter's sake. His threat to run away rather than take another such trip, and Parmeno's retort, are probably conventional slave's jokes, with no special reference to the character of Sosia, which is, in fact, but faintly drawn. The chief interest of an audience in him is his amusing description of a sea voyage in bad weather.

The name is, in general, suitable for a faithful slave.<sup>45</sup> There is, moreover, in the present instance of the name, an obvious etymological significance: Sosia is the man who has been saved from death by shipwreck.

**MYRRINA.** Myrrina, the wife of Phidippus, is quite clearly the head of her household. To be sure she dreads, as one naturally might, the sudden outbursts of anger on the part of her husband, but these are always temporary and ineffective, so that Myrrina really has her own way. In fact Laches rightly accuses Phidippus of being under the thumb of the women in his family (250), and the latter avows that he finds it difficult to thwart their wishes (271), confesses to himself that he is a fool to expect his wife to do his bidding (564), and disclaims any authority over her (667). In marked contrast with the scene between Laches and Sostrata where the former does the talking (198 ff.), that between Phidippus and Myrrina discloses the latter holding her ground in the argument, talking up to her husband (527 f.), and ordering him about (557 ff.), until Phidippus toward the last is rather conciliatory in his tone (560 f.).

<sup>44</sup> Don. on *Hec.* 415; cf. Hildebrandt, p. 20 ff.

<sup>45</sup> See above, pp. 66 f.

Myrrina, therefore, does not belong to the same type to which Sostrata belongs, as Siess argues,<sup>46</sup> and as the authors of the *laruae* represented at the beginning of the *Hecyra* in the illustrated MSS. must have supposed;<sup>47</sup> rather is it evident that she belongs to the same type as Nausistrata in the *Phormio*, though, to be sure, her disposition, as portrayed, is somewhat different.<sup>48</sup>

The name *Mυρρίνη*, the later Attic form of *Μυρρίνη*, meaning "myrtle,"<sup>49</sup> is appropriate to any woman, as names of flowers naturally would be,<sup>50</sup> and particularly so to the Greeks, since the myrtle was sacred to Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty and love; suitable to freeborn Athenian women in reference to the pure and austere cult of the goddess, and more specially suitable to hetairai because that goddess was, particularly from the fourth century on, their patroness. In some individual cases the significance derived from the sweet, balsamic fragrance of the myrtle may be felt.<sup>51</sup>

*Mυρρίνη* is the name of women of all stations: respectable Athenian citizens, nurses and hetairai.<sup>52</sup> In comedy, however, it seems to be the name of a *matrona* except in a fragment of Timocles (25, K. 2, 462) and in the *Autolytos* of Eupolis (*fr.* 44, K. 1, 268 f.) where it is given to hetairai.<sup>53</sup> According to the usage of the New Comedy, then, the name seems to have been especially appropriate to *matronae*.<sup>54</sup> In addition to this, and the possible significance derived from comparison with the flower, there is a strong reason for supposing that the name was chosen with a special

<sup>46</sup> *W. St.* 29 (1907), 312.

<sup>47</sup> γυνή οδλή, Pollux, 4, 151; Robert, *Die Masken*, pp. 92 f. and fig. 108.

<sup>48</sup> γυνή λεκτική, Pollux, 4, 151; Robert, *Die Masken*, p. 95. The miniature after verse 516 pictures Myrrina as belonging to this type (Robert, *loc. cit.* fig. 109); cf. the miniature of Nausistrata after *Phor.* 784. The women of this type, the commonest in the New Comedy, are so named after their inexhaustable talkativeness (Robert, p. 73). A good example is *Μυρρίνη*, a nurse, in Menander's *Arrephoros* (*fr.* 66, K. 3, 22).

<sup>49</sup> For the etymology see Prellwitz and Boisacq, *s.v.*, and Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 238 f.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the English girls' names: Myrtle, Rose, Daisy, Pansy, Violet, Lily, Buttercup, Iris.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Gatzert: "*ductum autem est a μυρρίνη ex blanda comparatione ortum*" (p. 28).

<sup>52</sup> See *Pros. Att.* 19480-89; Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*; Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 103; Schmidt, p. 197; Sondag, p. 49; Lambert, 2, 15; Copalle, p. 47; Terzaghi, p. 146; Gatzert, pp. 7, 28.

<sup>53</sup> There were three other well-known hetairai by this name: a Corinthian, Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 149; a Samian, mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Athen. 13, 593 a; a hetaira of the orator Hyperides, Athen. 13, 590 c. Terzaghi's conjecture, *Μυρρίνη* for *Μυρρίνη* in Menander, *Arrephoros*, *fr.* 66, K. 3, 22, is unnecessary; his ground for rejecting *Μυρρίνη* is the fact that it is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον; *Μυρρίνος*, however, is a common name, and, besides, there are several names in Terence which occur nowhere else in extant Greek, *e.g.*, Archilis, Mysis, Pasibula, Lesbia. Schmidt also rejects the emendation, *B. ph. W.* 36, (1916), 755 f.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Steiger, p. 8, on *Μυρρίνη* in Aristoph. *Lys.* 70.

appropriateness in mind: at Athens the magistrates were crowned with myrtle wreaths, and accordingly the myrtle would tend to signify rule and authority. Therefore Myrrina is the archon, so to speak, of her household, and is suitably "crowned with the myrtle."

BACCHIS. Bacchis is a *meretrix bona*,<sup>55</sup> one of the innovations in the *Hecyra*, for, otherwise, "*meretrix bona rara avis*."<sup>56</sup> She is expressly called a *meretrix* (58, 689, 716) and she herself frequently alludes to her profession (735, 756, 789, 836); she is ashamed to meet Philumena, knowing full well the loathing and distrust felt toward women of her class (788 f., 793). Therefore one would naturally expect her to be a typical *meretrix*. She is in name only. She comes to Laches with some slight hesitancy, perhaps, owing to her consciousness of the stigma attached to her profession, but with a predisposition of good will so patent and guileless that Laches is at once inclined to believe and trust her (736 f., 761 ff.). She assures him of her readiness to do what no other of her profession would do, go to a married woman and tell her that she has had no relations with her husband (756 ff.). She is genuinely and abundantly delighted when her visit proves to be for Pamphilus a blessing in disguise, freeing him from suspicion, and restoring to him a wife with a child that is his own (816 ff.). Again she calls attention to the novelty in her actions, and vows that she will always be free from mercenary motives. It is true, no doubt, that she is not entirely disinterested, but recognizes some advantages to be realized from her behavior, yet on the whole this element of personal profit is only a secondary motive. She seems to be capable of genuine love for Pamphilus (860 f.) and respect for his family, especially his wife (863 f.).<sup>57</sup>

There is an inconsistency, which Hildebrandt has noted (p. 24), between Bacchis' character and behavior on the one hand, and the report of Parmeno regarding her harsh treatment of Pamphilus after his marriage (158 f.); Siess, however, has successfully argued that this contradiction is only apparent, and is easily reconciled.<sup>58</sup> But there occurs to Siess a much greater contradiction, one which he finds irreconcilable, namely: "zwischen Bacchis' von Grund aus sittlicher Natur und ihrer Eigenschaft als *meretrix*"; he regards this as a weakness in the plot, and Legrand attributes it to the immoderate desire of Apollodorus for novelty (*Daos*, pp. 115, 579).

<sup>55</sup> Don. *Praef.* 1, 9; on 774: . . . *meretrices honesti cupidus*.

<sup>56</sup> Bergler, quoted in Wagner, *Alciph. Ep.* 1, 232, and Sellar, *Alciph. Ep.* p. 251. This is not entirely a new thing, for cf. Athen. 13, 571 (c. 29).

<sup>57</sup> Occasion should be taken to correct the error which Henry makes, when he dismisses Bacchis in the *Hecyra* with the curt, "she appears in but one scene" (p. 89). In reality she appears in four scenes, having a speaking part of 70 verses or parts of verses.

<sup>58</sup> Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 310 f. One should also compare the excellent comment of Parrot on the last scene between Pamphilus and Bacchis, in *Mélanges Boissier*, pp. 22 f.; and Leo *Pl. Forsch.* p. 141, n. 2.



*Bacχis* is the feminine personal name, corresponding to the masculine *Bacχios*,<sup>60</sup> derived from *Bacχos*, one of the names of Dionysus,<sup>60</sup> whose devotees were called *Bacχoi* and *Bacχai*,<sup>61</sup> because the spirit of the god is supposed to enter into them.<sup>62</sup>

This name seems never to have been used by free born Athenian women; the instances in *I.G.* 2 and 3 are of foreigners.<sup>63</sup> In other localities where it occurs, it is borne by slaves, as at Delphi,<sup>64</sup> and elsewhere by women of unknown station.<sup>65</sup> As the name of hetairai, however, it seems to have been more common, both in comedy and in life.<sup>66</sup> It is quite obvious that the name was regarded as appropriate to hetairai, but not suitable for Athenian *matronae*.

The contradiction which has been felt between the inherent goodness in Bacchis, and her profession as *meretrix*, furnishes a clue to the significance of the name. Bacchis signifies the bacchante, the devotee of the orgiastic rites of Dionysus, such as was, for the most part, the common hetaira.<sup>67</sup> It will be observed that ostensibly Bacchis in the *Hecyra* is a typical *meretrix*, and as such she bears an appropriate name. Inasmuch, however, as she is at pains to disown herself as a typical *meretrix*, and repeatedly calls attention to the contrast between herself and others of her class, her name emphasizes this contrast and is thereby significant, *per antiphrasin*.<sup>68</sup>

SCIRTUS. Scirtus is a *κωπὸν πρόσωπον* introduced in connection with the motivation of Parmeno's entrance in the second scene. The latter has

<sup>60</sup> "Der Frauenname ist Widmungsname. 3) Feminina auf -is neben Masculien auf -ios" (Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* pp. 55 f.). *Bacχios* was a very common name in Athens, *Pros. Att.* 2819-2836; Sundwall, p. 42.

<sup>61</sup> The etymology of *Bacχos* is uncertain. L. Meyer says "unverständlich"; Boisacq does not treat it; *Et. Gud.* and *Et. M.s.v.*, followed by Ribbeck, *Dionysoskult in Attika*, p. 6, n. 3, have *παρὰ τὸ βάξω βάξω*; Curtius, p. 460, followed by Vaniček, p. 854, derives it from an Indo-European root \**va*, "call"; cf. Prellwitz, p. 191, and Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 1417, n. 7.

<sup>62</sup> *Bacχη* was a common name of Bacchantes, see Heydemann, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen*, p. 39.

<sup>63</sup> See in particular Gruppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 731 ff.

<sup>64</sup> *I.G.* 2, 2919 (Heraclea); 3206 (Miletus); *I.G.* 3, 2429 (Heraclea); 2617 b (Miletus).

<sup>65</sup> Collitz-Bechtel, 2, 1690; 1980; 2144 (2nd cent. B. C.).

<sup>66</sup> *I.G.* 7, 856, 857, 858 (Tanagra); *Att. Myth.* 30 (1905), 149 (Rhodes).

<sup>67</sup> See the lists in Schmidt, p. 179; Sondag, p. 47; Breitenbach, pp. 169 f.; Terzaghi, p. 149; Gatzert, pp. 31 f.; Mraz, p. 326.

<sup>68</sup> Compare Plaut. *Bacch.* 53: *Bacchis, Bacchas metuo et bacchanal tuom*, and *ibid.* 371. See Mendelssohn, p. 16. It should be noted that the Bacchic rites were in pretty bad odor at about this time in Rome. Cf. the *S.C. de Bacchanalibus* of 186 B. C. and the scandals connected therewith (Sandys, *Lat. Epig.* 1919, pp. 161 f., 257 ff.).

<sup>69</sup> Don. on *Ad.* 26. Cf. Mendelssohn: "But an added tinge of humor is found in the name if it describes not what the bearer is, but what he is not" (p. 49), and see the considerable list of examples from Plautus (pp. 49 f., 52 ff., 63).

discovered some news within, and must find someone upon whom he can vent his immense love of gossip. For this reason Parmeno comes out of the house, and to motivate this entrance, the poet has him call back to a slave, Scirtus, within, giving him one of the many excuses that a typical slave, according to comic conventions, would be expected to think up to explain to his master his absence from home and work.<sup>69</sup>

Scirtus is a Greek name, Σκίρτος, derived from σκίρ-,<sup>70</sup> a form of σκαρ-, the root set up from σκαρίω (\*σκάρω), "leap," and present in other Indo-European languages: Skt. *kurdati*, Latin *scurra*, Germ. *scherszen*, and old Slav. *skirtenn*.<sup>71</sup> The verbal adjective of σκαρ- is \*σκαρτός; σκάπτως, meaning *ταχός*, is mentioned by Hesychius. By the vowel change<sup>72</sup> which is observed in σκίπτω, a frequentative of σκαρ-,<sup>73</sup> and *skirtenn*, there is developed Σκίρτος from σκάπτως, with a meaning similar to σκάπτως. Or else there is a possibility that Σκίρτος is a short form of \*σκίπτητός, the verbal adjective of σκίπτω (σκίπτητός occurs, Moschus, 6, 2; *Orph. Hymn.* 11, 4).<sup>74</sup>

While this seems to be the only instance of the name Σκίρτος occurring in comedy, it is not unknown in Greek and Latin inscriptions, yet appears to be rather late.<sup>75</sup> It seems to have been a satyr-name; for example, it is the name of a satyr, son of Hermes and Iphthime, and of another in an epigram of Dioscorides.<sup>76</sup> The name is appropriate to them, in reference to the

<sup>69</sup> This excuse should trouble no one (as it does Hildebrandt, p. 23), because it is inconsistent with verse 194, for it is only an 'alibi,' with no thought of the truth. If it becomes true, then it is a mere accident as far as Parmeno is concerned. Verse 194 is also a motivation of his exit; at this time he may have made up his mind to go to the harbor, or perhaps again to someone with whom he may gossip. Cf. Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 317.

<sup>70</sup> Vaníček, p. 1078; Goebel, *Lexilogus*, 1, 33; 2, 161.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Walde, *s.v. scurra*.

<sup>72</sup> See Curtius, pp. 712; L. Meyer, *Gr. Et.* 4, 97; Persson, *Beiträge*, 1, 155 (cited by Boisacq, *s.v. σκίπτω*).

<sup>73</sup> σκίπτω: "das voraussetzende Nomen ist erhalten in σκίρτος" (Usener, *Rh. M.* 49 (1894), 462).

<sup>74</sup> Σκίρτος is derived from σκίπτω by Donatus, on *Hec.* 78, followed by Koenig, p. 32, Copalle, p. 56, and Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 477, 11, n. 10 (for Σκίρτας), but Schulze (p. 32) questions this etymology, considering it good for Σκίρτας rather than for Σκίρτος; the former, however, is probably a derivative proper name from the latter. The name is derived from σκαρ- by Cornutus, *Theologiae gr.* 59, 8 (Lang), accepted by Höfer, in Roscher, *s.v. Skirtos*. In either case, the root-meaning "leap" is certain. Fick-Bechtel's view (p. 338) that Σκίρτος is an ethnic name from the Σκίρτοι, a tribe in Pannonia, known only from Phlegon in Steph. Byz. *s.v. Σκοπίσκοι*, is unconvincing. It would be strange for a tribe to be known almost solely from personal names derived from it, especially in the case that these can be more easily explained in another way, namely, as derivatives of σκαρ-.

<sup>75</sup> *I.G.* 3, 2772; 12<sup>1</sup>, 641 (Rhodes); 14, 2572, 2 (Gaul); Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 3549, 248 (Cnidus); *C.I.L.* 5, 2887; 6, 10383; 10, 1739. 1810. Σκίρτας, Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 477, 11 (Crete, 3rd cent.); *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 940, 10 (Cydonia); Σκίρτος, Σκίρτα, *C.I.G.* 1957 *add f.* (Beroea); Σκίρτω, Schulze, p. 32.

<sup>76</sup> See Höfer, in Roscher, *s.v. Skirtos*.

dancing and leaping connected with the orgies of Dionysus. In the *Hecyra* it is a comic slave-name, suggesting to the audience a picture of a dancing, leaping satyr, as in English one might humorously call a slave-boy "jumping-jack."

**PHILUMENA.** Philumena is the wife of Pamphilus. Seven months before the opening of the play, she had been ravished, no doubt while attending a night festival, by an unknown young man, and just before the action begins she leaves her mother-in-law to go to her own mother in a vain effort to conceal her shame. The child which is born turns out to be that of Pamphilus himself. She is described by Parmeno as *liberali ingenio, pudens modesta* (164 f.), and by Bacchis as *perliberalis* (864); also by Donatus as *uerecunda nurus* (*Praef.* 1, 9). She is hardly more than a typical Athenian *virgo* and *matrona*.

Just as Philumena in the *Andria* was so named for the love which Charinus bore for her, so in the *Hecyra*, Philumena is so named for the love which, during the play, at least, her husband has for her. The name is the more appropriate in view of the fact that one of the innovations in the *Hecyra* is the *lenissimus in uxorem maritus* (*Don. Praef.* 1, 9).

**CALLIDEMIDES.** This is a name which Pamphilus invents in his plot to get rid of Parmeno. He orders him to go to the Acropolis and leave a message with a Myconian by the name of Callidemides (431 ff.); he describes that gentleman in a rather hasty and inconsiderate manner: *magnus, rubicundus, crispus, crassus, caesijs*, and, to cap the climax, *cadaveroso facie*, this latter phrase spoken with no attention to its absurd inconsistency.<sup>77</sup> Donatus is undoubtedly correct in his contention that Terence is not guilty of ignorance or lack of skill in changing *φαλακρός* of the original, but, says Donatus, *ego Terentium puto scientem facilius Myconium crispum dixisse*.<sup>78</sup>

Callidemides is a Greek personal name, Καλλιδημίδης, a regular patronymic formation from Καλλιδημος, composed of *καλλι-*, the usual form of *καλός* in composition,<sup>79</sup> and *δημος*, with suffix *-ίδης*;<sup>80</sup> the literal meaning is "son of the man who has a fair deme," or "son of a fair land." It is perhaps a

<sup>77</sup> Donatus is not successful in the attempt to explain away this contradiction (*Hec.* 441). It is, in truth, intentional on the part of the poet, in order the more vividly to describe Pamphilus' state of mind. Cf. P. Thomas, *Hecyra*, note on 441; Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 308; Ashmore, note on *Hec.* 441.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Hildebrandt, p. 3, n. 1, and Nencini, p. 60, n. 1. The joke is well explained by Göbel, *Ethica*, p. 76. Saekel rather prosaically remarks: "*Terentius in versibus suis magis adnominatiōni videtur studuisse quam accuratae vertendi rationi*" (*Quaest. com.* 1914, pp. 85 f.). For the proverb, see Lucilius: *Myconi calua omnis iuuentus* (1211, Marx; *Don.* on *Hec.* 440). See Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s.v. *Myconus*, p. 237.

<sup>79</sup> See Brugmann-Delbrück<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 78; Meillet, p. 255; Boisacq, s.v. *καλός*. It is related to *κάλλος*, an abstract of *καλός*, by Fick-Bechtel, p. 157, and Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 229. *καλο-* is rare, especially in proper names; see list in Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>80</sup> See Brugmann-Thumb, p. 240, and literature there cited.

coinage of Philemon (Plaut. *Trin.* 916), borrowed by Apollodorus and Lucian (*Dial. mort.* 7), or, what is more likely, taken from actual usage in Athens, although it does not happen at present to be extant.<sup>81</sup> Καλλιδημίδης is a high-sounding name, fit for the most select of Athens' aristocracy. The humor lies in the contrast between the name and the reputation of the island.<sup>82</sup> Since Myconus was known as a barren and unfruitful land,<sup>83</sup> to call a citizen from there Καλλιδημίδης is a good joke, especially palatable to the Athenians who always took delight in ridiculing some foreign locality and its inhabitants. Terence has added to the humor of this name by jokingly describing one of those bald-headed Myconians as curly-haired.

PHANIA. Phania is a citizen of Imbros, probably sometime emigrant from Athens, and cousin of Laches who is his sole heir. This name was used three times by Terence, each time as the name of a gentleman who has no part in the plot, but is used for the purpose of motivation (*And.* 929; *Hec.* 458; *Heaut.* 169). In each case it is suitable to a respectable, well-to-do old man; in the present instance, moreover, the etymological meaning may be suggestive of Phania's mode of life: he was given to pleasure, so that he left his heirs only *hanc laudem: vixit, dum vixit, bene* (461).<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Schmidt is mistaken in saying that the Athenian archon in 360/59 B. C. was Καλλιδημίδης (p. 180); that is an erroneous reading in Diog. Laert. 2, 56; the correct name is Καλλιμήδης, Hicks-Hill, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* p. 320, *Pros. Añ.* 8035.

<sup>82</sup> See Cratinus, *fr.* 328, K. 1, 109; *fr. adesp.* 439, K. 3, 491.

<sup>83</sup> Athen. 1, 7 f.; Zenob. 5, 21 and references cited by Leutsch and Schneidewin, editors; Meineke, *C.G.F.* 2, 176.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Phanium in the *Phormio*, above, p. 43, and especially *Anth. Pal.* 12, 82.

## VI. HEAUTON TIMORUMENOS

CHREMES. Chremes is an officious meddler. Although Menedemus is a new neighbor and acquaintance, he nevertheless undertakes to admonish him (58), and advise him in regard to the proper management of a farm (73 ff.). He urges Menedemus to trust him as an intimate friend, who will help him *aut consolando aut consilio aut re* (86). Like the officious man described by Theophrastus (*Char.* 13), he promises more than he can possibly do. His desire, however, is genuine, and he is perhaps actuated by real kindness and pity, but his judgment is poor. Like the officious man, again, who, when the doctor forbade the patient wine, drenched the sick man, Chremes, when Menedemus prescribed for himself as the cure of his self-punishment, his son's return, keeps the latter's son away from him for what he imagines to be the father's ultimate advantage and permanent cure (199). When his clever schemes fall upon deaf ears, he concocts a plan whereby Menedemus can furnish his son with money without being known as an easy-going, indulgent father (470 ff.). Here Chremes seems to be satisfying his own vanity and his immoderate interest in other people's affairs. He also seems to be judging Menedemus by himself, for he is naturally so stingy that to support an expensive courtesan would be ruinous to him (455 ff., 749 ff.).<sup>1</sup> His officiousness has for its net result the entangling of the plot, the prolongation of Menedemus' misery, and the execution of a clever trick upon himself. And not only is Chremes a meddler in Menedemus' affairs, but also in other people's, for example those of his neighbors Simus and Crito (498 ff.). It does not seem as if he has much depth of feeling or sincerity, for he is easily able to slight the interest of one person for another, and one may suspect that if a new case should appear, he could slight Menedemus' interests for it.<sup>2</sup>

Chremes is a preacher who does not practice what he preaches. He is a thoroughgoing hypocrite. In reprimanding Menedemus, he appears to know the exact and proper relations that should obtain between father and son; these, however, do not exist between him and Clitipho (229; 915 ff.). He lectures his son at great length about character and a father's severity, but Clitipho knows full well that his father had spent a gay youth, and still enjoys the cup that cheers and also inebriates (220). To Menedemus he preaches mildness in a father, but he himself loses his temper when

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stüss, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Köhler (pp. 6, n. 1; 16, n. 3) and Conrad (*Continuous Action*, 1915, pp. 53 ff.), verses 168 ff. and 502 serve to illustrate Chremes' officiousness.

cheated by Syrus (920). In the opinion of Siess, optimism is the basic characteristic of Chremes, and to this is due his inability to practice his own precepts (*W.St.* 28 (1906), 248). But this optimism cannot explain the hypocrisy that is everywhere in evidence. Chremes tells Menedemus that he stayed awake the whole night before, racking his brains to help him (491 f.), but he betrays himself (455 ff., 568), and Syrus lets the cat out of the bag when he jokes with his master about his last night's heavy drinking and his eternal youth (520 ff.). Although Menedemus confesses, convincingly, that he was oversevere with Clinia (100 ff.), Chremes, to forward his scheme to help his neighbor, makes out a different case to Clitipho, thus serving to corroborate Clinia's own fears of his father (200 ff.). When Syrus suggests a bit of dissimulation to Chremes (782), *non meast simulatio*, says Chremes, but he instructs Menedemus to pretend to Clinia that his daughter is betrothed to him (863), and he also requests Menedemus: *id mirari te simulato* (943), and, of course, he is not at all sincere in disinheriting his own son; it is a mere pretence to correct the youth's extravagance (940 ff., 949).

Like many other old men in comedy, Chremes is vain and susceptible to flattery. He is, naturally, proud of his wisdom and experience; in fact, the chief characteristic of a meddler is vanity, and this is the reason why he is so eager to pass around sympathy and advice. It is Chremes' vanity that is wounded by the trick of Syrus, for he recognizes that he disregarded many a chance to discover the deception (915 ff.).<sup>3</sup>

Chremes is not an honorable gentleman. In the first place no true gentleman is officious. Furthermore, it is not the part of a gentleman to conspire with his slave in a plot to deceive some one or to cheat some one out of his money. His relations with his wife are anything but gentlemanly and respectful; he is usually cross, sarcastic and overbearing.<sup>4</sup>

Chremes belongs to the type of easygoing, indulgent fathers;<sup>5</sup> he all along intends to pardon his son, and it is really due chiefly to his own miserliness that he pretends he will disinherit Clitipho. He even pardons Syrus. Henry, therefore, is mistaken in supposing that the *pater iratus* in verses 1033 ff. is the real Chremes (p. 62). For, as Robert has pointed out, "nur bringt es natürlich die Natur der dramatischen Handlung mit sich, dass auch der *πρεσβύτερος μακροπύγων* trotz seiner *καθότης* manchmal ganz gehörig in Zorn geraten kann."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On this susceptibility to flattery, see Henry, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Ballantine, p. xx; cf. Siess, *loc. cit.*, and Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 152 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Micio in the *Adelphoe*, and see Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 555 f. concerning Chremes' theory of education.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Masken*, p. 61; cf. Roth, pp. 46 ff. The evidence of the masks that Chremes does not belong to the type of *pater iratus* is certainly weightier than that of Horace (*A.P.* 94), who was undoubtedly referring to Chremes merely as a typical old man in Comedy

Chremes is not, then, a very estimable figure. Siess' attempt to picture him as a cheerful, sympathetic, and, on the whole, worthy individual is not convincing, for he neglects to give due weight to Chremes' manifest officiousness and conspicuous hypocrisy, two essential traits which Henry has observed and discussed (pp. 60 ff.). Perhaps Siess, like Lamarre (*Hist. Litt. lat.* 2, 70 f.), Legrand (p. 641) and Ballantine (p. xx), was led astray by the verse: *Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto* (77), a justly famous apothegm, and, withal, a neat excuse for the meddler.<sup>7</sup>

The meaning and occurrence of the name Chremes have been discussed above (p. 40), and its appropriateness to the two characters who bear it in the *Phormio* and the *Andria* has been demonstrated. Hemming and hawing are appropriate to people who are 'stalling' in embarrassing positions, and to people who are constantly vacillating and timorous; they are also appropriate to hypocrites and meddlers.<sup>8</sup> For example, Mr. Hem goes up to Mr. Detlef and says, "Good morning. Ahem, I think you are working too hard; hem, ahem, may I inquire the reason? . . ." The name Chremes, therefore, is a suitable name to give to the irascible old busybody in the *Heauton Timorumenos*, whose chief occupation is meddling, and whose peculiar trait is hypocrisy.

**MENEDEMUS.** The chief characteristic of Menedemus, as one might expect, is his self-inflicted punishment (cf. the title of the play). This is due, it seems, to a naturally serious and stern outlook upon life, which borders closely upon abject pessimism.<sup>9</sup> He had always been a strict, severe father, and when his son came to have a mistress *prope pro uxore* (98), he handled the matter in such a violent fashion that Clinia went off to the wars, as his father had done in his youth. With great strength of character Menedemus inflicts upon himself a fitting punishment: he goes to live in the country, where he works hard early and late, day in and day out, denying himself every comfort and pleasure, in order to make amends for the wrong done his son, and increase his property for his son's possible future enjoyment.<sup>10</sup> The contention of Schanz: "Der Charakter des Selbstquälers verliert sich sofort nach dem ersten Akt, aus demselben wird fast ein Schwächling" (*Röm. Lit.*<sup>3</sup> 1,<sup>1</sup> 147), is ably combatted by Siess (*W.St.*

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with no thought of any particular play or scene, as, to be sure, is certain in the case of his use of the name Chremes in *Ep.* 1, 33 and *Serm.* 1, 10, 40. The view of editors of Horace, therefore, that *A. P.* 94 refers to *Heaut.* 1032 ff. or *And.* 5, 3, 4, will bear reservation (cf. Macleane *ad loc.*).

<sup>7</sup> At this point one may well compare the comment of Eugraphius on verse 53: *haec scaena continet iniustam accusationem.*

<sup>8</sup> See *The New English Dictionary*, s.v. *hem*.

<sup>9</sup> He can hardly believe the good news of his son's safe return (431 f.), for he had almost given up hope (94 f.); he is easily made despondent (857) after believing himself the happiest man on earth (842 f.).

<sup>10</sup> See Lessing, *Hamb. Dram. St.* 87, 88, esp. 10, 157 f.

27 (1906), 244 f.). It is true that Menedemus becomes an indulgent father after having been a stern and wrathful one; this is due to his deep and genuine love for his son, and is part of his self-punishment. He does not, however, become the typical easygoing and lenient father, who is usually actuated by weakness of character as well as by love for his son, as, for example, Micio in the *Adelphoe*.

Menedemus is a common Greek personal name,<sup>11</sup> composed of *μενε-* and *δήμος*. The first member looks like an imperative from the verb *μένω*. This is suggested by Jacobi as a possibility (*Comp. u. Nebensatz*, p. 73), and Delbrück considers it "am wahrscheinlichsten" (Brugmann-Delbrück,<sup>1</sup> 5, 174); it is also accepted by Brugmann (*I.F.* 18 (1905/6), 68 ff.). The first member of such compounds, the *ἀρχέκακος*-type, has also been explained as participial, notably by Jacobi (*op. cit.* pp. 46 ff.), but without any considerable following.<sup>12</sup> That *Μενέδημος* belongs to this type is pretty certain from the fact that so similar a name as *Μενέλαος* is used in place of *ἀρχέκακος* as the type-designation by Delbrück (*loc. cit.*), and others such as Ostoff (*Verbum*, p. 140) and Jacobi (*op. cit.* p. 51) definitely assign *Μενέλαος* to this type. But there are those who see in *μενε-* a nominal stem, from *μένος* (stem *μενεσ-*); the majority of personal names containing the stem *μεν-* or *μενε-* are so classified by Fick-Bechtel (pp. 202 ff.) and by Bechtel (*Hist. Pers.* pp. 308 ff.), although it is the consensus among linguistic scholars that the first member of such compounds is verbal.<sup>13</sup> It is admitted, however, by Fick-Bechtel, that such a compound as *Μένανδρος* "konnte leicht nicht nur das *μένος ἀνδρῶν* sondern auch das *μένειν ἀνδρας* zum Ausdrucke bringen" (p. 203). The ambiguity of these names may be further illustrated by comparing the explanation of these compounds as formed from *μένω*, in the scholia on Homer (N 228, Dindorf, 4, 11; Δ 122, Maass, 2, 528), in the *Etymologicum* of Orion and the *Gudianum*, by Pott, *Personennamen*<sup>2</sup> (p. 127, n.), Vaniček (p. 663), Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, Heyne (p. 32) and Mendes da Costa, *Index Etymologicus* (with the exception of *Μενέλαος*, from *μεν-* in *μένος*, p. 182), with the explanation of them, as formed from *μένος*, by De Vit, *Onomasticon*, Goebel, *Lexilogus* (1, 414, except *Μενέσθης*, "Dauer-kraft," 2, 143) and Koehler (p. 5). It is not at all unlikely that in the time of the New Comedy and Latin Comedy the meaning of such compounds was equally ambiguous.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Pros. Att.* 9888-97; Sundwall, p. 125; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; *passim*; in Collitz-Bechtel, *Sammlung*. This appears to be the only instance of the name in extant comedy; cf. Gatzert, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Stolz, *W. St.* 27 (1905), 208 ff., and Brugmann-Thumb, p. 199.

<sup>13</sup> See Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Brugmann-Thumb, *loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that, while many scholars, such as Curtius, Vaniček, Boisacq, Francis Wood, and Walde, contend that the roots of *μένω* and *μένος* are identical, the contrary contention is more weightily and convincingly supported by such scholars as Böhlingk and Roth, Whitney, Fick, Brugmann, L. Meyer, Prellwitz, Mendes da Costa and Meillet.



The second member of the compound *Μενέδημος* is likewise, to a certain extent, ambiguous. The theory maintained by Süss that "*in hoc δήμος inesse ruris*" (p. 103), is borne out by the example of Demea in the *Adelphoe*, as shown above (p. 50), but not by the example of Demipho in the *Phormio*. In rejecting this idea put forth by Süss, Gatzert is equally unsatisfactory (p. 57), for he neglects the evidence of Demea. In explaining the name Menedemus, then, there are several possibilities: 1) *μένε ἐν δήμῳ*; one may compare *Μενολεὺς*, *μένε οἴκοι*,<sup>15</sup> with the German Bleibimhaus, and such compounds in Greek as *ἐπίγαιος* and *ἐνυπνός*; 2) *μένε δήμον* or *δήμους*; 3) *μένος* ("vigor") *δήμου* or *δήμων*;<sup>16</sup> 4) *μένος* ("desire") *δήμου*<sup>17</sup> or *δήμων*. The first explanation of the name is exactly descriptive of Menedemus, the self-tormentor. The other possibilities, with *δήμος* meaning "country" or "rural population," are also distinctly appropriate to Menedemus who punishes himself by persistently staying in the country. There is hardly another name that could possibly suggest just this very thing, and even granting the possibility that *μένε ἐν δήμῳ* is not the original etymological signification of the name, yet to a Greek or Roman audience the name could always suggest, at first hearing, the man who stayed in the country, or perhaps, the man who compelled himself to stay in the country.

ΚΛΙΤΙΦΟ. This young gentleman is practically a counterpart of his father Chremes.<sup>18</sup> He acts as consoler and counselor to Clinia, but in his case the acquaintance is of long standing (183 f.). He has to take advice, however, from Clinia (321, 342 ff.), just as Chremes later does from Menedemus. Like his father, again, Clitipho is given to the pleasures of life: it is a wild and luxurious courtesan, not a simple, modest maid (226) with whom he falls in love and with whom he drinks, and toward whom, though it is against the advice of his slave Syrus, he acts immodestly right before the whole dinner party, including his own father (563 ff.). In fact Clitipho is even more passionate than most of the young men depicted in comedy (376 ff., 563 ff., 900 ff.), in which respect he is to be compared to Chaerea in the *Eunuchus*.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, it cannot be said that Clitipho exemplifies, in a marked degree, any trait that is not shared with others of his type.<sup>20</sup> With Aeschinus he shares the quality of shamefacedness before his father (1043 f.). Like Charinus in the *Mercator* of Plautus, Pamphilus in the

<sup>15</sup> Pott, without substantiation, seems to reject this, *op. cit.*, p. 127, n.

<sup>16</sup> De Vit, *Onom. s.v.*

<sup>17</sup> Koehler, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Siess, *W. St.*, 28 (1906), 253 ff., and Ballentine, p. xx.

<sup>19</sup> This is further evidence in support of Roth's contention that Clitipho is a *νεαρίσκος ἀπαλός*, against Robert (*Die Masken*, p. 55), who thinks he is a *νεαρίσκος πάγχρηστος* (Roth, p. 13, n. 2).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Antipho (*Phor.*), Ctesipho (*Ad.*) and Pamphilus (*And.*). See Roth, p. 13 ff.

*Hecyra* and Clinia in the *Heauton Timorumenos*, Clitipho, at his father's command, breaks off relations with his girl (1059).<sup>21</sup>

Clitipho is the Latin form of the Greek name Κλειτοφῶν,<sup>22</sup> which is composed of the stem of κλειτός (<\*κλεφετός), the verbal adjective of κλέω (<\*κλέω, \*κλεφεσκω: κλέφος),<sup>23</sup> "celebrate," and the member -φῶν, which has already appeared in the names Antipho, Demipho and Ctesipho.<sup>24</sup> It is a good Attic name, notably that of a pupil of Socrates, who has given his name to a pseudo-Platonic dialogue;<sup>25</sup> it is also found in inscriptions especially Eretrian, Rhodian and Ionian.<sup>26</sup> In comedy it seems to have been chosen as a young man's name, undoubtedly with some notion of its suitability.<sup>27</sup>

Inasmuch as no striking trait of character that is in any way peculiar to Clitipho appears, in order to discover any significance that may possibly lie in the name, one must look further for some element of individuality in his rôle. This is found in his harboring and entertaining his friend Clinia. In view of the discussion of the significance of -φῶν in the name Antipho, there is a reasonable possibility that in the name Clitipho, as well, the root meaning "speak" may inhere. With this in mind, the poet doubtless selected the name because it fits the rôle of the young man who is the host of Clinia, "the man of glory."<sup>28</sup>

CLINIA. Clinia is likewise a chip of the old block.<sup>29</sup> He is a sober and serious young man: he fell in love, not with a wild and rapacious Bacchis, but with a simple, virtuous Antiphila (226); when his father strenuously opposed his love affair, he took to heart the admonition of the man of more years and experience (contrast Clitipho, 213 ff.), and went off to the wars in Asia (117). He is, withal, something of a pessimist: he fears for the faithfulness of Antiphila (175 ff., 230 ff.), and Clitipho, for all his optimism, is unable to reassure him (237 ff.); while Clitipho straightway

<sup>21</sup> In getting at a just estimate of Clitipho's character, one should discount to some extent Chremes' harsh arraignment: *gerro, iners, fraus, helluo, ganeo damnosus* (1033 f.); such words, to say the least, are in keeping with Chremes' character.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Demipho from Δημοφῶν, above, p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> Boisacq, s.v.; cf. Prellwitz, s.v. κλέωμαι, and Mendes da Costa, *Index Et.* p. 150; see Fick-Bechtel, p. 170, and Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 250.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of -φῶν, see under Antipho in the *Phormio*, above, pp. 30 f.

<sup>25</sup> See Holden, *Onom. Aristoph.* s.v., and *Pros. Att.* 8546. Others by this name are given in *Pros. Att.* 8547-50 and Sundwall, p. 111.

<sup>26</sup> Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 3791, 433 (Rhodes); 3, 5313, 182; 5597, 2.5 (Ionia); *I.G.* 12<sup>o</sup> (index).

<sup>27</sup> See Gatzert, p. 22.

<sup>28</sup> One might then explain the composition of Κλειτοφῶν in some such way as this: κλειτο-φῶν, a noun of agency, signifying "the man who calls or invites the renowned one"; κλειτός is equivalent to κλειός. See above, p. 76.

<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.* 1, 141, Siess, *W. St.* 28 (1906), 252, and Balentine, p. xx.

accepts Syrus' report, Clinia hesitates (295 ff.); even in his happiness at the sight of Antiphila, he cannot refrain from the reflection that he is not allowed to enjoy so great a love to his heart's desire (400 f.). His feelings run deep and strong: his love for Antiphila overmasters him, so that he returns from abroad after three months of intense longing (398 f.). He exhibits the usual love and respect, as well as fear (700, 718 ff.), toward his father, for at first he gives up his mistress at his command, and then when she is guaranteed to him, he resigns himself to his father's wishes (681). He shows loyalty and affection toward his friend Clitipho, although he hesitates a long while before helping him (722). After all, Clinia, like Clitipho, fails to exemplify any distinctly individual trait of character.<sup>30</sup>

The etymological signification of the name Clinia is "the man of glory."<sup>31</sup> It is, accordingly, not inappropriate to the young man who joined the army and sought renown and fortune in the wars in Asia; it suggests the glamor and glory of war.<sup>32</sup> So the names of the young men in the *Captivi* are redolent of warfare, although they did nothing but get captured. There is, moreover, the bare possibility that the explanation: "*α κλινω quod fugiendo declinaret morositatem patris*," attributed to Schrevelius (1644) by Schmieder (p. 162), to Farnabius by Koenig (p. 18), and perhaps older than either, may be based upon a folk-etymology (cf. *declino, inclino*, etc.), which might have existed in the time of Terence or earlier.

SYRUS. Henr. Siess has drawn an excellent and interesting character-sketch of the crafty slave Syrus (*W. St.* 28 (1906), 260 ff.). Two traits stand out distinctly: his wanton instigation of trickery, and his unpraiseworthy relation to his young master.<sup>33</sup> Unlike the Davoses and the Getas who engage in lying and cheating out of compulsion or affection and pity for their young masters,<sup>34</sup> Syrus in the *Heauton Timorumenos* takes the initiative, and wantonly creates a situation which calls for all his wits to solve, but is immensely pleasing to him (314), and he must needs seduce Clitipho to countenance the bold stroke, and lend a hand in the execution of the trick to retain Bacchis and procure money to pay her (311 ff.).<sup>35</sup> After the recognition of Antiphila, although it looks as if Syrus could

<sup>30</sup> Compare Clinia with others of his type (*πρωταγκος μύδας*), as Phaedria (*Phor.*) and Pamphilus (*Hec.*). He also resembles Antipho (*Phor.*) to some extent. See Roth, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>31</sup> See the discussion of the name in the *Andria*, p. 76.

<sup>32</sup> As Mras has pointed out (p. 324), Kock is mistaken when he suggests that Parmeno in Menander was the original of Clinia (*fr.* 145, 3, 42 f.).

<sup>33</sup> A comparison of Syrus with Davos in the *Andria*, is decidedly to the disadvantage of the former (Siess, p. 262).

<sup>34</sup> *Phor.* 188; *And.* 210; *Eun.* 381 ff. (*Δᾶος* in Menander).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Eugraphius on *Heaut.* 327.

wheedle the money out of Chremes, pay Bacchis and dismiss her, since he must know that she cannot possibly be kept in either house any longer, such a simple dénouement is not to the taste of a Syrus; he concocts a new plan, to take in both of the old men by telling the truth (709 ff.). As Legrand has pointed out, this may be an over-elaboration in trickery on the part of the poet, in yielding to the tastes of his audience (*Daos*, pp. 400 f.). It is significant, indeed, that Syrus is the slave-name selected by the poet for such a villain; this agrees with the conclusions already arrived at in the discussion of Geta in the *Phormio* (pp. 27 ff.), and Syrus in the *Adelphoe* (p. 55 f.).

**DROMO.** Dromo is Clinia's page, whom he sends to see Antiphila as soon as he reaches the harbor (191). Syrus is sent along by Clitipho, and when the girls lag behind, he sends Dromo back after them (249 f.). At the house of Antiphila, it is Dromo who knocks, and when the door is opened, darts headlong in, so as to take the girl by surprise (275 ff.). Thus it is plain to see that Dromo's chief occupation is running on errands.

Just as in the *Adelphoe* and the *Andria*, so here the name, as meaning "the runner," from *δραμεῖν*, "run," exactly fits the rôle of Dromo.

**BACCHIS.** Bacchis in the *Heauton Timorumenos* is the *meretrix mala* par excellence. She is bitterly, but truthfully, described by her lover Clitipho as *potens*,<sup>26</sup> *procax*, *magnifica*, *sumptuosa*, *nobilis* (227). Supplementing this by Menander's description of Thais (*fr.* 217, K. 3, 62), and the excellent portrait of Phronesium in the *Truculentus* of Plautus, one can obtain an adequate picture of the *meretrix mala*.<sup>27</sup> She is bold, impudent, lordly, pompous, luxurious, rapacious, mendacious, unscrupulous, gluttonous, coquettish, artful, enticing, incapable of genuine affection, shameless and heartless. The character of Bacchis is set off in bold relief by the contrast to Antiphila, a modest, simple, virtuous girl, ignorant of the courtesan's trade (226). The one redeeming feature in Bacchis is her tender and kindly interest in Antiphila, but even here there cannot be felt, in her tone or words, sufficient evidence of regret or dissatisfaction with her own lot to imagine that she would ever contemplate a change. Rather she is resigned to her profession, and her chief concern seems to be to provide against an ugly and miserable old age (390 f.).

The name Bacchis is significant of a wild, abandoned devotee of the Bacchic rites of Dionysus, and, accordingly, appropriate to the typical *meretrix mala* as she has just been described, and as she is embodied in the person of the courtesan in the *Heauton Timorumenos*.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Potens*, MSS, Umpfenbach, West, Schuckburgh, Gray, Friedländer (*Juv. Sat.* 1, 69), Siess (*W. St.* 28 (1906), 257, n. 2) and Ballentine; no emendation is necessary. Cf. Schol. *potens*: *superba* (Schlee, p. 116).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Bacchis in the *Hecyra*, above, pp. 88.

**ANTIPHILA.** Antiphila, the supposed daughter of a poor and not altogether respectable Corinthian woman, but later recognized as Chremes' daughter (614 ff.), was all but married to Clinia when his father compelled him to abandon her (97 ff.). When he returns from Asia, he discovers through Dromo and Syrus that, contrary to the circumstantial evidence, Antiphila, in his absence, has lived in poverty, modestly and virtuously, and throughout the three months of longing she has kept pure and tender her love for him, so that when she learns of his return she weeps tears of joy (306), and when she comes face to face with him, she faints (430 ff.). Like Phanium in the *Phormio*, Antiphila is described by disinterested persons: Clitipho (226), Syrus (264 ff.) and Bacchis (381 ff.), whereby her respectability and tenderness are unimpeachably attested.

Antiphila is the Latin of the Greek *Ἀντιφίλη*, a good Attic name, appearing elsewhere as well,<sup>39</sup> composed of *ἀντι*, "opposite, in return,"<sup>40</sup> and *φιλη*, which may have both an active and a passive meaning, "loving" or "loved." The name in *I.G.* 2, 836, 68 may be of a *virgo* or *matrona* or possibly of a *meretrix*;<sup>41</sup> at least in comedy it is the name of both *virgines* and *meretrices*,<sup>42</sup> to either of whom it may be considered suitable, although not, certainly, to a *meretrix mala*, as she has been described above, for the name Antiphila is etymologically indicative of the girl who requites her lover's love, or, less likely, whose love is requited.

The appropriateness of this name to the character in the *Heauton* is not difficult to discover: while Clinia is gloomingly forboding faithlessness in his Antiphila, finding abundant evidence to convince him, she remains as unassuming, as tender, as loving as ever. She fully returns his vehement and over-mastering love; he fully returns her steadfast and patient love. The name is exactly descriptive and significant of her whole rôle and character as it is delineated in the play.

**SOSTRATA.** It has been argued that there is in the figure of Sostrata an example of the talkativeness and quarrelsomeness of which many husbands in the New Comedy complain.<sup>43</sup> Such a statement is by no means

<sup>39</sup> *I.G.* 7, 782.4184 (Boeotia), of uncertain station. *Ἀντιφίλος* was extremely common in all parts of Greece, as a glance at any index of the *Corpus* or the *Sammlung* will disclose.

<sup>40</sup> Koenig's explanation: "*ἀντι* = für Entgelt," is improbable (p. 10).

<sup>41</sup> As Gatzert conjectures, but his evidence, "*quod una cum Theodote et Pythiade appellatur*," is by no means conclusive, for the former name is in *Pros. Att.* 6767-70 and the latter, 12356, and other names mentioned beside Antiphila are in *Pros. Att.* as Diphile, 4455-57, Hedyto, 6398, and Nikagora, 10671.

<sup>42</sup> Probably the name of the *meretrix* in the first edition of Plaut. *Cist.* (see Ritschl, *Opusc.* 2, 484); the name of a *meretrix* in Turpilius, *Philopator*, fr. 7, R. p. 126.

<sup>43</sup> Wagner, *Haui.* p. 15, cited and refuted by Siess, *W. St.* 28 (1906), 259. Cf. Legrand, *Daos*, p. 153, who observes that neither Sostrata in the *Hec.* nor in the *Haui.* deserves the complaints and accusations of her husband.

warranted by the character and behavior of Sostrata in the *Heauton*. She is gentle and not at all quarrelsome in her conversation with Chremes regarding the recognition of their daughter; in fact she pleads for forgiveness (631 f., 644 ff.), and expresses a happy surprise that Chremes is now conciliatory (664 f.). Later on, to be sure, moved by affection and solicitude for her son, and stirred deeply by the threat to disinherit him, she is somewhat more fearless and outspoken to her husband (1003 ff.). Supported by Menedemus, she successfully intercedes for Clinia, and, like all mothers (according to Laches, *Hec.* 240 f.), she has a suitable match ready for her son, but accepts one of his choosing, if only he marry (1060, 1067).<sup>46</sup>

Sostrata is a name of good omen, and as such appropriate to a respectable Athenian matron. As the name of Sostrata in the *Adelphoe* suggests that her rôle is that of the savior of her household,<sup>46</sup> and that of Sostrata in the *Hecyra* suggests her efforts to prevent the dissolution of the marriage of her son,<sup>46</sup> in like manner it is conceivable that in the *Heauton* Sostrata bears a name which, in addition to its general significance, may allude to her act of saving the life of her daughter (653), and later of effecting, with Menedemus' help, a compromise between Chremes and Clinia (1003 ff., 1045 ff.). It is noteworthy that the three Sostratas in Terence's comedies play rôles that have something to do with the act of saving or preserving. The natural deduction, that the name was chosen by the poet with this significance in mind, would seem to be valid.

CANTHARA. In the scene-heading at verse 614 the Bembinus gives *Canthara anus*; since the name is not found in the text, it is without authority, and, like Bacchis in the *Adelphoe*,<sup>47</sup> is doubtless to be ascribed to some copyist who substituted for the rôle *nutrix* (in other MSS.) the arbitrary name Canthara, supplied from similar rôles in the *Adelphoe* and the *Andria*.

PHRYGIA. This is the name of Bacchis' maid. Her entire rôle consists of answering two questions put to her by her mistress, and of starting off on a feigned errand (730 ff.). She is nothing more than a menial.

Phrygia is an ethnic slave-name, also used by Terence as the name of Syrus' wife in the *Adelphoe*.<sup>48</sup> While the origin of Dionysus remains in doubt, it is at least conceded that the cult is in many phases connected

<sup>46</sup> Ribbeck's characterization of Sostrata as "eine verständige Frau, der das Herz auf dem rechten Fleck sitzt" (*Röm. Dicht.* 1, 141) is therefore correct, as Siess likewise concludes (*W. St.* 28 (1906), 260).

<sup>46</sup> See above, p. 58.

<sup>46</sup> See above, p. 84.

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 53; and n. 2, cf. p. 58, n. 85.

<sup>48</sup> See above, pp. 63 f.

with the Phrygians,<sup>49</sup> so that it is not beyond reason to suppose that the typical slave-name Phrygia, appearing in company with Bacchis, would readily suggest the orgiastic elements in the worship of the wine-god, which were naturally associated with the life and business of the courtesans; in short, Bacchis, the bacchante, and her Phrygian hand-maid, make a significant combination.<sup>50</sup> The name is also, of course, appropriate to Phrygia in the rôle of a menial, as it was to her namesake in the *Adelphoe*.

PHANIA. Phania is one of Chremes' many neighbors, who has been invited to celebrate the *Dionysia* at his house (169). The name indicates that he is a respectable, well-to-do Athenian citizen.<sup>51</sup>

SIMUS and CRITO. These are the names of two neighbors of Chremes. They have had a boundary dispute, and have chosen Chremes as arbitrator (498 ff.).

Simus is the Greek Σῖμος, a personal name derived directly from σῆμψ, "snubnosed."<sup>52</sup> While the name is exceedingly common historically,<sup>53</sup> this instance in Terence seems to be without parallel in extant comedy. The significance is obvious: he is a rather common, plain citizen, with no pretension to fashion or aristocracy.

Crito, however, although he may likewise be in moderate circumstances, is doubtless a more dignified and distinguished gentleman.<sup>54</sup> In fact, the two names are no more than the designations of two typical Athenian citizens.

PHILTERA. The conjecture may be advanced on the strength of the two passages in which Philtera figures, that she was a Corinthian woman who had come to Athens on account of poverty, and, like the Andrian woman, after trying to make a decent living, was led into the life of an hetaira, and, growing old, readily accepted Sostrata's child which she reared to care for her in her old age. As Clinia claims (233 f.), she was a *mater mala*, who had a taste for nothing but money, evidence, possibly, that she

<sup>49</sup> See Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 660; Voigt in Roscher, 1, 1030, 1035 f.; Farnell *Cults of the Gr. States*, 5, 85 ff.; and Gladys Davis, *The Asiatic Dionysos*, esp. pp. 144, 163, 257 ff. (her general conclusions rejected by C. H. Moore, *C. W.* 9 (1915/6), 175 ff., and Granger, *C.R.* 31 (1917), 136 ff., but thereby her contribution to the present question is not nullified). Cf. Nonnus, *Dionys.* 11, 117: Φρυγίῳ . . . Διὸς ἑορταῖον.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Aristoph. *Wasps*, 433: ὦ Μίδα καὶ Φρόξ. Cf. the chapter on "Zwillingenspaar" in Eitrem, *Gr. Rel.* 3, 144 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Phania in the *Andria* (above, p. 79), and in the *Hecyra* (above, p. 92).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Simulus in the *Adelphoe* (above, p. 62), Simo in the *Andria*, (above, p. 65) and Simalio in the *Eunuchus* (below, p. 120).

<sup>53</sup> Particularly in *I. G.* 2, 5<sup>a</sup>, 9<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Pros. Att.* 12669-79; Sundwall, p. 151; Pape-Benseler, s.v.; *I.G.* 1, 59 (410/9 B. C.); 9, 870 (6th cent. B. C.).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Crito in the *Phormio* (above, pp. 38 f.) and in the *Andria* (above, p. 76).

was a kind of *lena*. It seems, however, that her ward was true to a single lover, and preferred to live in poverty rather than prove unfaithful to him, (285 ff.).

The name Φιλτέρα is equivalent to the feminine of one of the four forms of the comparative degree of φιλος, namely φιλερος, by haplology for \*φιλότερος, which is formed by adding the regular suffix -τερο- to the stem of φιλός, the perfect participle of the verb φιλέω.<sup>55</sup> It is a rare name historically<sup>56</sup> and in comedy is found only here.

As Gatzert has observed (p. 45), the name Φιλτέρα is more suitable to a *meretrix* than a *serva anus*, but the same names could be used for both. In accordance with the conjecture that Philtera had been a *meretrix* and then a *lena*, it is obvious that she bears an appropriate pet-name.

PHANOCRATES. Phanocrates is one of Chremes' friends, whose daughter is selected by Sostrata as a suitable wife for Clitipho (1061). It may be assumed thereby that he is a respectable and well-to-do citizen who can furnish a good dowry, and desirable family connections.

The Greek personal name Φανοκράτης is composed of φανο-, a form of the root φαν, "shine,"<sup>57</sup> and κράτης, a masculine -a-stem of the first declension,<sup>58</sup> from κράτος, "strength." The meaning is: "having conspicuous strength," suggestive of a well-known and influential citizen.<sup>59</sup> In the present instance, it is hardly more than a name, and its significance is of a general nature only, referring to a man with whom Chremes' family desires a connection by marriage, doubtless on account of his conspicuous wealth and influence.

ARCHONIDES. When Clitipho refuses to take to wife the daughter of Phanocrates, he suggests as his own choice the daughter of another neighbor of Chremes, Archonides, who proves to be quite acceptable to Sostrata.

<sup>55</sup> Hoffmann, *Philol.* 60 (1901), 17 ff.; cf. Boisacq, s.v. φιλος.

<sup>56</sup> *I.G.* 2, 1386, 1411, Φιλτέρα, priestess of Athene Polias, mid. 2nd cent. It is unlikely that this is an abbreviated form of Φιλωτέρα (*I.G.* 2, 1385, early 1st cent.) *melri causa*, for the latter inscription is in prose. Kirchner, therefore, (followed by Wilhelm *Beitr. z. gr. Inschr.* p. 81) correctly distinguishes between these two priestesses (*Pros. At.* 14786). An unknown Φιλτέρα appears in *I.G.* 2, 4266. Φιλερος occurs in a much earlier inscription: *I.G.* 7, 1888 d, 9, 424 B. C. (Boeotia), possibly of a slave.

<sup>57</sup> An enlargement of the Indo-European root \*bha or \*bhe; see the discussion of Antipho, above, pp. 30f. Cf. such words as φαίω (\*φάω), φανερός, υπερφανερός and αφανής, Vaniček, p. 573, Fick-Bechtel, p. 273, and Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 438.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. under the name Aeschinus in the *Adelphoe*, p. 53, n. 49.

<sup>59</sup> See *Pros. Att.* 14059-60; Collitz-Bechtel, 3,5313, 201 (Eretria, early 3rd cent.); *I.G.* 12<sup>7</sup>, 10, 2; 55, 2; 68, 6 (Arceasine, 4th cent.).



Archonides is the Greek Ἀρχωνίδης,<sup>60</sup> a patronymic of Ἀρχων, a short name of Ἀρχοκλῆς, Ἀρχονίκα, *et al.*,<sup>61</sup> signifying "the son of the leader," a name appropriate to an Athenian whose father, perhaps, has been an archon and who assuredly belongs to a distinguished family,<sup>62</sup> and his daughter, therefore, is a desirable match for Clitipho.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Pros. Att.* 2574-6 (Ἀρχων, 2568-73); Pape-Benseler, *s.v.*; *I.G.* 2<sup>5</sup>, 33 b, 15; *I.G.* 12<sup>1</sup>, 845, 37 (Rhodes); 12<sup>2</sup>, 812 (Eretria).

<sup>61</sup> Fick-Bechtel, p. 73; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 84. Compare Callidemides (*Hec.*), above, pp. 91 f.

<sup>62</sup> Patronymics were considered more fashionable and aristocratic than shorter names; cf. Peppler, *Com. Term.* pp. 47 f.

## VII. EUNUCHUS

**PHAEDRIA.** The character of Phaedria has been discussed in greater or less detail by Bertin (pp. 34 f., cited by Fabia), Ribbeck (*Röm. Dicht.*<sup>2</sup> 1, 144 f.), Fabia (*Eun.* pp. 21 f.), Siess (*W.St.* 29 (1907), 85 f.) and Legrand (*Daos*, pp. 196 f., 315 f.). Phaedria is the distraught lover (Henry, p. 73). Time was when no one was so sensible, so sober, so steady as he (226 f.),<sup>1</sup> but now he has lost his senses and his will power so that his own slave hardly knows him—small wonder Parmeno asks: *Quid hoc morbiſt?* Under the stress of this affliction Phaedria becomes sentimental, prodigal and irresolute. Provoked at Thais for excluding him, he nevertheless is unable to manifest indignation and to cast her off; without even one dry tear (67 f.), he is subdued and mollified into granting her every wish and craving a love equal to his own (191 ff.). He promises to leave her for two days, but, despite his resolve and effort, he cannot be out of her sight for more than a few hours at the most (629 ff.). It is noteworthy that Phaedria never gives up hope of having Thais to himself; he tries to keep her with the effort of one who is by no means despondent; nor does he share Parmeno's pessimism regarding his own irresolution (217 f., 221), and although he admits his slave's arraignment of Thais (70 ff.), yet even then he cheerfully goes to his ruin, *prudens sciens, uiuos uidensque* (72 f.). It is not surprising that a lover so grievously smitten is jealous and suspicious to the point of brutality; he sarcastically accuses her of trickery (152 ff.), and taunts her with her former affection for him (89 f.), but is more than glad to find his suspicion baseless (507). His unusually easy-going and credulous optimism must be considered responsible for his acceptance, at the last, of Thraso as a rival and partner in Thais' affections.<sup>3</sup>

The etymological meaning and significance of Phaedria have been discussed in connection with the character by that name in the *Phormio* (above, pp. 32 f.). To arrive at the significance of the name of Phaedria in the *Eunuchus*, it must be borne in mind that, while formerly no one was less foolish or more serious and self-controlled, he now is *φαιδρός*,<sup>4</sup> *luxuriosus*, *lasciuus*<sup>4</sup> and *ineptus*. The name, therefore, is appropriate to the character and behavior of Phaedria during the action of the play.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this type, see Roth, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> One may be inclined to believe, with Legrand (*Daos*, p. 188), that, after all, Phaedria's love is primarily sensual.

<sup>3</sup> *φαιδρός* is a natural antonym of *seuerus* (227), as is also *luxuriosus* (cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 11, 3, 74). *Seuerus* is composed of \**se* "without" and \**uēro-*, related to old Slavic *větr*, "friendly, agreeable" (cf. Walde, s.v.).

<sup>4</sup> *ineptus*: *lasciuus*, Schol. *Eun.* 227 (Schlee, p. 98).

Since it is known from an imitation of a part of the first scene of Menander's *Eunuchos* by Persius in his fifth satire (161 ff.), and from the scholia thereon, that the original of Phaedria was named Chairestratos, the question immediately arises as to the reason for this change. A few summary explanations are recorded. Koenighoff states, without proof, that Terence assigned to the *personae* names which were more appropriate to them than the names employed by Menander (p. 14). By way of refutation, Nencini concludes his discussion of the names Chaerestratus, Chrysis, Micio and Chremes with the assertion that the contrary is true (pp. 152 f.). He suggests that in the original there took place a quarrel over money between Chrysis, who is "*nimis auri avida*" or perhaps "*nimis sumptuosa*" (p. 82, n. 1), and Chaerestratus, who is by nature somewhat contentious ("*ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατῶ χαλπεῖν*," p. 83, n. 1).<sup>5</sup> But assuredly Phaedria in Terence's *Eunuchus* is not a contentious or bellicose young gentleman, comparable with Strattulax in Plautus' *Truculentus*; in fact Fabia rightly observes that the name Chairestratos is etymologically unsuited to the feeble, pliant, irresolute young lover (p. 49). Ribbeck's suggestion, that the change of names is partly due to the exigences of the verse (*Röm. Dicht.*,<sup>3</sup> 1, 146), is unconvincing, at least for Chairestratos, since that name will fit into any verse form used by Terence, and, that long names were not particularly avoided, is clear from the employment of Nausistrata, Menedemus, Antiphila, and Glycerium for *dramatis personae*. Another consideration which may have influenced Terence is the fact that he was using, with decided appropriateness, the name Chaerea for the younger of the two brothers, and a name as similar as Chaerestratus must have seemed unsuitable to a character in every respect unlike Chaerea, and in sharp contrast with its etymological signification.

It seems certain, therefore, that with good reason Terence rejected the inappropriate name Chaerestratus, and chose the more suitable one, Phaedria, for the figure of the distracted, but cheerful lover in the *Eunuchus*.

PARMENO. Although Parmeno is the confidential slave of the young lovers, he is not the intriguer but the "psychologist and moralist" of the play.<sup>6</sup> He understands the inner workings of the love-stricken mind of Phaedria, and knows the ways of courtesans. With this worldly wisdom he counsels and domineers over Phaedria. When the latter does the expected thing, namely, yields to Thais, Parmeno, ever the faithful slave, is ready to do his commands. He pessimistically assures his master that he will not be able to stay away from his lady-love even for one night, which of course proves to be the case. As for parasites, they are thorns

<sup>5</sup> Siess justly questions this supposition (*W. St.* 29 (1907), 89); similarly Oudegeest, pp. 17 f.

<sup>6</sup> Fabia, *Eun.* p. 24; cf. Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 86.

in his flesh; perhaps as Eitrem has suggested, Parmeno retains the characteristic of the old slave (Daos?) in Menander's *Kolax*, namely, his aversion to parasites.<sup>7</sup> After jokingly suggesting to Chaerea that he masquerade in the eunuch's clothes, he is frightened when the idea is straightway taken up by that impetuous young man, and it is only under absolute orders that he agrees to help carry out the scheme (389 f.). He does not deserve, however, the credit which Chaerea in his joyous effusion gives him for the lucky outcome of the plan (1034 f.). In comparison with Clitipho and Syrus, the rôles of master and slave are reversed. Not only is Parmeno no match for Chaerea, but not even for Thais' maid Pythias, who plays a good joke on him and frightens him into doing an extraordinary and unprecedented thing, namely, entrusting the solution of the plot to the father of the young men, and instead of cheating the old man to help the young lovers, as a Davos or a Syrus would do, he betrays them to the mercy of their father.

Ribbeck (*Röm. Dicht.*,<sup>2</sup> 1, 145), Fabia (*Eun.* pp. 24 ff.), Siess (*W. St.* 29 (1907), 86 f.), Legrand (*Daos*, pp. 230 f.), Henry (p. 83) and Schild (pp. 72 f.) agree that Parmeno is an unusual slave, differing in many respects from the typical *servi comici*, particularly in his lack of presence of mind, his inability at intriguing, and the timidity which culminates in his confession to the old man.

The etymological meaning of the name Parmeno is twice made the occasion for word-play. Gnatho greets Parmeno and asks *Quid agitur? Statur*, replies Parmeno (271). Later Gnatho reënters and asks Parmeno if he is still standing: *Etiame tu hic stas, Parmeno? ego num nam hic relictus custos*, etc. (286).<sup>8</sup> It has already been observed that Parmeno is a name typical of faithful slaves, appropriate to those who are too dull or timid or lazy to intrigue successfully for their young masters.<sup>9</sup> Such a name, then, is eminently suited to the character and rôle of the slave in the *Eunuchus*.

But the name of this slave in Menander's *Eunuchos* was Daos.<sup>10</sup> It is at once obvious that that name, as employed elsewhere by Terence,<sup>11</sup> would be far from appropriate to the character and rôle of the slave in the *Eunuchus*.<sup>12</sup> With very good reason, then, Terence made this change in his original.

<sup>7</sup> Eitrem, *Obs. on the Kolax of Men. and the Eun. of Ter.* p. 25; cf. van Leeuwen, *Men.* pp. 146; 150.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the similar word-play in the *Adelphoe* 168 f.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Parmeno in the *Adelphoe*, pp. 53 ff. and in the *Hecyra*, pp. 81 f.

<sup>10</sup> Persius, *Sat.* 5, 161 ff., and schol.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Davos in the *Phormio* pp. 24 ff. and in the *Andria*, pp. 67 f.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. in particular Fabia, *Eun.* p. 26.

THAIS. Thais is an exceptional courtesan. Menander did not, however, go to such extremes as Apollodorus in portraying an exemplary *meretrix bona*.<sup>13</sup> Like Bacchis she is eager to prove herself better than the type; but it is chiefly, as she herself insists, with the purpose of obtaining friends and protectors in Athens that she seeks to hold the regard of Phaedria, a member of a good family, and endeavors to restore Pamphila to her relatives, although, to be sure, she is capable of sisterly affection for the latter, and a hetaira's love for the former. She had moved to Athens from Rhodes, and had lived with an Athenian gentleman who had left her his property (119 f.). She grants Parmeno's objection that she was not content with one lover, nor did he alone enrich her (121 ff.). Throughout the action of the play she exhibits a strong character: she has energy, foresight and tact.<sup>14</sup> She knows how to manage Phaedria and use him for her own interests, and yet retain his love and obedience. Her relations with the Captain are typical, but might seem inconsistent with the rest of her behavior in the play unless one considered that the mere fact that Thraso is a *miles gloriosus* is a sufficient justification, since an audience always expected that type, as the *leno*, to be the dupe, and hence all is fair against him, and furthermore, that she is actuated by an honorable, even if self-interested motive, namely, to restore the girl to her relatives (149, 202, 871). As Chremes himself recognizes, she is very artful and coy in seeking his acquaintance, and her whole management of the plan to restore Pamphila to her brother is diplomatically carried out. In her relation with Chaerea, unlike Pythias who would like to fly at the monster's hair, Thais is tactful, and so delicately, but unequivocally, upbraids him that his only course is to ask for Pamphila in marriage (888). In the end Thais is successful: Chremes promises the reward which she has deserved (749), she finds favor with Phaedria's father and is put under his protection and patronage (1039 f.), and is enthusiastically praised by Chaerea (1051).

Thais is a Greek name *Θαῖς*, derived from *θεῖα*, "sight,"<sup>15</sup> with the feminine suffix *-is*, *-idos*;<sup>16</sup> the meaning as given by Koenig (p. 23) is: "*venusta*

<sup>13</sup> Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 115 f.; cf. Bacchis in the *Hecyra*, above, pp. 88 f.

<sup>14</sup> Compare the excellent character-sketches by Fabia, *Eun.* pp. 27 ff., and Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 88 f.

<sup>15</sup> *θεῖα* < \**θᾱῖᾱ*, Dor. *θᾱᾱ* (Kaibel, *C.G.F.* 1, 200); hence *Θαῖς* < *Θᾱῖᾱῖς*, root \**θᾱῖ-*, \**ḡhan*, Kretschmer, *K.Z.* 31 (1898), 289, n. 2, and Boisacq, *s.v.* *θεῖα*. *Θαῖς* cannot be, therefore, a short form of the full names derived from *Θεός* as given by Fick-Bechtel, p. 144, nor is it probably the feminine of *Θᾱς* if that name is rightly placed under *Θε-* (*θεός*); perhaps \**Θεῖᾱς*: \**θεῖᾱς*: *θᾱς* (cf. Koenig, p. 23), or \**Θᾱῖᾱς*: \**Θᾱᾱς*: *Θᾱς*. On the contrary, *Θεός* is a correct abbreviation of full names from *Θεός*, also given by Fick-Bechtel, and by Bechtel, *Alt. Fr.* p. 17, and *Hist. Pers.* p. 207, who, however, does not mention *Θαῖς*. The fanciful derivation from *ραῖος*, "peacock" (Schmieder, p. 83, Rossius, 1, 112) is scarcely worthy of mention; cf. Koenig, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> See under the name Chrysis (And.), above, p. 77.

*specie devinciens.*" Ever since Menander's Thais, who was regarded as the perfect embodiment of the hetaira-type,<sup>17</sup> the name has been typical of courtesans<sup>18</sup> and consequently significant of this type so that in many instances it is more suggestive than names of specific denotation, descriptive of some peculiarity of character or behavior. Chrysis, for example, which is the name of the courtesan in Menander's *Eunuchos*, has no special significance except in a general way,<sup>19</sup> and in that is less suggestive than Thais, and, besides, it is an equivocal name, that is, it does not indicate that the bearer is necessarily a courtesan,<sup>20</sup> whereas Thais stamps one indelibly as a perfect example of the type. Terence, then, seems to have had an adequate reason for changing the courtesan's name in the *Eunuchus* from Chrysis to Thais.

GNATHO. Gnatho poses as the founder of a new school of parasites. In a famous passage in the *Eunuchus*, he describes his methods and lays down the rules of his art, the key-note of which is *omnia adsentari* (253), and in a subsequent passage these principles are exhibited in practice in his scene with the vain-glorious Captain.<sup>21</sup> Like the typical parasite, his greeting to Thais is: *Eamus igitur ad cenam. Quid stas?* (459), but his chief characteristic and claim to greatness is a shameless and unlimited talent for flattering his patron, who is such a fool that no subtle flattery is needed, and Gnatho often cannot contain his scorn and ridicule (409 f., 422, 497). He does not lack intelligence; in fact he is a clever and resourceful rascal<sup>22</sup> who has chosen an easy and profitable profession, but for all his haughtiness and craftiness he holds a humiliating position,

<sup>17</sup> Men. fr. 217, K. 3, 61; cf. Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 100 ff. It is exceedingly doubtful whether Thais the famous Athenian hetaira, mistress of Alexander and concubine of Ptolemy Soter, was ever the mistress of Menander as Fabia supposes (p. 48); it is more likely that the poet took nothing but the mere name; compare Breitenbach, pp. 139 f., and Gatzert, p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> See Meineke, *Men. et. Phil. Rell.* pp. 73 ff.; Kock, 3, 61; Sondag, p. 47; Breitenbach, *loc. cit.*; Terzaghi, p. 145; Gatzert, p. 33; Mras, pp. 327 f. Cf. Saint Thais, who had been a courtesan of Alexandria (4th cent.), and the heroine of Anatole France's novel, *Thais*, and Massenet's opera, *Thais*.

<sup>19</sup> Nencini's contention that Chrysis is appropriate to the courtesan who is greedy for money is rightly rejected by Oudegeest, because she is not thus characterized in the play (p. 18).

<sup>20</sup> *Xpwtis* and *Xpwrtor* are names of Athenian citizens, *Pros. Att.* 15583, 15578, Sundwall, p. 172, but *Oals* is the name of slaves or freedwomen: *I.G.* 3, 2707 (cf. Mras, *loc. cit.*); *I.G.* 12<sup>1</sup>, 910 (cf. Martha, *B.C.H.* 2 (1878), 620); Collitz-Bechtel, 3, 3401, c, 8 (cf. Foucart cited by Martha, *B.C.H.* 3 (1879), 79); *I.G.* 12<sup>2</sup>, 991 (Tenos).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Cic. *De Amic.* 26, 98: *Nec parasitorum in comoediis adsentatio nobis faceta videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi*; Ribbeck, *Kolax*, p. 21; Giese, pp. 3 f., 17; Leo, *Pl. Forsch.* 3 p. 115, n. 3.

<sup>22</sup> He merits Parmeno's righteous indignation: 419, 431, 460. Cf. the *idioma* of Erasmus: "*assentator et callidus*" (Ellius, p. 92).

subject to insults even from slaves, as, e.g., from Parmeno (489 ff.). Although he has no affection for his patron, but rather disgust and contempt (782, 1079 f., 1087), in the last scene he acts as Thraso's ambassador to negotiate peace, for his own advantage, to be sure, but, at that, to please both parties;<sup>23</sup> in short, Gnatho is not a mere sponger or diner-out who earns his board by entertainment or flattery alone, but he also performs material services for his patrons.<sup>24</sup>

Γνάθων is a nickname, derived from γνάθος, "jaw," peculiarly appropriate to the typical parasite, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὢν ἢ γνάθος.<sup>25</sup> This name and its cognates were widely and frequently employed by the Greeks for men and women of all stations,<sup>26</sup> although in comedy it is probable that Γνάθων was restricted to parasites,<sup>27</sup> Γνάθαινα to hetairai,<sup>28</sup> owing to their etymological significance. In a fragment of Menander's *Kolax*, the word Γνάθων appears, evidently the name of a parasite, but certainly not the original of Terence's Gnatho, who is known, on the authority of Athenaeus and Plutarch, to be Στρουθίας.<sup>29</sup> It may be, as suggested by Wilamowitz, that Gnathon is the dependent of the young man Pheidias.<sup>30</sup>

The name Στρουθίας seems to have been considered appropriate to parasites, but its exact significance is uncertain. There are at least six possibilities: its derivation from στρουθός, "sparrow, ostrich," may refer to 1) large size, 2) small size, 3) miserable outward appearance, 4) weakness of character, 5) lasciviousness, 6) talkativeness.<sup>31</sup> In contrast to this equivocal and ambiguous name is Γνάθων, which obviously and readily

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 4, 6.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. another type of parasite, Phormio, above, p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, 4, 11. Cf. γνάθου δοῦλος, Eur. fr. 282, 5, N.; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7, 6, 2; Schol. A on 228: *Ergo qui parcit mandendo, id est parasitus, merito vocatur Gnato (sic) quod vulgo dicimus manduco* (Umpfenbach, *Herm.* 2 (1867), 347).

<sup>26</sup> *Pros. Att.* 3043-52 (all of 4th cent.); Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Bechtel, *Spitzn.* p. 29; Wendel, p. 38; Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 40; Sondag, p. 28; Gatzert, p. 56; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 481; *I.G.A.* 372, 63 (Γνάθων); 375 (Γνάθαινα); *I.G.* 2, 986, II, 29; 4<sup>3</sup>, 1054 g, A, 31 (Γνάθιος); *I.G.* 2, 836, 18; 2012 (Γνάθων); *I.G.* 2, 751 B, b, 19; 836, 61. 108 (Γνάθαινα); Bechtel, *K.Z.* 45 (1912/13), 153; Paton-Hicks, *Cos*, 9, 17; *I.G.* 12<sup>9</sup> (index); Hippocrates, 2, 666, Littré.

<sup>27</sup> Gnato in Lucilius, 843, 845 (*fr. inc.* 82, p. 152 R.) is doubtless taken from the parasite in the *Eunuchus*.

<sup>28</sup> Gnathaina in Phidippides is both a hetaira and a glutton, *fr.* 5, K. 3, 302.

<sup>29</sup> Athen. 10, 434 c; 11, 477 f.; Plut. *Mor.* 57 a; Men. *Kolax*, *fr.* 293, K. 3, 83; *fr.* 2, Körte<sup>2</sup>, p. 122; *fr.* 2, van Leeuwen<sup>2</sup>, pp. 152 f.

<sup>30</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1237 (10, 93). This suggestion is indeed likely since the figure of the κῶλαξ would be emphasized by comparison with another but less competent example of the type acting as a foil. Cf. van Leeuwen, *Men.*<sup>2</sup> on *Adul.* 67, p. 245 and Allinson, *Menander*, 1922, *ad loc.*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Bechtel, *Spitzn.* pp. 8, 17, 63, and Sondag, p. 31.

suggests the man with big jaws, a gourmandizer such as the typical *parasitus edax*, and also a big-mouthed flatterer<sup>33</sup> such as the *parasitus colax* (*Eun.* 30). Gnatho, then, is the man with the big jaws that serve him well, whether it be for flattering the Captain,<sup>34</sup> or for gourmandizing his food. Fabia suggests, with some plausibility, that Gnatho was chosen by Terence with a view to the humorous analogy: *Plato: Gnatho = Platonici: Gnathonici* (p. 49).<sup>35</sup> It seems, therefore, to have been with good reason that Terence changed the name of the parasite in the *Eunuchus* from the ambiguous, unsuggestive and rarer<sup>36</sup> Struthias to the decidedly significant Gnatho.

CHAEREA. Without doubt Chaerea is the most interesting character in the *Eunuchus*, perhaps in all of Terence's comedies.<sup>37</sup> He is the young brother of Phaedria, an ephebos, who is in the public service at the Piraeus (290).<sup>37</sup> He is significantly characterized by Parmeno as a wild young fellow who, if he falls in love, will make his brother's love-affair look like child's-play (297 ff.). He comes upon the stage in a passionate frenzy, looking for a pretty girl he has seen, loved and followed. He has lost his heart but not his head, and with dashing energy and determination he demands Parmeno's aid in securing the girl. An amusing side-light on his character is his precocious knowledge and judgment of beauty (295 ff., 312 ff., 566), and his interest in Thais and regret that he has never known her; he is, however, put at ease by Parmeno, who assures him that his newly found beauty surpasses Thais as well as all others. Chaerea readily seizes upon the slave's humorous suggestion to masquerade as the eunuch whom Phaedria has promised to Thais, and with uncompromising determination, he overmasters Parmeno and elicits his aid, promising, however, to shoulder the entire responsibility. With remarkable coolness and self-command, in sharp contrast to Phaedria in the presence of his lady-love, Chaerea carries the plot through. After this he comes upon the stage in ecstasy, and with great eagerness he relates the adventure to his friend Antipho. When the party is mentioned by the latter, Chaerea proves to have been as energetic

<sup>33</sup> In view of the Latin glosses, *buccosus*: γνάθων, *bucca*: γνάθος, *bucco*: garrulus, *buccans*: garriens (*C.G.L.* 6, 154 f., index), it is not improbable that to the Romans the name Gnatho would be suggestive of a mouthy, garrulous fellow, and thereby felt to be suitable to the voluble adulator.

<sup>34</sup> The name Στρουθίας would not suggest this side, the most stressed, of the parasite's character.

<sup>35</sup> Compare Klotz, *B.ph.W.* 40 (1920), 608.

<sup>36</sup> See *Pros. Att.* 13026 (Στρούθων, 5th cent.); Pape-Benseler, s.v.; Bechtel, *loc. cit.*; Gatzert, p. 56; *I.G.A.* 372, 355.

<sup>37</sup> This is approximately the judgment of Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.*, 1, 144; Fabia, p. 16; Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 83; and Henry, p. 73.

<sup>38</sup> His age, 16, is an anachronism on the part of Terence for παῖδες were at least 18; cf. Nencini, pp. 89 f.; Fabia, pp. 13 f.; Oudegeest, p. 35; and Siess, p. 83, n. 1.



about it as about his love-affair, and had already made the plans (608). It is with bold assurance<sup>38</sup> that later he meets Thais and Pythias, and, after first defending his conduct on the ground that he believed Pamphila to be a fellow-servant, and that his motive was love, not insult, he begs Thais' forgiveness and friendship, and, accepting the responsibility, promises to marry Pamphila (888). When she is recognized as a free-born Athenian, he is enraptured, and from overflowing joy and natural goodness of heart, he praises everybody, especially Parmeno, and rejoices that his brother is also happy and fortunate (1031 ff., 1044 ff., 1051). Finally in the scene with Gnatho, it is Chaerea who takes the initiative and persuades Phaedria to strike the bargain with the Captain (1068, 1081 ff.). On the whole, Chaerea's chief characteristic is his dashing, tenacious energy, coupled as it is with cool self-assurance and presence of mind.

Chaerea is a Greek personal name, *Χαίρεας*, formed from the stem of the verb *χαίρω*, "rejoice,"<sup>39</sup> with the character-suffix *-εας* which also appears in the name Demea (*Ad.* above, p. 50), signifying "the man of rejoicing." *Χαίρεας* together with its cognates was particularly common in Athens;<sup>40</sup> in comedy it seems to have been employed for old men as well as young.<sup>41</sup>

Chaerea in the *Eunuchus* is the man of rejoicing: after his success with Pamphila, he comes out of the house and bursts forth in exultation.<sup>42</sup> When his Pamphila proves to be an Athenian, he is filled with joy and thanksgiving at his good fortune, and also at Phaedria's.<sup>43</sup> And in the last scene, he gladly accepts Gnatho's bargain, including the parasite himself.<sup>44</sup> Chaerea's name, therefore, is eminently appropriate to his disposition and rôle.

THRASO. The figure of the braggart Captain in the *Eunuchus* has already been adequately described by Ribbeck (*Alazon*, pp. 39 f.), Fabia (pp. 30 ff.), Legrand (*Daos*, pp. 120 ff.) and Henry (pp. 78 ff.). By way of a brief summary, Thraso is a typical *miles gloriosus*, but makes absurd pretensions to conquest and renown in the fields of personal charm, wit and

<sup>38</sup> Note his ready wit: 902 f.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Charinus in the *Andria*, above, p. 72 and Chaerestratus above, p. 107.

<sup>40</sup> *Χαίρεας*: *Pros. Att.* 15089-107; others to 15281.

<sup>41</sup> *Senex*: Aristoph. *Wasps*, 687, significant name (cf. Starkie and van Leeuwen<sup>2</sup>, *ad loc.*); Men. *Epikleros*, Herzog, *Herm.* 51 (1916), 315; van Leeuwen, *Men.*<sup>3</sup> pp. 177 ff. *Adulescens*: Men. *fab. inc.*; for others see Schmidt, p. 182; Gatzert, p. 26; Mras, p. 317. In the *Koneiazomenai* it is impossible at present to determine whether Chaireas is the old man's or the young man's friend; Gatzert thinks he is a young man, Mras calls him an old man; the interpretation rests upon two restorations: *τῷ τῶν ἐταίρων* (Körte) and *τῷ σὺ φῶς* (Sudhaus, van Leeuwen<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>42</sup> *gaudium*, 550, 552; *laetus*, 555.

<sup>43</sup> *laetus*, 1034; *gaudiis*, 1035; *gaudeo*, 1038; *laudem*, 1044; *conlaudem*, 1046; *laudas*, 1053.

<sup>44</sup> *lubenter*, 1086.

elegance, as well as in the field of bloody battles in strange foreign climes. The fact of his being a generous giver and a handsome entertainer is the only well-founded, credible claim which he could make, but this is significantly put into the mouth of his parasite (1078, 1081). Thraso is a man of prodigious conceit and self-complacency, and so sottish and empty-headed that he is mere putty in the hands of the clever exploiter, Thais, and the parasitical toady, Gnatho. With a pompous show of boldness and valor, he prepares to storm the castle, carry off Pamphila, and wreak vengeance upon Thais; like the discreet Pyrrhus, he takes a safe position behind the lines, and after a hot battle of words with the besieged, he calls off his army and makes plans to arbitrate. He decides to surrender to Thais after the style of Herakles, and finally submits to Gnatho's scheme whereby he is to be admired exceedingly and fleeced out of his wealth.

The Greek name *Θράσωρ* is a short form of the numerous full names derived from *θάρσος*, "bold."<sup>46</sup> *Θράσωρ*, as well as its cognates, was very common at Athens, even within the noblest families.<sup>46</sup> This name is, by its natural etymology, appropriate to soldiers;<sup>47</sup> and, like the other names of the *miles gloriosus* in comedy, it is ironically significant, indicative of the pretension, but not the real character of that type.<sup>48</sup> In the *Eunuchus*, the name is particularly indicative of the bold front of the Captain in the siege of Thais' house; the special point of irony is the contrast between his vain show of courage and resolution, and his real weakness and cowardice. The name Bias, which is the original of this figure in Menander's *Eunuchos*, is appropriate enough to the typical *miles gloriosus*, but it bears no special suggestiveness in the play since Thraso does not make a pretence of personal might and power, but rather of bold resolution and valor, and his amusing precautions and eagerness to arbitrate and willingness to surrender enhance the irony of the signification of Thraso, but not so well that of Bias. Therefore it is obvious that Terence felt greater appropriateness in the designation Thraso than in that of his original, and accordingly made the change.<sup>49</sup>

PYTHIAS. Pythias is doubtless the head servant in Thais' establishment; to her is entrusted Pamphila, and it is she who receives Chremes. She is a bold, lively, little hussy, who speaks her mind to everybody, and

<sup>46</sup> Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 213.

<sup>46</sup> *Pros. Att.*, 7375-95; Sundwall, p. 99. Cf. Donatus on *Eun.* 455: *Thraso est nomen honestum, sicut orator philosophus, est quoddam nomen offensum, ut miles lanarius.*

<sup>47</sup> Accordingly in comedy, Thraso, Thrasonides and Thrasyleon are used for the braggart captains. See Sondag, p. 21; Breitenbach, pp. 59 ff.; Gatzert, p. 54; Mras, p. 312; hence the English word "thrasonical."

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Koenig, p. 8; Ussing, 4<sup>1</sup>, 224; Mendelssohn, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Fabia's suggestion (p. 49), that "Thrason a peut-être dû son nom au souvenir de Thrasonidès" (the *miles gloriosus* in Menander's *Misoumenos*), is specious, but by no means conclusive.

seems to command pretty much her own way. She cannot pardon Chaerea and Parmeno for the crime against her charge, although in reality she is not at fault (831), and while Chaerea is put out of her reach by Thais (only after a spirited exchange of words), Parmeno is made the victim of her keen and mischievous wit. In her scene with Phaedria she is positive and energetic, at times rather sharp-tongued and threatening, and to her mistress, although she seems to be somewhat apprehensive (720, 822), she stoutly defends herself and, what is more, takes the matter in hand, bids her mistress be quiet (834) and seize Chaerea who stands by with a brazen face (838 f.). Yet she is charming and cajoling toward Chremes when he comes at Thais' invitation, but when he returns feeling the truth of the saying: *sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus* (732), she is too engrossed in her anxiety regarding Chaerea's crime to share his hilarity. Toward Pamphila she evinces a certain degree of affection (916), and both affection and loyalty toward her mistress.<sup>50</sup>

Pythias is a Greek personal name related to Πύθιος, a by-name of Apollo,<sup>51</sup> with the feminine form -ιάς of the -δ- suffix of general relationship.<sup>52</sup> As a personal name, it is reasonably common, but there is no certain evidence that it was borne by a free Athenian before the second century.<sup>53</sup> In comedy, maids, courtesans and courtesans' maids bear the name,<sup>54</sup> Horace refers to *audax Pythias*, seemingly as a type, and that adjective would well describe the woman in this play.<sup>55</sup>

Although it is obvious that Πύθιας is related in some way to Πύθιος and τὰ Πύθια, there are several possibilities as to the significance of the name. A Pythias may have been born at the time of the festival,<sup>56</sup> or her father, or, if a slave, her master, may have become *Pythionikes*,<sup>57</sup> or the name may designate one who is considered the property of Pythian Apollo;<sup>58</sup> or possibly it may call to mind the *authority* with which the *Pythia* spoke, more authority than any other woman; or it may suggest the *τέρας*

<sup>50</sup> This summary sketch of Pythias may be supplemented by those of Fabia, pp. 26 f., Siess, *W. St.* 29 (1907), 87 f., and Henry, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>51</sup> "Frauenname aus Bezeichnung von Abstracta," Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 616. Πύθιας may be an abbreviated name from Πύθιονικη, Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 53.

<sup>52</sup> Fick-Bechtel, pp. 26 f.; Kühner-Blass, 1<sup>2</sup>, 282 f.; Brugmann-Delbrück<sup>2</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 471; Brugmann-Thumb, p. 240.

<sup>53</sup> *I.G.* 2, 1392 = *Pros. Att.* 12356, 2nd or 1st cent; Sundwall, p. 147. Others are foreigners or women of uncertain station: *I.G.* 2, 754, 11; 755, 5; 836, 68; 2740; 3338; 4101.

<sup>54</sup> Schmidt, p. 204; Terzaghi, p. 151; Gatzert, pp. 36, 44; Mras, p. 337. Saekel suggests Πύθιας or Δωπίας in Men. *Kolax*, 112. (p. 45).

<sup>55</sup> *Ars poet.* 237 f.; cf. Caecilius, *inc. fr.* p. 93, R.

<sup>56</sup> "Kalendername," Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 53.

<sup>57</sup> Short form of Πύθιονικη, *id.* p. 53. Cf. Lambertz, 1, 37, "Kurzform zu Vollnamen welche als ersten Bestandteil den Namen eines Gottes haben, als Sklavenamen."

<sup>58</sup> "Widmungsname," Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 56.

which is brought on by the festival, and thus be appropriate to hetairai,<sup>59</sup> or their maids. In addition to the last two explanations, it may be that the general notion of the athletic games and contests (*τὰ Πύθια*)<sup>60</sup> may be suggestive of the vivacity and contentiousness of Pythias in the *Eunuchus*, especially as indicated in her scenes with Phaedria, Chaerea and Parmeno. In this respect, then, the name is not inappropriate to her.<sup>61</sup>

CHREMES. Chremes has one of the character-roles, and besides is important in the development of the plot, since through him is brought about the recognition. He is a young man of respectable parentage (748, 760), who lives in Sunium, one of the rural demes of Attica. Like the typical rustic, he is naïve (735 ff.) and moral (747), unused to city ways, and consequently rather clumsy and boorish, suspicious of city people, especially the scheming, cajoling girls (507 ff.), and for that reason is pretty harsh and coarse to Pythias; *malam rem hinc ibis*, he says to her (536). But when "Venus" has been warmed up with food and wine, this same girl appears much lovelier to him than before (730 f.). By nature he is a coward, but the sort of coward which Fabia calls "poltron," that is, a man who fears danger, but if he sees no way to escape will fight,<sup>62</sup> and, to quote Ribbeck, "ein vorsichtiger Philister, der lieber hinter Schloss und Riegel als im Handgemenge mit den Gegnern verhandelt" (*Röm. Dicht.*<sup>3</sup> 1, 145). At that, Thais has to hold him back from going after assistance, and has to exhort and instruct him to defend his own sister. From a safe vantage, Chremes loudly and boldly threatens Thraso, so that that redoubtable general finally retires with his army.<sup>63</sup>

Elsewhere in comedy, Chremes is the name of old men (above, pp. 39 f., 75 f., 93 ff.), and has been shown to be significant of irascibility, pusillanimity, vacillation, hypocrisy and meddlesomeness (see above, p. 95). Although in the *Eunuchus* Chremes is a young man, he is a rustic whose speech is *inconsequens* (Don. on 507), and who is vacillating, timorous, somewhat boorish and impolite. He exhibits, then, many of the qualities which characterize the old men of that name, and of which

<sup>59</sup> Bechtel, *Att. Fr.* p. 126.

<sup>60</sup> For Πύθιας as the personification of the Pythian games, see Höfer in Roscher, s.v., 3, 3370.

<sup>61</sup> In accord with one of the six possible etymologies of Πύθιας (see Höfer in Roscher, s.v., 3, 3397 ff.), the older editors of Terence explained the name Pythias as derived from πυνθάνομαι, "ob calliditatem, aut quod omnia percontetur" (Venice ed. 1580, p. 36, Ellius, p. 92, Schmieder, p. 83), but this is refuted by Koenig, p. 31, and not noted by Bechtel.

<sup>62</sup> Fabia, p. 22. Cf. Guizot, *Dict. Syn. s.v. poltron*, p. 567.

<sup>63</sup> One need not be disturbed over this apparent inconsistency in Chremes' behavior, nor try to show that his is a contaminated rôle, as Ihne, pp. 19 f. (refuted by Braun, pp. 25 f.), Ladewig, *Beitr. z. Kritik d. Ter.* pp. 8 f., Oudegeest, pp. 50 ff., and Legrand, *Daos*, p. 351.

etymon of Chremes is suggestive and significant. For this reason, therefore, it would seem, Terence chose this name for his *adulescens rusticus*.<sup>64</sup>

ANTIPHO. According to Donatus, Antipho is a *bene inuenta persona, cui narret Chaerea, ne unus diu loquatur, ut apud Menandrum*.<sup>65</sup> Herein consists his entire rôle. The dialogue is assuredly more interesting and dramatic than a monologue would be, and indeed Antipho is a young fellow of cynical good humor who makes an excellent interlocutor, enlivening the conversation by an air of naïve curiosity and amazement.<sup>66</sup>

The name Antipho (*ἀντιφών*) probably suggested to Terence and his audience "the one who speaks in his turn," "the answerer,"<sup>67</sup> and therefore exactly fits the rôle.

DORIAS. Dorias is one of the numerous servants in the establishment of Thais; she seems to hold a place next in importance to Pythias. She is one of the cortège which escorts Thais to the Captain's dinner party; to her, in particular, her mistress entrusts her jewels to be safely conveyed home. Dorias plays a minor rôle; she is a mere foil to Pythias, only once voicing an opinion of her own, namely, when she advises Pythias to hold her silence regarding Pamphila and the eunuch (721 ff.). She exhibits no marked individuality of character; she is no more than a typical servant-maid.

<sup>64</sup> The comment of Donatus on *Eun.* 507: *haec persona (Chremes) apud Menandrum adulescentis rustici est*, is not clear, and has given rise to considerable controversy. The most reasonable explanation is that there is a lacuna here, and the original comment had to do with the difference between Menander's treatment of the figure and Terence's wherein the former perhaps stressed to a greater degree the rusticity of the character; thus Braun, pp. 36 f., and Cartault, pp. 50 f. The fact that Chremes does not use as large a proportion of plebeian and vulgar words as the other young men (from Tschirjaew's index) would seem to lend some support to this explanation. Nencini's contention that Chremes was an old man in the original (pp. 85 ff.) is specious, but based upon an invalid premise that Chremes is necessarily an old man's name; Cartault (*loc. cit.*) and Oudegeest (p. 61), reject the idea on the ground that it is probable that Terence changed this name as well as others which are known.

<sup>65</sup> Don. on *Eun.* 539, accepted by Braun, *op. cit.* pp. 26 ff., Nencini, pp. 93 f., Cartault, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 f., Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.*<sup>2</sup> 1, 146, Fabia, pp. 49 f., and Schanz<sup>2</sup>, 1, 150, against Ihne, p. 15, Francken, *Mnem.* 4 (1876), 153, and Teuffel, *Stud. u. Char.*<sup>2</sup> p. 355, who regard the last phrase as an interpolation, and against Benfey, *Ter. Com.*, übers., p. 537, cited by Oudegeest, p. 65, and Kampe, p. 12, who refer the words '*ut apud Menandrum*' to the whole sentence. Oudegeest is inclined toward the view of Ihne (p. 69).

<sup>66</sup> Compare Fabia, p. 23, and Henry, pp. 75 f.

<sup>67</sup> Compare *ἀντιφωνία*, "answer," *ἀντιφωνος*, "antiphonal." See the discussion of the name in the *Phormio*, above, pp. 30 f. The explanation given by Ellius (p. 92), Schmiëder (p. 83) and Rossius (1, 112) that Antipho is so named "*quod obuius appareat*," echoes the etymology of *Xenophon* in the *Etymologicum Magnum*: *κατὰ τὸ ξένος καὶ τὸ φάτω, ὃ ἐν τοῖς ξένοις τότοις παρήμερος* (s.v. 684, 54); this interpretation is possible, and in the present instance decidedly suitable to the rôle, but the explanation given above is more suggestive.

The Greek name Δωπίας can be variously interpreted: 1) as a matronymic of Δωπῆς, a typical maid servant's name,<sup>68</sup> which may be treated as a) a place-name, b) the name of the daughter of Oceanus and the wife of Nereus, c) an ethnicon, d) an abbreviation of the full names from δῶρον;<sup>69</sup> 2) as an ethnicon;<sup>70</sup> 3) as a derivative from δῶρυ;<sup>71</sup> 4) as a short form of the full names from δῶρον, like Δωπῆς, Δωπῶν,<sup>72</sup> Δῶπος,<sup>73</sup> and Δωρῶ,<sup>74</sup> whence, quoting Koenig, "*Dorias, serva meretricis, non dubium est quin dono fuerit data*" (p. 31).<sup>75</sup> Either the first or the second meaning would also be appropriate to the typical maid servant in the *Eunuchus*.

DORUS. Dorus is the real eunuch. Pythias describes him as a *victus, uetus, ueternosus senex, colore mustelino* (688 f.). He is a pitiable wretch, a victim of the practical joke of Chaerea and Parmeno, for which he is in no way responsible, but on account of which he gets rough treatment from his master Phaedria. At first he timorously tells the truth, then at the command of his master he retracts, and howls and pleads for mercy. The character-portrayal does not go beyond the typical appearance and pusillanimity of the ordinary eunuch.

Although, like Δωπίας, there are several possible interpretations of Δῶπος, by far the most plausible and the one almost universally accepted, is, in the words of Copalle, "*nomen, omen: Dorus emptus est, ut Thaidi detur*" (p. 35),<sup>76</sup> and this is the more significant since the main plot hinges upon this very gift. In accord with this interpretation is the undoubtedly correct classification of Δῶπος as an abbreviated name from the full names derived from δῶρον.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>68</sup> See Gatzert, p. 42, and Mras, p. 336.

<sup>69</sup> See Pape-Benseler, s.v. (d); Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. (b); Fick-Bechtel, pp. 104 (d), 450 (b); Bechtel, *Alt. Fr.* pp. 12 (d), 59 (a), 73 ff. (b); Sondag, p. 52 (a, d); Lambertz, 1, 12 (c); 28 (b); Gatzert, pp. 42, 61 f. (c); Mras, p. 336 (a, b, c, d); Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 544 (a, b, d), p. 566 (b); Hirzel, *Der Name*, p. 66, n. 6 (b, c, d).

<sup>70</sup> Brix-Niemeyer, *Plaut. Men.* p. 13; Bechtel, *Alt. Fr.* p. 57; Knapp, *C.P.* 2 (1907), 12, n. 4; Lambertz, 1, 13; Copalle, p. 34; Gatzert, pp. 42, 61; Mras, p. 336.

<sup>71</sup> Schmieder, p. 83; Ellius, p. 92; Koenig, p. 31; Forcellini-Perin, s.v. The explanation: "*quod in bello capta sit*" is strained and exceedingly unlikely; Δωπῆς, Δωπῶν, and cognates are probably derived from Indo-European \*doru (Skr. *daru*, Gr. δῶρυ, \*δῶρε); see Vaniček, p. 370, Prellwitz and Boisacq, *sub δῶρυ*, Δωπῆς.

<sup>72</sup> See above in the *Phormio*, p. 39.

<sup>73</sup> See below.

<sup>74</sup> The name of a goddess of bribery, Aristoph., *Knights*, 529, and of a bacchante, Heydemann, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen*, p. 28.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Pape-Benseler: "Δωπίας, Gabe."

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Ellius, p. 92; Schmieder, p. 82; Koenig, p. 31.

<sup>77</sup> Fick-Bechtel, p. 106; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 144: "zu δῶρον" (sic). Cf. Gatzert, p. 47. Less likely, though possible, Δῶπος is an ethnicon, Brix-Niemeyer, *loc. cit.*; Knapp, *loc. cit.*; Lambertz, 1, 12.

**SANGA.** When the valiant Captain Thraso is marshalling his host for the onslaught against Thais, he asks for Corporal Sanga and his squad of thieves. Sanga comes forward, armed with a sponge with which to wipe the wounds, for, says he, not without blood can this battle be fought (779). This name, which is an abbreviation of the slave-name *Σαγγάριος*,<sup>78</sup> was certainly chosen on account of its similarity to *sanguis*, and this suggestion is borne out by the word-play *sanguine*: *Sanga*.<sup>79</sup>

**SOPHRONA.** To make the recognition certain, Pamphila's nurse is brought upon the stage and Chremes tells Pythias that the nurse has recognized the tokens (912). From the one word which she speaks, it may be gathered that she is rather slow of foot; otherwise she is just a typical nurse. To her the poet has given a name which was regarded as appropriate to nurses, and in the *Phormio* where it appears it is significant of the character and rôle of the nurse there portrayed (above, pp. 40 f.).

**SETEX.** In the heading of the *Bembinus*, act 5, scene 5 (971), the name Demea appears beneath the rôle *senex*, and in the later MSS., Laches appears, but, since the name of this old man is found nowhere in the text and Donatus expressly states that he has no name in Terence but is called Simon in Menander, both these names are without authority and should be ascribed to copyists who probably supplied Demea from the *Adelphoe* and Laches from the *Hecyra*.<sup>80</sup>

**ARCHIDEMIDES.** Archidemides is an old man, *incuruos, tremulus, labiis demissis, gemens* (336). As a *cognatus* and *aequalis* of Chaerea's father, he hails the young fellow when he is hot on the trail of Pamphila, and bids him tell his father to appear in court with him on the next day. The name is a patronymic of *Ἀρχιδήμιος*, which is composed of the stem of *ἄρχω*, "rule," and *δήμιος*, "people," meaning "the son of the ruler of the people,"<sup>81</sup> thereby having a distinctly aristocratic savor. Though comparatively rare itself,<sup>82</sup> the parent name was exceedingly common at Athens.<sup>83</sup> Archidemides, therefore, is to be regarded as a prominent, influential Athenian citizen.

**STRATO.** This is the name of the man who was in charge of the king's Indian elephants, and who fell a victim to Thraso's wit (412 ff.). It is an

<sup>78</sup> Lambertz, 1, 15; cf. Gatzert, p. 50; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 556. Sangarios is the name of a slave in Menander's *Heron*, and Sangario is a slave-name in Plautus' *Trinummus*, 1105; on Sangarinus (Plaut. *Stich.*) and Sagaristio (*Persa*) see Schmidt, pp. 204, f.

<sup>79</sup> The name is not expressed in the word-play as in Plaut. *Cist.* 517, and *Mil.* 366; see Mendelssohn, pp. 39, 44. Cf. Schol. on 776; *Sanga uocatur eo quod esset sanguisugarius, unde et peniculum ferebat, id est spongiam* (Schlee, p. 109).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. the similar case of Bacchis (*Ad.*) above, p. 53, Dromo (*Ad.*), above, p. 60, and Canthara (*Heaut.*), above, p. 58, n. 85; p. 102.

<sup>81</sup> See Fick-Bechtel, p. 73; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 79. On the *ἀρχεακος*-type of compound, see under the name Menedemus in the *Heaut.*, above, p. 96.

<sup>82</sup> *Ἀρχιδήμιος*, archon at Athens, 464/3 B. C., *Pros. Att.* 2314.

exceptionally common Athenian name,<sup>84</sup> an abbreviation of the full names from *στρατός*, "army,"<sup>85</sup> and hence peculiarly suited to soldiers, as in the present instance: '*Strato*' *nomen accomodatum militiae*.<sup>86</sup>

**PAMPHILA.** Pamphila is an unusually attractive girl. Everyone, Thais, Thais' mother and uncle, Thraso, Gnatho, Parmeno, Chaerea and Pythias, is instantly impressed by her astounding beauty and charm.<sup>87</sup> Inasmuch as there is no further character-delineation through description or action, the name is relatively unimportant, and, therefore, the rôle bears a type-designation which seems to have been favored by Terence as particularly suitable for his heroines.<sup>88</sup>

**DISCUS.** Discus is a freedman, probably a manumitted slave of Chaerea's father, and at his house the young fellows are to have their party (608). The name is a mere convenience; almost any name that is suitable to slaves and freedmen would do. Discus is a Greek nickname from the *δίσκος* used in athletic contests. As Bechtel suggests, it may indicate a man of physical dexterity or athletic prowess,<sup>89</sup> or, possibly, it may suggest a man of rotund proportions.<sup>90</sup> *Δίσκος* appears in a few scattered inscriptions; <sup>1</sup> in *I.G.* 2, 1045 (2nd cent. B.C.) the bearer is of uncertain station, though possibly a freedman. At all events, the name is not inappropriate to the freedman in the *Eunuchus*, who perhaps had been an exceptionally active and dextrous slave.

**SIMALIO.** Simalio is one of Thraso's lieutenants, who is put in charge of the left wing (775). His is one of the large group of names derived from *σινύς*, "snubnosed,"<sup>91</sup> formed by means of the suffix *-ων*<sup>92</sup> appended to *Σίμαλος*, which is itself a derivative from *Σίμος* (*σινύς*), with the suffix

<sup>84</sup> *Pros. Ath.* 2312, 2315-28, 2482-89; Sundwall, p. 34; *I.G.A.* 372, 45. 46; *I.G.* 1, 423-7; *I.G.* 2 (index).

<sup>85</sup> *Pros. Ath.* 12963-13003; Sundwall, p. 153. For comedy, see Schmidt, p. 209, and Gatzert, p. 55.

<sup>86</sup> Fick-Bechtel, p. 255; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* pp. 410 f.

<sup>87</sup> Don. on *Eun.* 414. Also appropriate to lovers according to Sondag, p. 57.

<sup>88</sup> *Eun.* 146; 116 f.; 131; 135 f.; 273 f.; 442, 274, 361; 317 ff., 366, 565 ff., 916. Cf. Henry, p. 87.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Pamphila in the *Phormio*, above, pp. 43 f. and in the *Adelphoe*, above, p. 60.

<sup>90</sup> *Spitsn.*, p. 51, correcting the classification of the name with the short names derived from the root *δίσ-*, Fick-Bechtel, p. 99. Cf. Gatzert, p. 46; Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.* p. 605.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Lambertz, 2, 16. Cf. *Σφαίρος*.

<sup>92</sup> Collitz-Bechtel, 2, 2190 (slave); *B.C.H.* 7 (1883), 106 (metic, 3rd cent.); *I.G.* 12<sup>1</sup>, 879; 1122 (*eponymus*); 1289, 1.5 (*mercator*); 12<sup>2</sup>, 592; 874 (*χρηστέος*); 14, 1934 h; 2393, 217, 218.

<sup>93</sup> See Bechtel, *Spitsn.* p. 25, and *Hist. Pers.* p. 491. Cf. Simulus (*Ad.*), Simus (*Heaut.*). Cf. Don. on *Eun.* 774: *a simio uel a simia derivatum est ob foeditatem oris uel nasi*.

<sup>94</sup> See under the name *Phormio*, above, p. 34.



-αλο-.<sup>94</sup> It is, accordingly, a derisive designation suitable to a free man of humble station, or to a comic slave,<sup>95</sup> who, in the *Eunuchus*, is a burlesque soldier.<sup>96</sup>

DONAX. This is the name of Thraso's lieutenant in charge of the center (774). It is a humorous nickname, perhaps derisive also, derived from the noun δόναξ, "a small reed."<sup>97</sup> As a slave-name, it appears in a fragment of the New Comedy (Schröder, p. 29), and from Diogenes Laertius (5, 2, 14), it is known as the name of a slave of Theophrastus.<sup>98</sup> It seems to suggest thin persons, as slender and feeble as a reed, and therefore, like a reed, Donax will be *inanis et fragilis*, 'a bruised reed,' when he meets the enemy; it is indeed a humorous designation for a staunch lieutenant, but it undoubtedly fits the form and character of the slave.<sup>99</sup>

SYRISCUS. Syricus is Thraso's lieutenant in charge of the right wing, the strategic position, requiring a clever rascal in command (775). Such, to be sure, is Syricus, if he lives up to the significance of his name.<sup>100</sup>

SANNIO. This name makes up the roll of the valiant army that assaulted the house of Thais: General 'Blunderbuss' (Thraso), Captain 'Jawbone' (Gnatho), Lieutenants 'Rapsallion' (Syricus), 'Pugnose' (Simalio) and 'Spindle-shanks' (Donax), Corporal 'Bloodsucker' (Sanga), and Sergeant 'Wagtail' (Sannio). Sannio is left behind to guard the camp. Like his namesake in the *Adelphoe*, he bears a derisive nickname, appropriate to comic slaves as well as to procurers.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>94</sup> See Brugmann-Delbrück<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>1</sup>, 365; Brugmann-Thumb, p. 230.

<sup>95</sup> Alciphron, *Ep.* 4, 8, 9, young man; see Sondag, p. 57; *I.G.* 12<sup>5</sup>, 609, 144 (Iulis, 4th cent.); *I.G.* 2, 1053, a man of uncertain station (1st cent.); often in *I.G.* 12<sup>5</sup> (index). Cf. Σίμαλος, Anacreon 22, harpist (6th cent.); *Anth. Pal.* 11, 744, slave; *I.G.* 2, 404, a man of uncertain station (4th cent.); *I.G.* 2, 465, 94; 467, 145, epheboi (1st cent.).

<sup>96</sup> Don. on 774: *mire composita ad contemptum nomina legionariorum*.

<sup>97</sup> For a recent etymology, see Ribezzo, *Riv. indo-gr.-ital.* 1(1917), 49.

<sup>98</sup> From *I.G.* 2, 3066; 2<sup>6</sup>, 1605 b; *I.G.* 2, 794, nothing certain can be learned. See further Lambertz, 1, 42; Copalle, p. 33; Gatzert, p. 46.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Don. on 774: *Donax ab arundine nomen, veluti sit inanis et fragilis*; Bechtel, *Spitzn.* p. 16; but less likely Lambertz, 1, 42: "Eine Drohung der Strafe dagegen enthält δόναξ" (rejected by Wilhelm, *Beitr. z. gr. Inschr.* p. 320).

<sup>100</sup> Diminutive of Syrus, and as such appearing in the *Adelphoe*, above, p. 56. Here undoubtedly it is a real name, as it is in Menander's *Epitrepontes*. On the Syrus-type of slave, see the discussion of that character in the *Adelphoe* pp. 55 f.

<sup>101</sup> See above, pp. 50 ff.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

A significant name is one which indicates or suggests the characteristic features of a personality regarded as a type or as an individual. There is excellent evidence, derived from the ninth chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics*, a treatise *περὶ προσώπων* by Aristophanes of Byzantium, an epistle of the younger Pliny (6, 21), and the commentary of Donatus (esp. on *Ad.* 26), attesting the existence in antiquity of a tradition of literary criticism which required of comic playwrights the employment of significant names.

Character analysis shows that the personages in Terence's comedies, in so far as they are adequately delineated, are individualized within their several types, either by means of varying emphasis laid upon certain characteristics, or by the introduction of other *differentiae*; the contention of Siess, Henry, Schild (pp. 70 ff.) and others is hereby substantiated.

To a great majority of these personages Terence has assigned names etymologically appropriate to their predominant characteristics; these names usually bear both type and individual significance. A few, who have no particular qualities stressed, have names which fit the essential action in their rôles as, e.g., Clitipho in the *Heauton Timorumenos*. The remainder have names which indicate a substantial differentiation between two more or less similar types, such as Davos and Syrus. Where neither character nor rôle is elaborated, most often in the case of convenient designations such as Phaedrus, Clinia and Niceratus, in the *Andria* (86 f.), the names bear at least type significance. In three instances arbitrary names have been added by copyists to the rôles in the scene headings of one or more MSS.: Bacchis in the *Andria* (155), Canthara in the *Heauton Timorumenos* (614), Demea and Laches in the *Eunuchus*, (971). Two names, Bacchis in the *Hecyra*, and Thraso in the *Eunuchus*, are found to be appropriate *κατ' ἀντιφράσιν*, a device rather frequently employed by Plautus; the accruing irony is not only suggestive of the true character and rôle of the personages, but may also heighten the humor of the situation. The significance of the names is occasionally fixed by word-play (as, e.g., *Parmeno*: *adsiste* in the *Adelphoe* (169), although Terence is sparing in the use of this device as compared with Plautus) and also by folk-etymologies, such as *Simo*: *simulo*, and *Micio*: *mico*.

Where it is known that Terence changed the name of his original, it has been to produce closer congruity with the character or rôle. The three

personages, Charinus and Byrria in the *Andria*, and Antipho in the *Eunuchus*, who, according to Donatus, were invented by Terence, bear names decidedly appropriate to their character and rôles.

It seems clear, therefore, that Terence consistently observed the rule of the significant name, employing it with individual significance if the elaboration of character or rôle permitted, and, if not, at least with type significance.



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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, the text used for Terence is that of Dziatzko, Leipzig, 1884; for Donatus' Commentary, that of P. Wessner, Lipsiae, 1902-08, v. 1-3<sup>1</sup>; for Plautus, that of Lindsay, Oxford, 1903; for Menander, that of van Leeuwen, tert. ed., Lugduni Batavorum, 1919; for Aristophanes, that of Hall and Geldart, Oxford, 1906; for the fragments of Attic Comedy, that of Kock, Lipsiae, 1880-88; for the fragments of Roman Comedy except Plautus, that of Ribbeck, tert. ed., Lipsiae, 1898.

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